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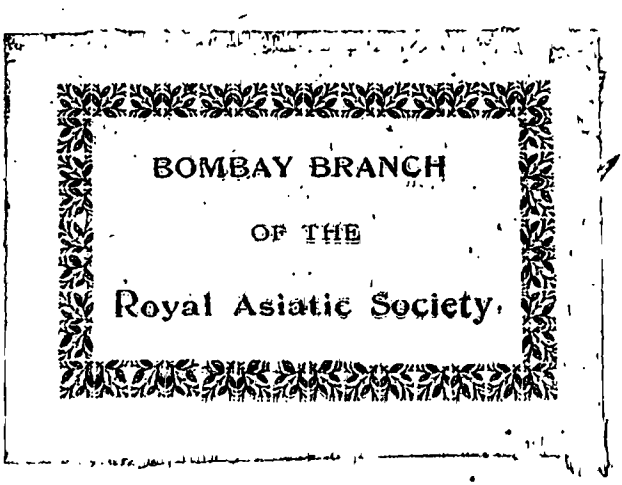

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THE

HISTORY

OF

THE REFORMATION

OF THE

Church of England;

BY

HENRY SOAMES, M.A.

RECTOR OF SHELLEY, IN ESSEX.

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VOL. III.

REIGN OF KING EDWARD VI.

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TO THE

THIRD VOLUME.

In again appearing before the public, the Author has gratefully to acknowledge the very favourable reception which his former volumes have experienced. He has, in consequence, determined upon undertaking to carry on his history until the completion of the English Reformation, at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In another volume this design may be accomplished.

Some apology, perhaps, is due for the unusual bulk of the present volume. This has arisen from anxiety to place before the reader full information upon the important matters which occupied public attention under Edward VI. Of all the theological questions agitated in that monarch's reign, transubstantiation is the most conspicuous. It was ori-

ginally intended, accordingly, to place a brief historical account of that doctrine at the beginning of a chapter. But the subject was found incapable of such compression, and, therefore, a separate division of the work was devoted to it. As the facts detailed in this are interesting, and yet many of them are not easy of access to the generality of readers, it is hoped that the insertion of this digressive chapter may not prove unacceptable.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

DURING THE

REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

Accession of King Edward VI.—King Henry's will—A Protector chosen—The prelates renew their licences—King Henry's funeral—A creation of peers—The King's coronation—A general amnesty—Disgrace of the Lord Chancellor—Lent sermons in opposition to Romanism—Ridley—Bishop Gardiner's defence of images and lustral water—Images removed in one of the London churches—and at Portsmouth—Correspondence between Gardiner and the Protector—Recantation of some eminent Romanists—A royal visitation ordered—The first book of Homilies—The Paraphrase of Erasmus circulated by authority—Protestant works published by individuals—Invasion of Scotland—The royal visitation carried into effect—Bishop Boner resists it—and Bishop Gardiner—The Lady Mary's interference—Attacks upon Transubstantiation.

When Edward, the sixth English king of that name since the Conquest, was called by his father's death to the throne of his ancestors, he was in the tenth year of his age[a]. The first part of his life being spent under female superintendence, he was transferred in his sixth year to the able tui-

[a] He was born on the 12th of October, 1537.

tion of Dr. Richard Coxe, and Mr John Cheke[b]; of whom the former was dean of Christchurch, in Oxford, the latter was professor of Greek, at Cambridge[c]. It was Coxe's business to instruct his royal pupil in divinity and philosophy, Cheke was employed to ground him in the learned languages, and in the mathematics[d]. These eminent men found themselves entrusted with a very satisfactory charge, for the young prince evinced great docility, and excellent natural parts; so that on his accession he was far better informed than are the generality of boys at an age so tender. In religious opinions Edward's instructors agreed with the Reformers, and they found it easy to train their pupil's mind in the principles of scriptural Christianity. So powerful, indeed, was reverence imbibed by the royal youth for God's recorded Word, that when a play-fellow once laid a Bible on the floor, in order to give him the means of reaching something above his head, he not only refused to avail himself of such a help, but also expressed his displeasure at being thought capable of using the Book of Life for an end so trifling[e].

At the time of his father's death, Edward was residing at Hertford Castle[f], to which place the Earl of Hertford, and Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, immediately repaired, by order of the privy council. These messengers however

[b] King Edward's journal. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records. II. i.

[c] Strype. Eccl. Mem. II. 14. Cheke was afterwards knighted.

[d] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 2. [e] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 14.

[f] Ibid. 30.

left London with no unusual retinue, and on their arrival at Hertford, they abstained from acquainting their youthful sovereign with the change that had taken place in his condition. On the following day, he was removed to Enfield; where then resided the Lady Elizabeth, and there was communicated to the royal pair the intelligence of their father's demise. The news drew from them both a flood of tears, and they remained during the rest of the day secluded in decent privacy. On the last day of January, the King was conducted to London, and was received, according to ancient custom, with due solemnity, in the Tower; apartments in which he continued to occupy during the three following weeks[g].

One of the council's earliest cares was the inspection of King Henry's will. This instrument, which was dated on the 30th day of the last December, directed the interment of the royal corpse in the collegiate church at Windsor, by the side of Jane Seymour's remains, and with notable inconsistency, made a liberal provision for the celebration of posthumous masses[h]. It devised the

[g] Life of King Edward VI. by Sir John Hayward. Bp. Kennet's Engl. Hist. II. 275.

[h] Foxe (1175, 6.) insinuates, that King Henry's will ordered the performance of soul-masses because it was drawn before his expedition to Boulogne, when his mind was less completely informed upon religious subjects than it ultimately became. The venerable martyrologist appears to have believed that the last royal will only differed from the former one in the erasure of Bishop Gardiner's name from the list of executors; there not being time, and perhaps in the dying King, scarcely sufficient energy, for the preparation of an instrument completely new.

crown, in case of Prince Edward's death without heirs of his own body, to the two Princesses Mary and Elizabeth successively, upon condition that they should not marry without the consent of the council. In the event of no issue being left by any of his own children, Henry bequeathed the throne to his two nieces successively, Frances Grey, Marchioness of Dorset, and Eleanor Clifford, Countess of Cumberland, the daughters of his younger sister Mary, Dowager Queen of France, and of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The posterity of his elder sister, Margaret, Queen of Scotland, was not mentioned in the will, but probably, it was intended, by the direction that should all the parties named die without issue, the crown was to descend to his Majesty's lawful heirs. Sixteen executors were named for the purpose of carrying into effect these testamentary provisions, and for that of acting as counsellors to the young King during his minority [i]. Besides these counsellors twelve individuals were named whose advice might be asked in cases of emergency [k]. Since, however, there is little hope of

[i] Viz. Archbishop Cranmer, the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, the Lord St. John, the Earl of Hertford, the Lord Russell, the Viscount Lisle, Bishop Tunstall, Sir Anthony Brown, the Lord Chief Justice Montague, Mr. Justice Bromley, Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations, Mr. Secretary Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber, Sir William Wotton, and Dr. Wotton his brother.

[k] Viz. The Earls of Arundel and Essex, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir William Petre, Sir

constant unanimity among any considerable body of men, especially where they differ importantly in religious opinion, as did Henry's executors, it was provided in the royal will, that the government should be administered according to the decisions of the majority[1].

Among the sixteen individuals now become of so much national importance, Romish principles appeared at first sight not unlikely to preponderate; for their most influential supporters were the Lord Chancellor and the Bishop of Durham, of whom both were men of distinguished abilities, and of whom the former was an active politician. On the reforming side the chief weight of authority lay with the Primate and the Earl of Hertford: of these eminent persons, however, the former had ever kept in a great measure aloof from secular affairs, and the latter was possessed of no considerable talents. When the will was opened all the executors were present, except the two Wottons, and Mr. Justice Bromley[m], and they all solemnly undertook the trust devolved upon them by their deceased sovereign. They then proceeded to the despatch of business; and it was proposed that one of their body should be commissioned by the rest to receive foreign ambassadors, and to discharge other ceremonial functions of royalty, to which the King, on account of his

Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edmund Peckham.

[1] The King's will may be seen at length in Fuller's Ch. Hist. 243.

[m] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 6.

tender age, might be found incompetent. This motion was firmly resisted by the Chancellor, who standing next to Cranmer in official rank, and being greatly his superior as a politician, had reasonably calculated upon securing for himself an effectual ascendancy among his colleagues. He was however fully sensible, that should an especial representative of royalty be chosen, he would not be the man, and that it would probably be found impossible to retain an individual so distinguished in the situation of a mere state puppet. He therefore strenuously argued, that to render any one executor even in appearance, superior to the rest, would be an unwarrantable departure from the late King's will. At length, however, finding his reasoning ineffectual, he consented to the arrangement desired by his colleagues, and it was unanimously determined, that one of the body should be chosen Protector of the King's realms, and governor of his person until he should attain the age of eighteen years. After some farther debate, the Earl of Hertford, as being one of the young monarch's nearest relations, yet destitute of any pretension to the throne, was elected to fill these important offices, and was invested with them under an express condition, "that he should not do any act but by the advice and consent of the other executors, according to the will of the late King[n]." Hertford appears to have received his new dignity with feelings worthy of a Christian, offering up his earnest prayers for the Divine

[n] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 7.

direction in the office to which he was called[o]. Indeed, notwithstanding the limitations imposed upon him, it was evident that the Earl had been appointed to a situation at once arduous and important; nor is it probable that he would have attained such an elevation with so great facility, had not the young king's affection for him, his own popularity, and the mediocrity of his abilities, all concurred to influence the minds of his brother-executors.

Within a few days after the choice of a Protector, Cranmer petitioned for the royal licence to authorise him in the exercise of his archiepiscopal functions, alleging that his powers for that purpose had expired with the late King[p]. His petition was immediately granted as a matter of course[q]. The other prelates were required to provide themselves with a similar licence[r], and none of them making any objection, the whole episcopal bench again acknowledged its absolute dependence upon the civil power. The new commissions granted to the prelates were framed according to the precedents of the last

[o] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 23. Among the records (II. 311.) Mr. Strype has printed the Protector's prayer.

[p] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 201.

[q] By a commission dated February 7. This commission, however, did not necessarily extend to the whole term of the King's life: it was only granted *durante beneplacito*. "And hence I find that the Archbishop in some of his writings is styled, The commissary of our dread sovereign lord King Edward." Ibid. 202.

[r] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 8.

reign[s], and by this precarious tenure did the heads of the Church in general hold their sees so long as King Edward occupied the throne[t]. The judges, it should be recollected, were at that time, and long afterwards, similarly circumstanced.

From political arrangements the public attention was directed towards the mournful parade of the late King's funeral. Never had England seen such a ceremony conducted with greater magnifi-

[s] "Only with this difference, that there is no mention made of Vicar-general in these commissions, as was in the former, there being none after Cromwell advanced to that dignity." Ibid.

[t] This appears from a commission to displace the Bishops Tailour, Hooper, and Harley, which was issued in Queen Mary's reign, and which is printed by Bishop Burnet. (Hist. Ref. Records, II. 352.) In this instrument it is stated that the three prelates whom it was intended to remove were preferred to their respective sees "to have and to hold the same during their good behaviours, with the express clause *quamdiu se bene gesserint*." In the body of his history, Burnet asserts that the Bishops appointed by King Edward were not kept in this state of dependence; an assertion which has laid him open to the animadversions of Collier. (Eccl. Hist. II. 218.) It appears, however, that Burnet was correct so far as regards Bishop Ridley's case, the only one which he specifies, and which led him to draw a conclusion not strictly correct; as is evident from the following extract from the registers of the diocese of London. "For the singular learning in the sacred Scriptures, and most approved manners with which the said Nicholas (Ridley) late Bishop of Rochester, is endued, and because, according to the commendation of our Saviour, we judge him above all others worthy to be put over many things, who hath been found faithful over few, we of our grace and mere motion grant to him the Bishopric of London to have, hold, and occupy during the term of his natural life." The Life of Bishop Ridley, by the Rev. Gloucester Ridley, L.L.B. Lond. 1763. p. 298.

cence, and the Roman Church was allowed once more to exert all her illusive powers over the human mind, in honour of a Prince who taught his countrymen to reject her fascinations with contempt. During the five days immediately following Henry's death, his corpse was laid in state within his chamber; where, besides an ample attendance of household officers, waited day and night some of the royal chaplains to chaunt those solemn services, so seductive to the living, which Romanists believe are efficacious in affording comfort to the tortured spirits of the dead. Twelve days after the body was removed from the living apartments did it repose within the chapel of the palace, and there were incessantly repeated, on a grander scale, those ministrations, deemed propitiatory, which an imaginative mind can seldom witness with indifference. While these imposing ceremonies were in progress, the Norroy king of arms, advancing at stated intervals to the entrance of the choir, said aloud to those who filled the ante-chapel, "Of your charity pray for the soul of the most high and mighty Prince, our late sovereign lord and king, Henry VIII." On the 14th of February, every thing being at length in readiness, the gorgeous funeral moved from Westminster, "the weather being very fair, and the people very desirous to see the sights[a]." The pro-

[a] Account of King Henry's funeral extracted from the books belonging to the College of Arms. (Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 299.) In this funeral procession were displayed twelve banners of arms, on one of which were emblazoned the bearings of the

cession halted for the night at the dissolved convent of Sion, near Brentford, and there, it appears, some Romish bigots said, was verified the prediction of Peto, the seditious Observant friar. It was reported that some of the putrid mass within the coffin, had found its way during the night to the pavement beneath, and as dogs might possibly have licked the disgusting fluid, such was boldly represented as the fact, and thus, it was added, has the fate of Ahab overtaken him who was deaf to the admonitions of an honest Micaiah [x]. Early on the morning of the 15th of February, the cavalcade moved onwards, and soon after mid-day was past, it reached the collegiate Church within Windsor Castle. There the royal corpse was no sooner stationed, than mitred prelates began the office for the dead; nor through the night did the vaulted aisles cease to resound at intervals with the funereal chant. On the following morning, masses were performed again, and a sermon was preached by Bishop Gardiner. The text was, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord;" and the discourse, after some general observations

late King and of Jane Seymour, on another the same royal achievement and that of Catharine Parr. Of the other unhappy ladies once connected with the deceased monarch, no notice appears to have been taken upon this occasion. Three of his marriages were probably treated as invalid, and the wretched event of Henry's connexion with Catharine Howard was certainly a good reason for allowing it to pass unheeded.

[x] "Having met with this observation in a MS. written near that time, I would not envy the world the pleasure of it." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 21.

upon mortality, painted in glowing colours the loss sustained by men of every rank in the deceased monarch's death, as well as the satisfaction unquestionably supplied to all from the highly promising qualities of the reigning king. Soon after the preacher had concluded, the royal coffin was lowered into its subterranean resting-place[y], and thus the earth was closed, amidst the pageantry of Romish worship, and the panegyrics of a prelate, decidedly Romish in principles, upon the corpse of him who had maintained during all his latter years, that Scripture is the only source of a Christian's faith.

Nor were the Romish honours paid to Henry's memory confined to his own dominions. At the cathedral of *Notre Dame* in Paris were also celebrated the mournful rites, esteemed beneficial to departed spirits[z]. Thus, in open defiance of papal authority, were the Gallic sons of Rome encouraged in believing that the rites of their religion might afford relief and solace to the soul of one who died incapable, as their spiritual chief had led his disciples to suppose, of inheriting eternal life. When however Francis heard of Henry's death, the presumptuous illiberality of interested bigots had considerably lost its influence over his mind. His health was drooping, and the departure of one who had long occupied so large a space in his thoughts, admonished him of awful

[y] Account of King Henry's funeral. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Records, II. 289.

[z] Fuller, 371.

realities soon to be encountered by himself. His gaiety of spirits fled, and on the 22nd of March, he followed to the tomb his English friend[a]. On the 19th of June was returned the compliment paid in Paris to King Henry's memory. In honour of the late French monarch were performed at St. Paul's in London, by Archbishop Cranmer, assisted by eight members of the prelacy, the funereal services of the Roman Church[b].

It was no small satisfaction to the Romanists,

[a] Godwin, Annal. 86.

[b] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 225. In justice to Cranmer, it should be recollected that the part taken by him in this solemnity did not involve of necessity his belief of the propitiatory character assigned by Romanists to the mass. The *Necessary Doctrine* will probably explain his views. "It is not in the power or knowledge of any man to limit and dispense how much, and in what space of time, or to what person particularly the said masses, exequies, and suffrages do profit and avail: therefore charity requireth that whosoever causes any such masses, exequies, or suffrages to be done should yet, (though their intent be more for one than for another) cause them also to be done for the universal congregation of Christian people, quick and dead." (Formularies of Faith, Oxf. 1825. 376.) From this passage, which certainly was not disapproved by the Archbishop, it must be supposed that he considered his conduct in receiving the Lord's Supper publicly with some of his brethren of the Episcopal Bench, and in offering up his prayers both for the living and the dead, as perfectly defensible, even although it might encourage Romish opinions, which he could not approve. From the length of time, however, which elapsed between the French king's death, and the service at St. Paul's, it seems likely that there existed among the men in power a backwardness to order the performance of a ceremony, which, though apparently demanded by courtesy, was liable to misconstruction.

that King Henry had provided in his will for the continuance of soul-masses in his own case; and accordingly, they continued to lavish upon him, now that he was gone, those praises of which they had been so unsparing during his life. Such also of the royal executors as had adopted scriptural opinions, were rather unwilling to obstruct the fulfilment of their late master's testamentary desires. The judges, therefore, were required to devise a mode by which the deceased sovereign's intentions respecting services for the benefit of his soul could be securely carried into effect. Those venerable personages soon supplied the information desired, and then, in a royal chapel, were solemnised those rites which he who provided for them had swept away from other places as useless, or pernicious [c].

Among the clauses in the late King's will was one directing his executors to carry into effect any promises that he might have made during his life-time [d]. On the day after his interment [e], arrangements were made for the fulfilment of this injunction. Sir William Paget, the secretary of state most in Henry's confidence, with Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, his most valued personal attendants, being summoned before the council, were examined upon oath [f] as to their knowledge of any unaccomplished promises made

[c] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 21.
[d] King Henry's will. Fuller, 249.
[e] February 17. Hayward, 275.
[f] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 11.

by their deceased master. These gentlemen deposed that his Majesty had intended to confer peerages upon certain individuals, to honour by higher titles others already noble, and to enhance the value of these distinctions by the grant of endowments dismembered from the immense property placed at the disposal of the crown by the ruin of the Howards. It appeared, however, that this last intention had been abandoned: for the Duke of Norfolk obtaining intelligence of it, and calculating that the sun of his family's greatness was set for ever, should his fortune be wholly dissipated, earnestly requested of the King to retain unbroken his extensive acquisitions. "My lands," he said, "are good and stately gear, fitted to provide a suitable establishment for the young Prince of Wales; upon whom, I hope that his Majesty will bestow them entire." With the aged prisoner's entreaty Henry determined to comply, and to provide for those whom he intended to distinguish by farther pillaging the dignified clergy. All these matters having been laid before the council, it was determined that the Protector should be created Duke of Somerset[g]; his brother Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudley; the Earl of Essex, brother to Queen Catharine Parr, Marquess

[g] "Which title appertaining to the King's progenitors of the house of Lancaster, and since the expiring of the Beauforts, conferred on none but Henry, the natural son of the king deceased; was afterwards charged upon him, (the Protector,) as an argument of his aspiring to the crown; which past all doubt he never aimed at." Heylin, Hist. Ref. 31.

of Northampton[h]; John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick[i], the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton[k]; Sir Richard Rich, Lord Rich of Lees; Sir William Willoughby, Lord Willoughby of Parham; and Sir Edmund Sheffield, Lord Sheffield of Butterwick. Other creations, though intended, were not carried into effect, probably because the individuals whom it had been determined to ennoble, saw little prospect of attaining an augmentation of wealth adequate to the maintenance of a rank above that actually in their possession[l].

On the 19th of February, the young King attended by a magnificent retinue rode from the Tower to the palace at Westminster, and on the following day, being Shrove-Sunday, he was crowned by Archbishop Cranmer, in the Abbey-church, with the usual solemnities[m]. Upon no occasion does the most dignified individual among the clergy appear to so much advantage, as when, by connecting the sovereign's inauguration with the most hallowed rites of religion, he reminds the

[h] He married Anne, daughter and heiress of Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, a lady who numbered among her ancestors, the Bohuns, once Earls of Northampton. Ibid.

[i] As descended from the Beauchamps who formerly bore that title. Ibid.

[k] "Son of William Wriothesley, and grandchild of John Wriothesley; both of them in their times advanced no higher than to the office of an herald; the father by the title of York, the grandfather by that of Garter, king at arms." Ibid. 32.

[l] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 23.

[m] Hayward, 276. Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 35.

first individual in the state that his elevated rank is only a trust delegated to him by God for the benefit of his people. It was not, however, by means of significant ceremonies alone, that Cranmer admonished his royal godson, on the day of his coronation. As there appears to have been no sermon, he supplied its place by addressing the young monarch to the following effect. "The promise which your Highness hath made to renounce the devil and all his works is not to be understood, in the sense imposed upon it by the Bishop of Rome, as binding you to any dependence on his see. Paul the Third wrote to your royal father, *Didst thou not promise, when crowned by our permission, to forsake the devil and all his works, and dost thou run to heresy? For the breach of this thy promise, knowest thou not, that it is in our power to dispose of thy sword and sceptre to whom we please?* We, however, dread sovereign, of your Majesty's clergy, do humbly conceive that this promise implies no subserviency to the Roman See. Your ancestors received their crowns from God, and they could not resign them to the Bishop of Rome, or to his legates, without a breach of their coronation oaths. It is true that the Archbishops of Canterbury have been used to crown and anoint your predecessors, and it is asserted, that their authority to perform these offices is derived from Rome. But even were that assertion true, it could not be endured that an Archbishop should presume to approve or reject a Prince upon the grounds of his subservience, or

of his opposition to the Roman see. In truth, the rites of coronation are mere ceremonies which affect not an individual's title to the throne: they are, indeed, important ceremonies, for they admonish kings of their duty towards God. The dignity of him who is the object of this august ceremonial renders it becoming that the most distinguished of the clergy should anoint his sovereign. But if that ecclesiastic refuse to officiate upon such an occasion, any other prelate may be called upon to supply his place: nor is the royal title at all invalidated because the officer, upon whom it properly devolves to crown his king, has declined the office. Nor does the bishop of Rome, nor any prelate owning his authority, possess the right to make stipulations with a sovereign upon these ceremonies. The officiating bishop may indeed admonish the inaugurated king of what God requires at his hands, namely, religion and virtue. Not, therefore, as authorised by the bishop of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus Christ, I shall now humbly remind your Majesty of the duties which have devolved upon you. Your Highness, then, as God's vicegerent within your dominions, is bound to see that among those committed to your governance, God be truly worshipped, idolatry destroyed, images removed, and the tyranny of the Roman bishops overthrown. You are to reward virtue, to punish crime, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to promote peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realm. For examples of the

happiness attending such kings as performed these duties, and of the miseries inflicted upon such as neglected them, the Old Testament may be advantageously consulted. We find there, the acts of Josiah especially, recorded in a manner which will render his name illustrious until the end of days. Of these things I admonish your Majesty merely because I am bound by my function so to do; not because I have any commission to deprive you of the crown should you fail in the performance of your duty; much less because I have any power to make stipulations in favour of the Roman bishop, such as were made by your predecessors King John, and his son King Henry. I shall therefore only add; may the Almighty God of his mercy cause the light of his countenance to shine upon you, may he grant you a prosperous and happy reign, may he defend and save you: and let your subjects say, Amen[n].

A happy result immediately flowing from the King's coronation was the customary grant of a general pardon[o]. This terminated the persecutions instituted under the detestable act of Six

[n] This address of Cranmer's "was found among the inestimable collections of Archbishop Usher." Strype. Mem. Cranm. 205.

[o] From the benefit of this, six individuals were excluded, *viz.* the Duke of Norfolk; Edward, Lord Courtney, son to the late Marquess of Exeter; Cardinal Pole; Dr. Richard Pates, who attended the council of Trent as Bishop of Worcester, a see of which he actually gained possession in Queen Mary's reign; Fortescue and Throgmorton, of whom "I have found nothing but the names." Heylin. Hist. Ref. 33.

Articles. The relief, however, came too late for one victim of that iniquitous statute. Thomas Dobbs, once a fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, had been committed to Bread-street counter for expostulating with the people, assembled round one of the altars in St. Paul's cathedral, upon the impious folly of adoring the uplifted wafer. In prison this enlightened Christian's health rapidly declined, and before the royal amnesty restored to liberty and usefulness the incarcerated sufferers for conscience' sake, death had summoned him away[p]. The pious band now allowed to quit the noisome dungeon, and once more to labour for the common good, was gradually augmented by arrivals from abroad. Learned Englishmen who, having sought for the principles of Popery in vain amidst the sacred records, and the genuine remains of ecclesiastical antiquity, had preferred exile to dissimulation, now gladly shaped their course again towards the land which gave them birth. Among these expatriated divines Miles Coverdale, the martyred Tyndale's coadjutor in translating Scripture, was not one of the least illustrious. Their paternal soil was once more trodden also, about this time, by Hooper, Philpot, and Rogers, three conscientious ecclesiastics who joined eventually that "noble army of martyrs" which led the true Catholic Church of England to a glorious triumph over her infatuated foes[q].

[p] Foxe, 1180.

[q] Heylin. Hist. Ref. 34.

It was highly to the advantage of the reforming cause that its most powerful political adversary soon reduced himself to insignificance by his own indiscretion. The Chancellor, although foiled in his endeavours to prevent any one member of the regency from occupying a more conspicuous place than the rest, had not laid aside his hopes of acquiring the chief sway in the government. Still calculating, probably, upon Somerset's moderate abilities, and upon the Primate's strictly professional character, Southampton determined to relinquish his judicial duties, and to employ his attention wholly upon state affairs. He ventured, accordingly, upon his own responsibility to put the great seal into commission, on the 18th of February. Sir Robert Southwell, master of the rolls, John Tregonnel, John Oliver, and Anthony Bellasis, masters in chancery, were the commissioners appointed by him; and they were empowered to decide all causes brought before the court of chancery, only their decrees before being enrolled were to be signed by the Lord Chancellor himself[r]. Of the individuals thus commissioned, Oliver and Bellasis were clergymen: a circumstance which afforded a plausible pretext for the overthrowing of Southampton's scheme. The laity, being now far better qualified than formerly for the public service, viewed with a fast-increasing jealousy the appointment of clergymen

[r] The commission is printed by Bishop Burnet. Hist. Ref. Records II. 135.

to secular employments; and accordingly the common lawyers were disgusted on learning that two ecclesiastics were empowered to preside in the court of chancery. This feeling found a vent in a petition which they presented to the council, complaining of the Chancellor's arrangement as one not unlikely to give the canonists an opportunity for superseding by their maxims the provisions of the common law. This petition together with the commission which gave occasion to it were referred by the council to the judges. Southampton took violent offence at these proceedings, using menaces both towards the petitioners and the judges. But neither party heeded him; and on the last day of February, it was determined, as the opinion of the judicial bench, that the Lord Chancellor's unauthorised act had, by the common law, rendered him liable to the loss of his office, together with fine and imprisonment, at the royal pleasure [1]. On the 6th of March this decision of the judges, properly authenticated by their respective signatures, was formally communicated to the council, and it was proposed to deliberate upon the course now necessary to be pursued. Southampton then assumed a lofty tone, telling Somerset, that the chancellorship was holden by a far better title than the protectorate, and asserting, that his place in the regency, being conferred upon him by the late king, under parliamentary authority, was not voidable at the

[1] Ibid. 136.

pleasure of his brother executors. He admitted, however, that in undertaking, upon his own sole responsibility, to place the great seal in commission, he had done an act which a majority of the council could render ineffectual. To these things it was answered, that no one of the late king's executors being empowered to act independently of the majority, it must be supposed, that the instrument in debate was framed upon some specific authority; and such authority the Chancellor was required to produce. Southampton was then driven to admit, that, having no authority for his act, he must throw himself upon the council's merciful consideration; adding, that if it should be deemed advisable to displace him, he hoped that this severity would be exercised without any unnecessary harshness; and, intreating, that should fine and imprisonment embitter his disgrace, those penalties, on account of his past services, should be inflicted on him with moderation. After this humiliating appeal, he was ordered to withdraw. The following entry in the council-book records the decision on his case. "The counsellors considering in their consciences his abuses sundry ways in his office, to the great prejudice and utter decay of the common laws, and the prejudice that might follow by the seals continuing in the hands of so stout and arrogant a person, who would as he pleased put the seals to such commissions without warrant, did agree, that the seals be taken from him, and he be deprived of his office, and be further fined, as should

be afterwards thought fitting." From imprisonment, however, he was excused. Southampton was then again called into the council-chamber, acquainted with the decision upon his case, and desired to state any thing that he might think likely to extenuate his fault. Whatever might be his apology, it was not deemed satisfactory; as he was ordered to betake himself to his residence at Ely House, and there remain until he should receive permission to depart. The great seal was entrusted temporarily to William Paulet, Lord St. John of Basing; and Southampton was not released from restraint until the 29th of June, when he entered into a recognizance of 4000*l.* to pay such fine as should be imposed upon him. Thus was the disgraced Chancellor kept in a state of such abject dependence upon the administration, that his political activity was effectually paralysed, and his spirits were so completely broken, that he confessed the justice of his sentence. By this prudent conduct he disarmed the hostility of his adversaries. No fine was ever imposed upon him, nor was he removed from the posts of executor to the late king's will, and guardian to the reigning Prince. It was thought sufficient to exclude him from an active participation in the government, and to subdue his spirit by the apprehension of a ruinous fine[1].

Southampton's influence and resolution being thus annihilated, it was determined on the 13th

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 27.

of March, that Somerset should hold the protectorate by patent; an arrangement said to be required in order to satisfy foreign ambassadors, who scrupled to recognise an authority merely conferred by an agreement among the late King's executors. This plan being carried into execution, the Protector was formally invested with the supreme authority during his nephew's minority, and there were assigned to him, as advisers in this arduous trust, both the executors, and the extraordinary counsellors nominated in Henry's will: who were all now named together without any distinction; no small gratification to those originally intended only to assist in occasional deliberations[w]. The advantage accruing to the reforming party from Somerset's elevation was increased by the absence of a countervailing influence. The Duke of Norfolk, long known as the most influential champion of Romanism, was a condemned prisoner in the Tower, Bishop Gardiner, the main spring of his party's motions, was under a political cloud, Bishop Boner was abroad as ambassador at the Imperial court[x]. Of the more important friends to the religion of their immediate progenitors, only Bishop Tunstall was so circumstanced as to possess any power of staying the progress of reform; and he, from his learning and candour, was likely to make such

[w] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records. II. 137.

[x] Whither he had been sent before the late king's death. (Heylin. Hist. Ref. 33.) He was, however, soon afterwards recalled. Hayward. 277.

concessions and admissions as a mere Romish partizan would carefully avoid.

Gardiner, however, though unconnected with the government, was no inattentive or inactive spectator of passing events. On the first Friday in Lent, Bishop Barlow, of St. David's, preached a sermon in the chapel royal, and the Bishop of Winchester was one of his hearers. His discourse was levelled at the corruptions of the Roman Church, and it detailed the outlines of a plan for the reformation of religion. This *tattling* as Bishop Gardiner uncourteously designated the sermon, was heard by that prelate with extreme impatience, and he lost no time in writing to the Protector upon the danger of ecclesiastical innovation at that juncture, and upon the duty of those who desired a change to reserve their plans, until the King's majority; when the government might safely venture upon important acts, and when individuals would have had ample time to digest their schemes. This letter being transmitted by Somerset to Bishop Barlow was by him answered, and the reply was conveyed to the Bishop of Winchester; who, in another epistle to the Protector, animadverted with no little freedom upon his adversary's arguments[y]. Before Lent was over, Dr. Glazier, who had formerly been a friar, but was now Archbishop Cranmer's commissary for Calais, informed the people from the pulpit, at St. Paul's Cross, that the fast kept at that season was not of Divine appointment, but

[y] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 38.

a mere human institution which might be broken without incurring sin [z].

The ablest attack, however, made upon Popery in the Lent sermons of this year proceeded from an illustrious divine, who henceforth to the termination of his earthly course filled that space in the public eye which was justly due to his eminent virtue, talents, and learning. Nicholas Ridley was born about the beginning of the century at Wilmontswick, in Northumberland, where the family, of which his father was a younger son, had occupied the knightly rank, during many generations [a]. The younger Ridley was sent to school at Newcastle upon Tyne, and thence when verging upon manhood, he was transferred, at the expence of his uncle, Dr. Robert Ridley, to Pembroke Hall in Cambridge [b]. In the University he

[z] Ibid. 40. Dr. Glazier's opinion upon the Lent fast, might be derived from St. Austin, and others of the ancients, who say indeed that Christ left us the example of such a fast, but deny that either He or his Apostles expressly enjoined it. (Bingham. II. 340.) There is reason to believe that the Quadragesimal fast originally was kept only during the forty hours intervening between Good-Friday and Easter-day, the time, namely, during which our Saviour lay in the grave. (Ibid. 338.) It is, however, certain, that until the beginning of the seventh century, the fast was not kept for more than thirty-six days, or six weeks, abstracting the Sundays. Ibid. 340.

[a] Nicholas Ridley's father was the third son of the gentleman in possession of the family estates. "The second son was John, father to Dr. Lancelot Ridley, preacher in the church of Canterbury; and a fourth son was Dr. Robert Ridley, a celebrated divine and canonist in the reign of King Henry VIII." Ridley's Life of Bp. Ridley. 2.

[b] "When he came to Cambridge, about the year 1518, he

became so conspicuous for piety and application, that the senior members of University College in Oxford would fain have elected him to one of their exhibitions. This appointment, however, he declined, and he was shortly afterwards elected to a fellowship of his own college[c]. His uncle, who stood high in the confidence of Bishop Tunstall, from whom he had obtained a liberal provision in the Church, was determined, that so promising a genius should not remain in obscurity for want of sufficient culture, and accordingly he supplied the young Ridley with the means of studying at Paris and Louvain. After his return to England he filled the office of proctor at Cambridge, and while in that situation, it became his duty to sign the judgment of the University which denied that any jurisdiction over England is divinely assigned to the Roman bishop. But however firmly Ridley might have been persuaded of this unquestionable truth, he had not then shaken off the bulk of those prejudices amidst which his mind had been matured. His theological re-

found it in some disturbance occasioned by setting up the Pope's indulgences upon the school-gates, over which was written this verse of the Psalmist, *Blessed is the man that hath set his hope in the Lord; and turned not unto the proud, and to such as go about with lies.* (Ps. xl. 5. Transl. of the Com. Pr.) The person who stuck it up, though then unknown, was excommunicated by the chancellor of that university, Bishop Fisher. It seems it was one Peter de Valence, a Norman." Ibid. 48.

[c] "Cranmer and Ridley, so closely linked together afterwards, were both invited to accept fellowships in Oxford in the same year, and both refused," Ibid. 64.

searches had chiefly lain among the schoolmen, and although he had early directed his attention to Scripture, he was slow in discerning the corrupt innovations of Romanism. His well-known acquaintance, however, with Scripture and the fathers induced Cranmer to desire his assistance, and in the year 1537, he became, in quality of chaplain, a member of the archiepiscopal family. In the following year his patron preferred him to the vicarage of Herne in Kent, of which he personally performed the duties, greatly to the benefit of his parishioners. After two years' residence in this retirement, he was recalled to Cambridge as master of his college, and on the restoration of Canterbury cathedral to its ancient state, he was appointed one of its prebendaries. Professional engagements did not, however, induce him to discontinue his studies. On the contrary, his attention was ever anxiously and laboriously fixed upon the controversies which have rendered his age so famous. The result of this honourable perseverance was, a gradual, but a firm conviction, that Popery being the religion neither of Scripture, nor ecclesiastical antiquity, must be steadily opposed by every Christian minister who knows his duty, and hopes to give no ill account of his important trust hereafter.

On Ash-Wednesday, Dr. Ridley, being appointed to preach in the chapel royal, expressed his determination to expose, as far as in him lay, the papal usurpations, and the evil of indulgences. He then adverted to the danger of using

images as instruments of devotion, and to the folly of supposing that devils could be repelled by the lustral water of Paganism, naturalised in the Roman Church, under the ridiculous name of *Holy Water*[d].

[d] "The Pagans were sprinkled with water as they entered the idol-temples. So are the Romish worshippers." (Owen on Image-worship. Lond. 1709. p. 282.) "Every person who came to the solemn sacrifices (among the Pagan Greeks,) was purified by water. To which end at the entrance of the temples there was commonly placed a vessel full of holy water." (Potter's Antiquities. Lond. 1728. I. 220.) Virgil, in the following passages mentions these sprinklings.

"*Dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lympha,*"
ÆN. iv. 635.

"*Occupat Æneas aditum, corpusque recenti*
Spargit aqua, ramumque adverso in limine figit."
Ibid. vi. 635.

The Delphin editor makes the following remark upon the former of these passages. "*Notant autem interpretes; ad sacra superorum Deorum ablutionem adhibitam; ad sacra inferorum, solam aspersionem.*" A belief in the efficacy of lustral water to influence infernal spirits is, therefore, evidently of Pagan origin. It should be observed, that attached to churches in primitive times was commonly a cloistered court, in the midst of which stood a bason of water, used for washing the hands of persons about to enter the church. From this usage the Romish writers would fain deduce their holy water, as they call it. This use of water, however, among the primitive "Christians was only an indifferent ceremony of corporal decency, or at most but an admonishing emblem of that purity of soul, with which men ought to enter the courts of the most Holy God. And therefore any one that compares these matters nicely together, must conclude that the latter custom (that of using holy water) is but a fond imitation, or mere corruption of the former; if it owe not its original to a worse fountain, the περιραντήρια, or sprinkling with

Bishop Gardiner, being present at the delivery of this discourse, addressed on the next Monday a letter to the preacher, to the following effect[e]. I fully admit, Master Ridley, as matters indisputable, what you preached at court, on Wednesday last, against the Bishop of Rome's pretended authority, and against indulgences. Upon what you said respecting images and holy water, the candour which you professed, and my own desire of unity lead me to send you some observations. From Eusebius[f] it appears that the use of images is very ancient in the Church, and therefore to affirm that we may not have them, nor call upon them, when they represent Christ or his saints are opinions too gross for admission into your learned head, whatever the ignorant may tattle. As for the text, *Thou shalt not make unto thee any*

holy water, so often spoken of among the Heathen. The things are so like one another, that some modern transcribers of Sozomen have mistaken them for one another. For whereas Sozomen speaking of Julian's going into a temple to sacrifice, in Gaul, with Valentinian to attend him, says 'the priest sprinkled them with water as they went in *according to the heathen custom*;' Valesius has observed that in some copies, it is read *according to ecclesiastical custom*, instead of *heathen custom*: which he imputes to some modern transcribers, who were minded to make church-holy-water of it; whom he ingenuously chastises for their ignorance, or impudence, in corrupting good authors." Bingham. I. 290.

[e] Foxe, 1226. Where the Bishop's letter is to be seen at length.

[f] "Euseb. Cæsar. saith that he saw the pictures of Paul and Peter kept with a certain Christian man, but yet he saith not that these pictures were set up in any church." Ibid. 1227.

graven image, you know that it no more forbids us at this time to use images than another text forbids us to eat blood puddings. If, however, *to the pure all kinds of food be pure*, there is no reason why to the same persons all objects of sight should not also be pure. To assert, therefore, that image and idol are virtually the same is not less unreasonable than to say this of king and tyrant; since the latter of these words meant originally no more than the former. In retaining images we do no more than Luther did, for he, though earnest in depriving them of honour, contended stoutly for keeping them in their accustomed places. All that is to be feared respecting images is an excess in worshipping them; but of this the Roman Church hath taken especial care, and therefore we cannot say that this evil arose from Popery. Indeed we find that Gregory the Great condemned alike, in writing to the Bishop of Marseilles[g], the adoration and the

[g] "About the year 600, images began to be worshipped in some places, for which reason, Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, broke them, and threw them out of the church, as appears by Gregory, Bishop of Rome's letter to him, in which he tells him, That he was informed that he had broken, and cast out of the church the images which he had observed some to worship. He commends his zeal against worshipping that which is made with hands, but judges that he ought not to destroy those images, because pictures are therefore set up in churches, that such as cannot read, may behold on the walls what they cannot read in books." (Owen on Image-worship, 67.) That Gregory, superstitious as he was, differed essentially, upon the subject of images, from his more modern successors in that see, which some men, who ought to know better, represent as infallible, is unde-

breaking of images, observing that it is one thing to worship the representation, and another to

niable. In another epistle to Serenus, he says, "If any will make images do not forbid it; *but by all means forbid the adoration of them*, and carefully admonish people, that by the sight of the representation they stir up compunction in their minds, and humbly prostrate themselves in the adoration of the Holy Trinity only." The Britons and Saxons not converted to Popery. Lond. 1748. p. 372.

In a little tract recently printed, but without date, Romish images are thus defended. "Q. How do you prove that it is lawful to make or keep the image of Christ and his saints? A. Because God himself commanded Moses, Exod. xxv. 18, 19, 20, 21. to make two cherubims of beaten gold, and place them at two ends of the mercy-seat over the ark of the covenant, in the very sanctuary." 'And there,' he says, 22, 'I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy-seat, from between the two cherubims which are upon the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel.' God also commanded, Numb. xxi. 8, 9, a serpent of brass to be made, for the healing of those who were bit by the fiery serpent; which serpent was an emblem of Christ, John iii. 14, 15." (The Grounds of the Catholic Doctrine, contained in the Profession of Faith published by Pope Pius IV. and now in use for the reception of converts into the Church. By way of question and answer p. 52.) This expounder of Scripture has, however, omitted to inform his readers, that the golden cherubims being placed "in the very sanctuary," to which the high priest alone ever had admission, and he but once in a year, never could be seen by either priests or people, (very different this from a Popish altar;) and also that Hezekiah who, says the sacred historian, "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, brake in pieces the brasen serpent that Moses had made: *for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it:* and he called it Nehushtan." II Kings xviii. 4. Thus it appears that Hezekiah, seeing the Israelites use an image made at the commandment of God, in

learn from it what one ought to worship. That abuses have occasionally sprung from images as from every thing else, is undeniable; but in general they have been considered merely as holy remembrances of Christ and his saints. Nor has the reverence paid to them been bestowed upon the materials of which they are formed, but only upon that object which they represent. Hence those who condemn all use of images should, upon their own principles, condemn persons for wearing a cross about their necks, and the knights of the Garter for wearing the George [h]. In time such scrupulous people might go so far as to forbid carving and engraving altogether; in which case we should be obliged to give up printing, for the types are cast in a graven matrice [i]. But

the same way that Papists use images made in defiance of God's commandments, broke the venerable image into pieces, and pronounced it to be no better than a *brasen bauble*. For this conduct Hezekiah is commended in Scripture, and yet, the brasen serpent is even in these days brought forward as an authority for one of the basest superstitions of Popery.

[h] "Yea, but what knight of that order kneeleth or prayeth to that George that hangeth about his neck?" Foxe, 1227.

[i] "If ye did see any printer yet to do worship to his graven letters, then might you well seek thus, as ye do, a knot in a rush." (Foxe, 1227.) This reasoning, however, or at least what Bp. Gardiner meant for such, is adopted by the commentator who defends Popish images by citing the golden cherubims, and the brasen serpent. "If all likenesses were forbid by this commandment (the second) we should be obliged to *fling* down our sign-posts, and to deface the King's coin." (*Grounds* of the Cath. Doctr. 52.) It is indeed unquestionable that when we see great numbers of persons, not thought to require protec-

as probably no man would undertake to decry letter-founding and other useful arts as forbidden by the Divine law; so ought no man to say this of carving images to represent venerable objects, and of treating such figures with due respect.

"Upon the subject of holy water, I send to you the history of Marcellus, the bishop, who, having hallowed water, bade Equitius, his deacon, sprinkle it about: which being done, the devil instantly vanished. For my part, I think that this history may be true, for we are assured in Scripture, that in the name of God, the Church is able to cast out devils, and I see no reason why, the Divine name having been first invoked over it, water may not have the effect of conveying this holiness. Our Lord's garment ministered health to the woman with an issue of blood, his spittle mingled with clay conveyed sight to the blind: St. Peter's shadow, and St. Paul's handkerchiefs were beneficial to the sick. But leaving old stories; here at home, the special gift of curation ministered by the kings of this realm, not of their own strength, but by invocation of God's name, hath been usually distributed in rings of gold and silver. In these, I really think, that the metal hath only an office, and that its power is derived solely from the invocation over it of God's name. Upon this principle, I think that

tion from the court of chancery, saying prayers, offering incense, lighting candles, and making obeisances before a crown piece, or the Saracen's Head, it will be high time to deface the one, or to fling down the other.

the Church may put water to certain offices, and may therefore use it as the means of conveying her power to drive away devils: which it is said she did, in the history mentioned above. Some people, perhaps, will say, that they are not bound to believe this history, since it is no Scripture; but with such men one could not reason as to the effect of the King's cramp rings. Yet to obtain these, great interest was made with me when I was in France, and I was offered twice as much money for them as they were worth. Men indeed affirm, that they have done much service, and so likewise the history affirms, that holy water did much service. Our late master continued all his life to exercise that gift of God, and used the precious metals to convey the virtue of the Divine name invoked by him: yet after due enquiries made, he found, that he had no Scripture for his warrant. The same may be said of the ashes ministered a little before you last preached: yet our young King received them with reverence; and so I trust that he will be admonished not to neglect the Divine gift of caution, but that he will follow therein the example of his father, and of others, his royal progenitors. Percase some younglings may be found to say that worldly, wily, witty bishops, in order to beget a reverence for their own benedictions, have inveigled simple kings to bless objects also, hoping that authority may establish that which truth cannot. Indeed I have had it objected to me that I always prove one piece of my argu-

ment by a king. As thus, If ye allow nothing but Scripture, what say you to the royal cramp rings? But these are allowed: *Ergo*, something besides Scripture is allowed. Again, If images be forbidden, why doth the King wear the George upon his breast? But the King does thus wear the George: *Ergo*, images are not forbidden. Again, if saints are not to be worshipped, why keep we St. George's feast? But we do keep St. George's feast: *Ergo*, saints are to be worshipped[k]. So likewise as to holy water: If the Divine name invoked over cramp rings may drive away diseases, why may it not, invoked over water, drive away devils? But rings hallowed by the Church may drive away diseases: *Ergo*, water hallowed by the Church may drive away devils. These were sore arguments in his late Majesty's time, and I trust may be also yet, serving to stop the mouths of such as would never make an end of talk, but would rake up every obstacle which their dull sight cannot penetrate[l]."

This letter, being enclosed in one to the Protector, was by him communicated to Dr. Ridley; who wrote a reply to it, but this is not known to

[k] "Lammas fair is kept: *Ergo*, lambs are to be worshipped." Foxe, 1228.

[l] Those who desire farther to illustrate the virtues of lustral water upon the principle so happily suggested by Bishop Gardiner may see the office for the benediction of cramp rings in Wilkins, (Concil. Magn. Brit.) Queen Mary resumed the preparation of these royal amulets. Since her days, however, the whole English nation has managed to go on without cramp rings, and nearly the whole of it without holy water.

be extant [m]. The reason, probably, which urged Bishop Gardiner to take the field so early in a cause but little likely to feed a skilful tactician's hopes, was a conviction, that his sect's ascendancy mainly depends upon the patronage afforded by it to vulgar superstition, and that a spirit then abroad aimed at wresting from Popery all her means to fascinate the weak and ignorant. The King was scarcely seated on his throne when the incumbent and church-wardens of St. Martin's Ironmonger-lane, in London, having removed from their church the images, pictures, and crucifix, supplied the places of these long-venerated objects by texts of Scripture [n], and the royal arms. The more superstitious and artful Romanists being disgusted by such an innovation, a memorial complaining of the act was presented to the council, in the names of the Bishop, and

[m] Life of Bp. Ridley, 203.

[n] Among the primitive Christians "the walls of the church seem commonly to have had some select portions of Scripture written upon them." (Bingham, I. 318.) As men professing themselves Christians can hardly object, without taking leave of decency, to this mode of decorating church-walls, it was alleged against the texts inscribed upon the walls of St. Martin's that some of them were "according to a perverse translation." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 14.) It does, indeed, appear that one of the texts stood thus, *Thou shalt make no graven images, lest thou worship them.* (Bp. Gardiner to Dr. Ridley. Foxe, 1227.) This gloss, however, has at least the merit of expressing plainly what the passage of Scripture means: not so the Romish gloss, *with intent to do to them* (i. e. images) *any godly honour;* for sophistry would easily involve the words *godly honour*, when addressed to an ignorant mind, in obscurity sufficient for any purpose.

the Lord Mayor of London. The minister of St. Martin's with his church-wardens were in consequence called upon to answer for their conduct. Their excuse was, that the parish having lately incurred great expence in repairing its church was unable, from poverty, to substitute new images for such as were found to be wholly decayed, and that others were removed on account of the idolatrous honours which they continued to receive. With this apology the Romish members of the council were far from being satisfied, and they contended that such unauthorised acts ought by all means to be severely checked at the beginning of a reign, in order to prevent daring spirits from imagining that they might securely spurn all authority. But Archbishop Cranmer argued, that images in churches being unknown in primitive times, and having led undoubtedly during many ages to enormous abuses, no great blame could attach to persons entrusted with the concerns of a parish for having lightened its burthens by omitting to provide expensive objects of doubtful utility at best. To this rational view of the case a majority of the council being inclined, the accused parties were informed that in consequence of their submission, with other mitigating circumstances, imprisonment would not be inflicted upon them; but they were desired to provide a crucifix, or at least some painting of one, until such an ornament could be made ready, and to beware in future of such rashness as they had lately shewn. This incident encouraged the well-

informed friends of scriptural Christianity to calculate upon the favour or connivance of the government in every thing that they might undertake for the overthrow of superstition. Nor were those at the head of affairs backward in confirming this calculation: they even ventured without express legislative authority to make an innovation in the public service of the church, the Complin being sung in English by the choir of the royal chapel on Easter-Monday, the 11th of April °.

° Stow. The Complin was the last of those Romish services, which, being performed at stated intervals during the course of the natural day, were usually called the Canonical Hours. "Each Canonical Hour was presumed to consist of three smaller; and the whole night and day was thus divided into the eight services of Matins, Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Completorium or Complin." (Fosbrook's British Monachism, 58.) This devotional distribution of the day appears to have originated among the oriental monks. (Bingham, I. 261.) The Romanists would fain derive their Canonical Hours from Apostolical authority, because it is related (Acts iii. 1.) "Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour:" that is, in Romish language, at the hour of Nones. The truth, however, is, that the Evening Sacrifice being offered up at that time, pious residents in Jerusalem commonly then repaired to the temple for the purpose of being present at it. But neither do the Apostles make any mention in their writings of these appointed hours, nor does it appear, that Christians at a distance from Jerusalem paid any attention to them. Tertullian is the earliest writer who speaks of the Hours, and he had then joined the Montanists, with whose ascetic notions such observances were strictly conformable. After him Cyprian talks of the Third, Sixth, and Ninth hours; but he alleges no Apostolic authority for the performance of prayer at these times, only the example of Daniel. (Pearsonii Lect. in Act. Apost. inter

On May-day the tide of popular opinion, now beginning to set in strongly against those objects of superstitious regard which had long beguiled the nation, caused at Portsmouth an event of considerable notoriety. The people of that town tumultuously pulled down, and defaced the images of Christ, and the saints. Bishop Gardiner, being then at Winchester, was soon apprised of the shock thus given to those prejudices which render Romanism so alluring to the heart of fallen man; and on the 3rd of May he despatched a letter upon

Op. Posth. Lond. 1688. p. 40.) Dr. Hickes has printed at the end of the letters which passed between him, and a Popish priest, the canonical hours in Saxon and English, as used by our national clergy, before the Conquest. They are seven in number, *viz.* 1. *Uht-sang*, the service for midnight: 2. *Dæg-red-sang*, that for the first peep of dawn: 3. *Prim-sang*, that for the early morning: 4. *Undern-sang*, that for nine in the forenoon: 5. *Mid-dæg-sang*, that for noon: 6. *Non-sang*, that for three in the afternoon: 7. *Æfen-sang*, that for the evening. In some formularies, these hours are rather differently reckoned up. In one case, the series is made up to the number seven, by *Niht-sang*, *Dæg-red-sang* being omitted. In another case, the same omission occurs, and *Uht-sang* comes last. These offices consist in portions of the Psalms, of some hymns, of the creed, and of Scripture; in the Lord's prayer, some collects, and versicles, all in Latin, but generally followed by a very diffuse Saxon paraphrase. It is satisfactory to observe, that these offices are untainted by Popery. Confession is made to the Lord God of Heaven, but nothing is said of confessing to saints: nor is any invocation made to them. A hope, only, is expressed, that they may be interceding in the suppliant's behalf for such a measure of divine grace as may render him worthy of heavenly aid and salvation. "*Intercedant pro nobis peccatoribus ad Dominum dominorum, ut mereamur ab eo adjuvari, et salvari.*"

the subject of the recent irregularity to the mayor of Portsmouth, and another to Captain Vaughan, the officer in command there. The latter communication was to the following effect. '" Master Vaughan, having lately written to my Lord Protector, that in this county every thing is rightly ordered, I am concerned to hear, that within these two days, a great and detestable innovation has been made in the town of Portsmouth; where, as I am told, the images of our Saviour, and his saints, have been pulled down, and spitefully handled. To you, therefore, I apply, both as one of his majesty's chief ministers in the place, and as an acquaintance whom I have much esteemed, for the purpose of learning the particulars of the case, the names of those implicated in it, and your opinion as to the expediency of sending some one to preach against the feeling which seems now to prevail around you. I would use the pulpit, if mere wantonness has moved the populace; in the expectation of preventing farther folly. But to a multitude persuaded, that images ought to be destroyed, I would never preach: for as the Scripture teaches, we should not cast pearls before swine. Now, such as are infected with that opinion are swine, and worse than swine, if any grosser beasts there be. In England such people have been called Lollards, and their hatred of images has gone to so great lengths that they have thought the arts of painting and sculpture to be superfluous, pernicious, and against God's laws. In Germany, Luther, after tunning all his

brewings, threw aside opinions unfavourable to images; thus treating such notions as meat for hogs. The destruction of images, indeed, tends to the subversion of religion, and of social order; especially of the nobility, who by means of images publicly displayed inform men, in characters which all can read, of their lineage, rank, and services. The pursuivant also carries on his breast, not the king's name inscribed in letters which few can spell, but the lions, flowers de luce, and other figures, which all men, be they never so rude, are able to understand [p]. In the great seal too, a man unable to read the inscription, yet reading St. George on horseback on one side [q], and his Majesty in state on the other, would not break up the wax, while whole, in order to make a candle of it, but when he looks upon the figures, would respectfully pull off his cap. If, however, what Lollards say about Idolatry should gain farther

[p] There is no difficulty in conceding to the Romanists that images serve as books to the unlearned, but it should never be forgotten, that as Bishop Gardiner says, there are false books, as well as true ones, and it should therefore be considered, which of these two sorts of books are images. The unerring word of God tells us that they are of the former sort. Habakkuk asks (ii. 18.) "What profiteth the graven image that the maker thereof hath graven it; the molten image, *and a teacher of lies*, that the maker of his work trusteth therein, to make dumb idols?" From Jeremiah likewise (x. 8.) we learn that "the stock is *a doctrine of vanities*." Thus were unlettered Englishmen, (an immense majority at the time of the Reformation,) to learn from *teachers of lies*, and *a doctrine of vanities*.

[q] ——— "Bonus dormitat Homerus." Hor. A. P. 359.

ground, the people may indeed continue to reverence his majesty when they see him in person, but to his standards, or his arms, they will cease to pay the least respect. Yet when the Emperor's money, bearing his image, was shewn to Christ, he did not say that the piece was coined in violation of the second commandment: he treated Cæsar's image with civility, and enjoined, that the money should be duly applied to the imperial use. There is, indeed, no Scripture reproving truth, but all Scripture reproves falsehood. False books, false images, and false men, are all pernicious and contemptible. It is a terrible thing, that a prejudice against images should trouble any man's head, for I have known some, vexed with that devil, wondrously obstinate; and if such people can obtain a little help from any that can spell some Latin, their madness is more difficult of cure, than ever was that of the Jews; and they slander whatever is said to them for their relief. If, therefore, it were certified to me, that there are many of that sort with you, I would not irritate them by fruitless preaching, but make suit for a reformation to my Lord Protector. But if you, and the mayor think other modes likely to avail, I would gladly advise upon them with you: since I take the matter to which this relates to be such an enterprise against Christ's religion, as that no man instigated by the devil can excogitate a greater[r]."

[r] Foxe, 1219.

This letter was soon followed by a visit made to Portsmouth by the Bishop, in person. He was there received with all the respect due to his exalted station, entertained in Vaughan's own house, and allowed an opportunity of addressing the soldiers in the garrison[s]: but it does not appear that he ventured upon advocating from the pulpit, before the townspeople at large, the cause of images. He however wrote upon the subject to the Protector, and Vaughan did the same, enclosing with his letter that which he had previously received from the Bishop of Winchester. Somerset, addressing the prelate, thus answered both these communications.

"From two sensible and learned letters written by your Lordship, one to Master Vaughan, the other to myself, I perceive, that you are very earnest against innovation, as likely to endanger the public peace; but you should consider that the very cry which you raise upon this subject is not unlikely to produce the anticipated evil. As to images, the order made in the late king's time for the removal of such as had been abused to idolatry, has been evaded in many places by the culpable connivance of individuals. This neglect has proved a fruitful source of contention, and although it is not desired to remove images altogether, yet it were better to do so than to let any stand which may provoke the wrath of God, and furnish occasion for the controversies of rival preachers.

[s] Bishop Gardiner to the Protector; dated June 6. Ibid. 1224.

In the last reign, when Scripture bred dissension, it was taken away from the generality of men. Images, however, the kind of books most liable to abuse, were left in great numbers; thus more honour was shewn to the doubtful teaching of images, than to the sincere Word of God; and people were left with temptations before their eyes, but not allowed the means of accurately learning their duty. To guard against the return of so great an evil, it seems to me, that great diligence ought to be employed in removing all images which have been abused; since the interest of some priests, the ignorance of the laity, and the proneness of man to idolatry, are very likely to revive these abuses. Those who think it terrible and detestable to destroy images, because they have led to idolatry, should recollect what has been done with books containing God's undoubted Word, which have been burnt and defaced, because the translation did not give satisfaction. Images, it is said, are great letters, fit for the reading of ignorant people: big however as they are, many have been known to read them amiss, and therefore, belike, God, fearing that the Jews would become evil readers of them, forbade them to that nation altogether. Nor is it any marvel, that in reading them the lay people should often be deceived, since your Lordship hath read St. George on horseback on the great seal; when, as an inscription in no very small letters testifieth, the figure is that of the King's Highness in armour. This perhaps is not the only error caused

by images respecting St. George, for some men seeing that his existence cannot be proved from authentic history, have thought that his name and legend were originally invented to render venerable the statues of Perseus or Bellerophon. The same reason has caused a belief that Polyphemus, Hercules, or some other colossus of ancient mythology, was the origin of St. Christopher. Such misapprehensions being likely to flow from images it need not be regretted, that the more ignorant among men should have little or no opportunity to read such deceitful books, but it is a great hardship, that all who cannot read Greek, and Latin, should be restrained from searching for the truth in God's undoubted Word. Your Lordship's distinction between true and false images is not easy to understand; because, if no images be false which represent things either past or present, then the images of heathen gods ought not to have been destroyed, since these, according to the opinions of many learned men, represent persons who once lived upon the earth[t]. But if that

[t] "The polytheism of the Pagan nations was no other than this, the worshipping, besides one Supreme God, of other created beings, as the ministers of his providence, and as middles or mediators betwixt him and men." (Cudworth's Intellectual System, Lond. 1678. p. 468.) Paganism and Popery, therefore, with respect to inferior mediators, stand upon precisely the same grounds. The better informed Pagans addressed the spirits of their early progenitors, supposed to be in heaven, for their intercession with the Supreme Being. The more discerning Papists do the same by the spirits of real or pretended saints. Ignorant Pagans, probably treated Jupiter as the Supreme Be-

be a false image which has been abused to idolatry, and the brasen serpent, though a type of Christ, when thus abused, was so treated, then may the images of Christ, our Lady, or the Apostles be false images. Many of these have notoriously been thus abused, and should, therefore, have been removed by your Lordship, long ago; which duty having been neglected, it is no matter of complaint, that others, not so properly called upon to fulfil it, have taken it in hand [u]."

Notwithstanding this rebuff, Bishop Gardiner did not cease to importune the Protector. Bale had published an account of Luther's Christian-like decease, and some observations upon Anne Askew's case, which the Romanists could hardly help feeling to be one of the foulest blots upon their reputation. Inferior wits also attacked in popular rhymes some of the superstitions of Popery. One of these pieces ridiculed compulsory fish-eating, and after detailing the burial of Lent, added that Stephen Stockfish was bequeathed to Stephen Gardiner. Upon these subjects the Bishop of Winchester wrote to Somerset again. He declared, that the same man could not represent as saints both Luther and Anne Askew, without committing a gross inconsistency, since the one believed in the corporal presence, the other

ing himself, and ignorant Papists virtually treat the Virgin, or some other departed spirit, in the same manner. It is also worthy of remark, that Pagans assigned for the invocation of their gods, the same reasons that Papists do for the invocation of their saints." See Cudworth, *ubi supra*.

[u] Foxe, 1220.

was a Sacramentary. He then asserted, that although many states have subsisted without the Roman Bishop's jurisdiction, yet none, since our Saviour's coming, have subsisted in the maintenance of such opinions as the Germans had adopted. From these premises it was inferred, that the polity of Protestant Germany would enjoy no long duration. As for the satires upon Lent, they are declared to portend ruin to the fishmongers, and denounced as likely to encourage gluttony; which being already a national vice, would not know, it was asserted, where to stop, if farther indulged. The Bishop, however, appears not to have feared the shafts of ridicule levelled against Lent, and an indulgence of English appetites, which political events might withdraw, so much as the pains taken by certain preachers to inform the public mind correctly as to the difference between Christ's miraculous abstinence, and the fast of Lent. Accordingly, he mentions, as preferable to these attacks from the pulpit, an anecdote told of a priest, sequestered among the Italian mountains, who, unconscious of the lapse of time, unexpectedly found himself arrived at Palm-Sunday, "You must be satisfied, this Lent," then said the secluded pastor to his congregation, "with the fast of a single week, for at the end of that period, it appears, Easter will be here, and I cannot put off its festivities[x]."

On the 15th of May, Dr. Richard Smyth, master of Whittington College, in London, and reader

[x] Ibid. 1221.

of divinity, at Oxford, publicly retracted, at St. Paul's Cross, some Romish opinions which he had recently exerted himself to maintain. In a treatise upon Tradition published by him, it was asserted, that Christ and his Apostles confided to the care of the Church, many precepts, and doctrines which, though not written, are obligatory upon men, under pain of damnation. This assertion he now denounced as false and tyrannical, unjust, unlawful, and untrue, a needless burthen upon the conscience, founded in fiction, forgery, and superstition, and invented for the purpose of giving power to the Bishop of Rome, and his accomplices. In another tract which he had published, treating of the mass, it was alleged, that Christ offered a sacrifice to the Father not upon the cross, but before his passion in the form of bread and wine, and that the mass-priest offers not only the Lord's real body, but also offers it to the same effect as that to which it was offered by Christ himself. These opinions Dr. Smyth now denounced as contrary to Scripture, leading to intolerable blasphemies, and introduced into the world by men who rely upon their own inventions, but who neglect God's infallible Word[y]. Within a few days after Smyth had made this recantation, or *retractation*, as he called it, in London, he delivered something very similar to it at Oxford; his conduct, however, there appearing rather ambiguous, he found himself unable to obtain credit

[y] Dr. Smyth's recantation. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 795.

with the reforming party unless he would consent to do in the University, exactly the same that he had done in the metropolis. Accordingly, on the 24th of July, he repeated in Oxford *verbatim* what he had delivered at St. Paul's Cross, acknowledging that his distinction between recantation, and retractation, was frivolous[z]. The reason probably why Dr. Smyth was so backward in recanting before the University, must be sought in the dislike of reform entertained by the leading men there. This feeling had been lately manifested in the case of Dr. John Harley, of Magdalen College, who venturing in the last Lent to preach with extraordinary freedom against the Pope, and some doctrines of the Roman Church, was sent up prisoner to London, in order to take his trial for heresy. His friends, however, had soon the satisfaction to see him return to his college, without having undergone any trial. This incident encouraged the scriptural party in the University to such a degree, that they no longer assumed any reserve as to their opinions, but took such liberties in the churches and chapels as gave great offence to those who were riveted in the prejudices of their youth[a]. Such persons, indeed, were now continually receiving new mortifications, for divines of note came forward, one after another, to abjure opinions which they had been used to maintain[b]. In one case, this change of sentiment

[z] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 62. [a] Collier, II. 222.

[b] "About this time Chadsey, Standish, Yong, Oglethorp and divers others recanted." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 244.

was shewn with a haste somewhat suspicious. In the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, in London, Dr. Perrin, afterwards master of Peter-House in Cambridge, said in a sermon, on St. George's day [c], that the figures of Christ, and the saints were entitled to worship, according to the doctrines of the Catholic Church. On the 17th of the following June, this preacher declared in the pulpit of the same church, that he had been deceived in what he said about image-worship, and that he was sorry to have been the means of encouraging an opinion so erroneous [d]. Perrin, however, like Smyth, and several others, afterwards relapsed into Popery [e], thus rendering his decisions upon any subject of little worth, and affording reason for believing, that in attacking inveterate abuses, he had merely acted with a view to his own advancement.

It was indeed sufficiently evident that no clergyman, could calculate upon the patronage of the crown, unless he was prepared to turn his back upon the corrupt innovations of Popery. Still, however, those who were at the head of affairs proceeded with exemplary prudence, precipitating nothing, but gradually unfolding their well-digested plans in such a manner as to afford them a reasonable hope of satisfying their own consciences, and the just expectations of posterity. As a preliminary measure, these virtuous men to whom England is so much indebted, resolved in

[c] April 23. [d] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 39.
[e] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 61.

April upon holding a royal visitation throughout the kingdom, following the precedent set in the late reign[f]. Accordingly, in the beginning of May, mandates were issued suspending the ordinaries from the customary exercise of their respective jurisdictions, and arrangements were made for exhibiting to the government a complete view of the actual state of the Church, as well as for acquainting the nation thoroughly with the recorded truths of its holy faith. For the purpose of effecting these important objects, the whole kingdom was divided into six circuits, to each of which was assigned a registrar and a preacher, together with certain gentlemen, civilians, or divines[g]. It was, however, found expedient to postpone the intended visitation for a time, and on the 16th of May was removed until farther notice, the restraint imposed upon the exercise of episcopal authority[h]. The order upon which the visitors eventually proceeded in the

[f] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 207.

[g] The following are these circuits. 1. York, Durham, Carlisle, and Chester. To this were assigned, besides the registrar, and preacher, (Dr. Nicholas Ridley) one divine, and one knight. 2. Westminster, London, Norwich, and Ely. Two knights and two civilians. 3. Rochester, Canterbury, Chichester, and Winchester. Three knights, and one civilian. 4. Salisbury, Exeter, Bath and Wells, Bristol, and Gloucester. Two divines, and one knight. 5. Peterborough, Lincoln, Oxford, and Lichfield and Coventry. One divine and one civilian. 6. Worcester, Hereford, and the four Welsh dioceses. Two gentlemen, and a preacher extraordinary for the Welsh tongue. Ibid. 209.

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 41.

discharge of their functions was not issued until the 1st of September [i].

During the interval, it was determined to prepare some homilies for popular instruction, in order, that neither the ignorance of some clergymen, nor the Romish prejudices of others should impede the progress of evangelical truth. The principal share in the composition of these excellent discourses has ever been attributed to Cranmer [k]. As the Archbishop desired to unite all parties as much as possible in the projected reformation of religion, he invited Gardiner to lend him his assistance in the composition of the Homilies, alleging as a reason for the entertainment of such a design that it had originated in the late King's reign. The Bishop of Winchester admitted in reply, that in 1542, it had been King Henry's intention to send forth a volume adapted for popular instruction; but he added, that "since that time his old master's mind changed, and God had given him the gift of pacification," nor, he asserted, could any innovations in ecclesiastical affairs be now legally made, because some decrees of convocation still in force had "extinguished those devices." Of the letter containing these matters he sent a copy to the Protector, in the hope of engaging that nobleman to prevent by his authority the projected design from being carried into execution. Somerset, however, had

[i] Strype, Eccl. Mem. 72.

[k] Heylin attributes the Homilies wholly to him. Hist. Ref. 34.

taken a judicious and conscientious view of his duty: hence he was not to be deterred from enlightening the popular mind by any of those expedients for gaining time which had become the only refuge of the Romish party. The Archbishop urged upon Gardiner in answer to his letter, that during the convocation which sat five years before, he had himself conversed upon the propriety of instructing the nation by means of certain discourses prepared for that purpose. To this the Bishop replied, "that it was true, they had communed then of such things, but they took not effect at that time; nor needed they to be put in execution now. And that in his judgement it could not be done without a new authority and command from the King's Majesty." He then endeavoured to awaken the fears of the Primate, and of other leading men, by suggesting that it was not safe, "to make new stirs in religion: that the Lord Protector did well in putting out a proclamation to stop vain rumours, and that he thought it best not to enterprise any thing whereby the people might be tempted to break this proclamation[1]: that as in a natural body

[1] "Many there were that now whispered, and secretly spread abroad in markets, fairs, alehouses, and other places, reports of innovations, and changes in religion and ceremonies of the Church; and that they were done by the King, the Protector, and others of the privy council. Therefore for the stopping of these false rumours, May 24, a proclamation was issued out against these reporters; assuring the King's subjects, that such pretended innovations were never begun, nor attempted by the King and his council. And besides these rumours concerning

rest did confirm and strengthen, so it was in the commonwealth; trouble travaileth, and bringeth things to looseness." He then proceeded to remind the Archbishop, "that he was not certain even of his own life, when the old order should be broken, and a new one brought in by homilies; that these changes were not effected in a day, nor without exposing many persons to punishments, painful to those who must inflict them;" and that "plans likely to engender contentions were peculiarly unsuited to a time when the King was a minor [m]." These representations

religion, they also spread bruits of other things and facts, sounding to the dishonour and slander of the King's Majesty, the Protector, and others of the council, and to the disquieting and disturbing of his subjects. Therefore, for the preventing of these reports, and discovering the talebearers, all justices and others of the King's chief officers in the realm were, by the said proclamation, commanded to search for them, and imprison them, according to former acts and statutes of the King's noble progenitors, made to reform and punish, as lewd and vagrant, persons telling and reporting false news, and tales." Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 56.

[m] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 211. and Appendix. 782. King Edward's minority having been constantly alleged by Romanists as a reason why the reformations of his reign should not have been carried into effect, it may be worth while to observe, that Josiah, so highly commended in Scripture, set the example of forsaking a system of false religion, analogous to Popery, when he was only in his sixteenth year. (II Chron. xxxiv. 3.) Josephus, indeed, says, that he began his public reformation, assisted by the advice of his counsellors, when he was but twelve years of age. (Antiqu. B. x. ch. 4.) Nor can it be reasonably denied, that if detected abuses are not to be corrected during the minority of a sovereign, it would furnish a ground for considering individuals under a ripe age as incapable of the crown.

failing to influence the Primate, he proceeded, as his important station required of him, in the preparation of a work likely to dispel the ignorance and error by which the land was overspread.

The discourses which appeared soon after this time are twelve in number, and form the first book of our authorised homilies[n]. The subjects handled in these pieces are selected with a view as well to the general improvement of the people, as to some of the less prominent, but really vital prejudices derived from a Popish education. The first homily is entitled, *A fruitful exhortation to the reading of Holy Scripture.* In this excellent discourse is displayed, in very forcible language, the necessity of scriptural knowledge to all who would know God, themselves, and their duty. In the homely phraseology, tolerable in any quarter at that period, and especially suited for popular instruction, is displayed the ruinous folly of listening to the pretended traditions of men, rather than to the undoubted Word of God. "Let us," it is said, "diligently search for the well of life in the books of the Old and New Testament, and not run to the stinking puddles of

[n] "The second (book) was not finished till about the time of his (King Edward's) death; so it was not published before Queen Elizabeth's time." (Burnet on the Thirty-Nine Articles. Lond. 1759. p. 472.) Bishop Tomline has in a note thus treated this matter. "The first book of Homilies was published in 1547, and was supposed to be written chiefly by Cranmer; the second in 1560, and was probably written by Jewell." Elements of Christian Theology, II. 535.

men's traditions, devised by men's imaginations, for our justification and salvation. For in Holy Scripture is *fully* contained what we ought to do, and what to eschew, what to believe, what to love, and what to look for at God's hands at length." These words are succeeded by a series of excellent observations upon the numerous advantages offered by the reading of Scripture, and objections to this practice are met in the following forcible language. "If you will not know the truth of God, (a thing most necessary for you,) lest you fall into error; by the same reason you may then lie still, and never go, lest, if you go, you fall into the mire; nor eat any good meat, lest you take a surfeit; nor sow your corn, nor labour in your occupation, nor use your merchandise, for fear you lose your seed, your labour, your stock, and so by that reason it should be best for you to live idly, and never to take in hand to do any manner of good thing, lest peradventure some evil thing may chance thereof. And if you be afraid to fall into error by reading of Holy Scripture, I shall shew you how you may read it without danger of error. Read it humbly with a meek and lowly heart to the intent you may glorify God, and not yourself with the knowledge of it: and read it not without daily praying to God, that he would direct your reading to good effect; and take upon you to expound it no further than you can plainly understand it. For as St. Augustine saith, the knowledge of Holy Scripture is a great, large, and a high place; but

the door is very low, so that the high and arrogant man cannot run in; but he must stoop low, and humble himself, that shall enter into it. Presumption and arrogancy are the mother of all error; and humility needeth to fear no error. For humility will only search to know the truth; it will search, and will bring together one place with another, and where it cannot find out the meaning, it will pray, it will ask of others that know, and will not presumptuously and rashly define any thing which it knoweth not. Therefore the humble man may search any truth boldly in the Scripture, without any danger of error. And if he be ignorant, he ought the more to read it, and to search Holy Scripture to bring him out of ignorance[o]."

[o] In "A Papist misrepresented and represented," (p. 32.) we are told, "It is not for the preserving ignorance, he allows a restraint upon the reading the Scriptures, but for the preventing a blind, ignorant presumption; and that it may be done to edification, and not to destruction, and without casting what is *holy to dogs, or pearls to swine.*" It may be sufficient to remark respecting this sort of anxiety to guard the Scripture from indiscriminate contact, that it does not appear to have been felt by our Saviour, or his Apostles. On the contrary, Jesus said to the Jews "Search the Scriptures:" (St. John v. 39.) and in the Acts (xvii. 11.) it is said of the Bereans, that "These were more noble than those of Thessalonica, *in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so.*" St. Peter, it is true, as Romish polemics do not forget to tell their readers, says, that there are in St. Paul's epistles, "some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction." (II St. Pet. iii.

The second homily is upon *The misery of mankind*, and it contains much excellent matter calculated to leave upon the mind a thorough conviction of human unworthiness, both from a corrupt nature, and from vicious habits. In this discourse appears no direct allusion to any of the theological questions most agitated at the period of the Reformation; but a discerning reader could hardly fail of remarking, that by the scriptural declarations submitted to his notice, asserting the universal prevalence of iniquity and unworthiness, every doctrine depending upon the admission of human merit is plainly overthrown.

The third homily, on *The salvation of mankind, by only Christ our Saviour, from sin and death everlasting*, was according to respectable contem-

16.) The Apostle, however, does not add that it is therefore proper to restrain any man from access to Scripture. His words, indeed, only assert of the Scripture, what may be said of every thing else within the reach of man, that it may be abused; at the same time furnishing an argument for the propriety of consigning theology as their especial employment to a particular order of men. As for the defections from their Church which, as Romanists truly state, have flowed from the reading of Scripture, these have originated not with the unlearned, but with such persons as no Papist would venture to interdict from access to Scripture. Luther, Zuingle, Cranmer, Ridley, Calvin, and other leaders of the Reformation were among the first theologians of their own, or of any age. Nor has an indiscriminate access to Scripture engendered so much discordance of opinion as is commonly attributed to it. On the contrary, the great majority of those who read their Bibles, agree as to the essentials of faith and morals; their differences chiefly relating to ecclesiastical discipline, and to some of the more abstruse speculations of theology.

porary evidence [p] composed entirely by Archbishop Cranmer. In this discourse is explained the doctrine of justification [q] by faith, which in the hands of Luther, a few years before, had given so severe a shock to the prevailing confidence in personal austerities, and in alleged sacramental operations. It is clearly proved in the homily, from Scripture, and the fathers, that the remission of sin wholly depends upon the Redeemer's sufferings; and hence it follows; that no penance can be so severe, no religious office so effectual as to secure the justification of any human being. This doctrine, however, largely detracts from the importance assigned by Romanists both to the departed spirits of holy men, and to sacramental ministrations. But while so much solicitude is manifested in this discourse, to impress upon the minds of men, that the meritorious cause of human justification is only Christ; that, in other words, it flows entirely through faith in the Saviour [r], not in any degree, through the acts

[p] Bishop Woolton, in his Christian Manuell, 1576. Introduction to Todd's Declarations of our Reformers, 13.

[q] Justification is the state of individuals who, having had their former sins remitted, are accounted just in the sight of God, and as such are placed in a condition for the attainment of salvation.

[r] The difficulty of rightly understanding this subject, as Bishop Sherlock excellently observes, "arises from confounding and blending together ideas which are perfectly distinct, from not separating between faith considered as a principle of knowledge, and as a principle of religion." (Sermons, I. 385. Lond. 1759.) "Religion is a struggle between sense and faith. The temptations to sin are the pleasures of this life; the incitements

of the penitent, or the offices of religion; especial care is taken to guard against the corruptions and scandals of antinomianism. It is clearly taught, that faith, when once seated in the soul, unless it is fruitful in good works, furnishes no Christian ground of dependence; but that a man who professes religion without a conscientious regard to the duties which it enjoins, is deceiving himself as to the nature, and consequently, as to the issue of his principles.

The draught of this homily having been completed, after a very laborious and careful investigation, Cranmer sent it to Bishop Gardiner. To him it appeared highly objectionable. He could not, indeed, admit the doctrine which it inculcated without abandoning a belief in the efficacy of will-worship, congruous merit, and sacerdotal intervention[s]. Not being prepared to surrender at discretion such a mass of deeply-rooted

to virtue are the pleasures of the next. These are only seen by faith; those are the objects of every sense. On the side of virtue all the motives, all the objects of faith engage: on the side of vice stand the formidable powers of sense, passion, and affection. Where the heart is established in the fulness of faith, the heavenly host prevails, and virtue triumphs over all the works of darkness: but where sense governs, sin enters, and is served by every evil passion of the heart. If this be the case; if religion has nothing to oppose to the present allurements of the world, but the hopes and glories of futurity, which are seen only by faith; it is no more absurd to say men are saved by faith, than it is to say they are ruined by sense and passion; which we all know has so much of truth in it, that it can have nothing of absurdity." Ibid. 370.

[s] Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. II. 310.

prejudices, he told the Archbishop, that "he would yield to him in this homily, if he could be shewn any passage in an ancient writer excluding charity in the office of justification[t]:" and he added, that the doctrine inculcated by the homily was against Scripture. The Archbishop then proceeded to explain his meaning, and to argue, that faith, independently of moral, penitential, or sacramental acts, is the only channel through which men are justified. But Gardiner would make no concession, though it might seem, he was much at a loss for such solid reasons as his opponent would admit. At length the Primate left him with these words: "Your Lordship approves of nothing unless it has been done by yourself; and with respect to the homily on which we have been talking, it really seems, that your chief reason for disliking it is because your advice was not asked as to the propriety of composing it[u]."

The fourth homily treats of faith, the fifth of

[t] It is forgotten by those who incline to this opinion expressed by Bishop Gardiner upon justification, that repentance is the first step mentioned in Scripture towards man's reconciliation to God. Consequent upon true repentance is an effective confidence in the divine promises and threatenings, leading to justification, and marked by that change of mind which is fruitful in good works; the principles of religion, before, perhaps, seated in the mind, now affect the heart, an antipathy is engendered towards the corruptions of sense, and actions really virtuous are those alone which the altered man can easily be brought to practise.

[u] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 212

good works; both of them are from the pen of Cranmer[x], and from them, together with his preceding one upon salvation, may be derived a complete and easily intelligible view of a Christian's profession. The general appearance of these discourses is not controversial: the majority of the principles which they inculcate being such as the bulk of Romanists would hesitate to pronounce objectionable. In the homily upon good works, however, a severe attack is made upon the grosser Romish superstitions. It is taught, that moral duties prescribed by the written Word of God, not ritual or penitential observances, originating in the traditions of men, are the genuine fruits of a lively faith. Yet it is observed, to unauthorised devices men have been prone from the beginning. The father of our race, disregarding God's express command, at Satan's instigation, ate the forbidden fruit. The early Gentiles, unmindful of the truths revealed to their fathers, adored various dead men and women, as inferior mediators. Even the delivered Israelites were so much led astray by the traditions of Heathenism, that during the temporary absence of Moses, they ventured to set up the symbolical golden calf. A similar tendency to these traditional corruptions, displaying itself in a manner more or less offensive, clung to the Jews during the whole continuance of their civil polity, and called down the severest animadversions of our Blessed Saviour. Since his time, men have not ceased to profess

[x] Todd's Introd. 13.

religion in a manner unknown to the record of God's will. "What man," it is asked, "having any judgment or learning, joined with a true zeal unto God, doth not see and lament to have entered into Christ's religion, such false doctrine, superstition, idolatry, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, so as by little and little, through the sour leaven thereof, the sweet bread of God's holy Word hath been much hindered and laid apart? Neither had the Jews in their blindness so many pilgrimages unto images, nor used so much kneeling, kissing, and censing of them, as hath been used in our time. Sects and feigned religions[y] were neither the fortieth part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously and ungodlily abused, than of late days they have been among us: which sects and religions had so many hypocritical and feigned works in their state of religion, as they arrogantly named it, that their lamps, as they said, ran always over, able to satisfy not only for their own sins, but also for all other their benefactors, brothers, and sisters of religion, as most ungodlily and craftily they had persuaded the multitude of ignorant people; keeping in divers places, as it were, marts or markets of merits, being full of their holy relics, images, shrines, and works of overflowing abundance ready to be sold: and all things which they had were called holy, holy cowls, holy girdles, holy

[y] That is, combinations of monks and friars, usually termed religious orders; each of which is distinguished by certain peculiarities.

pardons, beads, holy shoes, holy rules, and all full of holiness[z]. And what thing can be more foolish, more superstitious, or ungodly, than that men, women, and children, should wear a friar's coat to deliver them from agues or pestilence? or when they die, or when they be buried, cause it to be cast upon them, in hope thereby to be saved[z]?" If this catalogue of base devices for duping and pillaging mankind were read to an assembly of modern Protestants, the advocates of Romanism would affirm, that the picture was overcharged, the practices really existing unauthorised, and infrequent: but those to whom the homilies were originally addressed could not deny, that the whole land had teemed with pretenders to superior holiness, and with superstitious wares; and that both of these, however repugnant to God's recorded will, were encouraged by all the leading ecclesiastics of the time. Nor could serious and candid readers of their Bibles elude a conviction, that the censures passed by Christ upon the traditionists of the Jewish Church, were applicable to the same class of persons among Christians. In the latter case as in the former, the alleged supplement made what is unquestionably "the commandment of God, of none effect[a]." Civil obedience was weakened by the claims of a foreign prelate; individuals personally renounced the world, but they were members of opulent communities[b], in a state to disregard the calls of

[z] Homilies. Oxf. 1802. [a] St. Matt. xv. 6.

[b] "By this subtle sophistical term *Proprium in commune*, that

a needy relative[c], yet to enrich the common purse by accepting whatever might be offered; marriage, which God has allowed to all, was renounced under the plea of sanctity, by those who notoriously gave way to detestable lewdness; and under pretence of long prayers and masses for the dead, were devoured widows' houses[d].

The remaining homilies, which are seven in number, treat only of practical subjects[e], and thus the whole publication is eminently creditable to the temper and discretion of those who prepared it. We find in it no unsparing attacks upon the more excusable prejudices of any man,

is to say, *Proper in common*, they (monks) mocked the world, persuading, that notwithstanding all their possessions and riches, yet they kept their vow, and were in wilful poverty." Homilies. 47.

[c] "But for all their riches, they might neither help father or mother, nor other that were indeed very needy and poor, without the licence of their father abbot, prior, or warden; and yet they might take of every man, but they might not give aught to any man, no not to them whom the laws of God bound them to help; and, so, through their traditions and rules, the laws of God could bear no rule with them." (Ibid.) Any man acquainted with his Bible, could hardly fail, when reminded of these facts, to think of what Christ said to the Jewish traditionists of old. "But ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, It is a gift by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; and honour not his father or his mother, he shall be free." St. Matt. xv. 5, 6.

[d] St. Mark xii. 40.

[e] Their titles are, Of Christian love and charity: Against swearing and perjury: Of the declining from God: An exhortation against the fear of death: An exhortation to obedience: Against whoredom and adultery: Against strife and contention.

only an exposure of such Romish abuses as the more candid friends of Popery have ever viewed with regret. It is, indeed, true that no Romish principle is advocated, and that Christian traditions are placed upon a level with those of Judaism and Paganism. With respect to these things, however, it was happily now in men's power to compare the authorised exposition of their faith and duty with the Sacred Record. Nor if in this they could discover no clear warrant for Romish peculiarities, and should mark our Saviour's reprobation of such doctrines as are only grounded upon tradition; could honest and intelligent enquirers doubt, that in teaching nothing incapable of proof from the infallible Word of God, their spiritual guides had acted with that sound wisdom which alone could entitle them to the public confidence.

In addition to the homilies, it was determined that each parish in the kingdom should be compelled to provide itself with the *Paraphrase* of Erasmus. It seems not improbable, that the late King had been disposed to patronise an English translation of this work, for Nicholas Udal[f], who

[f] "An excellent grammarian and instructor of youth, as well as a learned divine: afterward (in 1551,) a Prebendary of Windsor: a person he was that devoted himself wholly, during his life, to writing or translating matters that might be of public profit and use.—Divers select persons were made use of in this translation, that it might the more speedily and correctly be done for the common benefit. Udal translated the paraphrase upon St. Luke: and that which he did besides was, the digesting and placing the texts throughout the Gospels and the Acts,

chiefly edited that part of it now published, had completed a version of St. Luke in the year 1543, and had dedicated it to the Queen Catharine Parr[g]. At the suggestion of that religious queen, the Lady Mary had employed herself in rendering into English the paraphrase upon St. John[h]; but she appears to have prosecuted the design with no great spirit, and at last, she made it over to her chaplain, Dr. Malet. Of this work, by which Erasmus had unintentionally produced an effect so powerful, only the four Gospels with the Acts of the Apostles were already in an English dress, and these were now published by authority[i].

Private individuals were also active in enlightening, by means of the press, the public mind respecting the usurpations and errors of Popery. Henry, Lord Stafford published a translation of the treatise upon the royal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions[k], printed in Latin during the reign of the late King, and in his name. At the end of

except in the Gospel of St. Mark, done by another, to the intent the reader might perceive, where and how the process and circumstance of the paraphrase answered to the text, and how it was joined with it." Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 45.

[g] Ibid. 48.

[h] "Perhaps she did this, the better to please the King her father." Ibid. 46.

[i] "The rest of the New Testament was not so ready for the press, and came not forth till about 1549. The second impression was in the year 1552. Both printed by Edward Whitchurch." Ibid. 48.

[k] Entitled "*De vera Differentia inter Regiam Potestatem et Ecclesiasticam.*" Called *the King's Book*, either because King Henry was the author, or rather the authoriser of it. Ibid. 41.

October, was brought out a translation of the plan for reforming the Church drawn up by Herman, the virtuous and enlightened Archbishop Elector of Cologne[l]. These works were probably published with the approbation of the English government: two other translations, levelled at the mass and the abuses which have flowed from it, seem by their severity to have proceeded from some unauthorised men of letters[m]. Amidst this activity of the press, Archbishop Cranmer exerted himself with his usual diligence. An elementary book of religious instruction, which had been published at Nuremberg, in the German language, was translated into Latin by Justus Jonas, the younger, now living with the Archbishop, by whom the little work was rendered, somewhat altered, into English[n]. The piece was published under the title of "*Catechismus, that is to say, A*

[l] Ibid. [m] Ibid. 44.

[n] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 227. "Justus Jonas was the friend and fellow-labourer of Luther and Melancthon, whose son resided long at Lambeth, and seems to have been the principal medium of correspondence between the Archbishop and the Lutherans." (Notes to Abp. Laurence's Bampton Lectures. 210.) The most Reverend author of these excellent sermons says, "That the doctrine of the Eucharist contained in this catechism is completely Lutheran, has never been denied." Perhaps, however, it would be more accurate to say that this Catechism maintains the corporal presence without attempting to define the manner of it, hence leaving a latitude for explaining that doctrine either upon Romish, or upon Lutheran principles. Cranmer, it should be recollected, denied that he had ever adopted Luther's opinion of the Eucharist. See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. I. 354.

Short Instruction into the Christian Religion, for the singular commodity and profit of children and young people: set forth by the most reverend father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury." This work can scarcely be called a catechism in the ordinary modern acceptation of the word *, the instruction being conveyed, not by means of interrogatories, but in the form of a continued address from a pastor to the younger members of his flock. It opens with an exhortation to a virtuous life, proceeds to an exposition of the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and comprises observations upon Baptism, the Eucharist, and the sacerdotal character. In the Decalogue is adopted, to appearance, the Romish mode of suppressing the second commandment, and of dividing, according to the usage of the times, the tenth into two. But this arrangement appears to have been determined upon merely to prevent ignorant people from being confounded by a version of the Decalogue to which they were unused; for at the end of an exposition of the first commandment, the second is subjoined exactly as it is expressed by Moses, and it is added: "These words by most interpreters of late time belong to the first commandment, although after the interpretation of many ancient authors they be the se-

* There is, however, no impropriety in the term as used by the Archbishop, its derivation being from Κατηχέω, *to sound down*, instruction, namely, into the ears of those requiring it. All delivery of instruction therefore by word of mouth may be correctly designated, upon etymological principles, *catechising*.

cond commandment." The necessity for this Divine injunction is then asserted, because "God did foresee that in the latter days men should come, which would maintain worshipping of images, not only with painted colours, but also with painted words, saying, We kneel not to the image, but before the image; We worship not the image, but the thing which is represented by the image; We worship not the creatures, but the Creator in the creatures. And such like excuses the greatest idolaters did always pretend." Therefore, it is added, in order to prevent plain understandings from being entangled by such sophistry, God commands his people to abstain from "*bowing down*" to any graven image, or similitude. Among the evils resulting from the religious use of images, it is observed that they tend to furnish ignorant minds with debasing notions of God, for when uninformed persons see the Almighty Father represented as an aged man with a white beard, they naturally conceive, that he is a corporeal being like themselves. The Archbishop, however, treats this subject with his usual candour, not utterly denying in the end, that images may be suffered in churches, but concluding, that, under existing circumstances, it would be better to have them wholly removed. As to the Eucharist, this catechism strongly maintains the real presence, in opposition to those who considered the Lord's Supper merely as commemorative, and it reprobates the question usually asked as to the reasonableness of supposing a priest capable of

making Christ's body; but it does not plainly assert transubstantiation, and therefore there is reason to believe that when Cranmer published this piece, he was beginning to waver upon the subject of that doctrine [p]. Upon half-communion however his mind was evidently made up, for he exhorts his catechumens by no means to acquiesce under that sacrilegious abuse.

Another literary labour which employed the Archbishop, probably about this time, was the compilation of a treatise in Latin upon tradition. This piece, like the excellent compiler's other works, merely aims at utility: being little more than a collection of passages from Scripture and the fathers to prove the sufficiency of Holy Writ as the source of religious knowledge, and the incompetence, not only of every thing human, but even of angelic revelations, or voices from the dead, to establish articles of faith, not evidently deducible from the Sacred Record. In the course of this work, the several passages of Scripture, cited by Papists as authorities for their traditions, are examined, and it is shewn, that they will not

[p] The following are the Archbishop's words upon this subject. "And whereas in this perilous time certain deceitful persons be found in many places who of very forwardness will not grant that there is the body and blood of Christ, but deny the same for none other cause, but that they cannot compass by man's reason how this thing should be brought to pass, ye, good children, shall with all diligence beware of such persons, that ye suffer not yourselves to be deceived by them. For such men surely are not true Christians, neither as yet have they learned the first article of the Creed, which teacheth that God is Almighty."

fairly bear that interpretation which expositors in league with Rome labour to put upon them[q]. This work of Cranmer's was translated into English, with some additions, during the Marian times, by one of those pious exiles who fled to the continent, in order to avoid the fierceness of that persecution which the triumphant traditionists were maintaining in England.

While theologians were thus intent upon enlightening the public mind, more active spirits found employment in watching the course of political events. The Scots, now that the sceptre of South Britain had fallen into the hands of a minor king, considered the superior resources of their English neighbours as much less formidable than heretofore, and hence they freely gave indulgence to that partiality for a French alliance which had so long prevailed among them. Somerset viewed this increasing alienation of the northern kingdom with much uneasiness, and when he found that the artifices of party were likely to prevent that marriage between the two young monarchs of Britain, which had formed one of King Henry's latest cares, he lost no time in preparing for war. As a pretext for commencing hostilities he resolved to bring forward once more that claim of feudal superiority which had so often galled the pride of a high-minded people, and had served as the harbinger of slaughter and rapine through the fairest portions of their country. Bishop Tunstall,

[q] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 228.

accordingly, was instructed to search among the records of his see for proofs of the authority exercised by England over her northern neighbour. Among other documents, the prelate discovered a record of the homage rendered by William of Scotland to Henry II. of England, in which it appeared, that a very unqualified submission had then been made by the Scots to the English crown. A doubt has, however, been started respecting the genuineness of this instrument, upon the ground of that disposition to forge papers, according with their own prejudices, or the interest of their patrons, known to have prevailed among the monkish scribes, and registrars, of the dark ages[r]. But the character of this instrument is not, and never was of any importance; as the parade of searching for proofs to establish an obsolete claim was merely a pretext to justify the English government in assuming a hostile attitude. Tunstall was, indeed, instructed to meet, in company with Sir Robert Bowes, some Scottish commissioners, on the 4th of August, on the borders of the two kingdoms, and to take with him the documentary evidence which he had collected; but then he was to abandon that, and every other ground of discussion, if he should find the Scots disposed to enter upon the matrimonial treaty. This was a point, unfortunately, upon which the northern commissioners came provided with no instructions, and, therefore, all hope of an amicable arrangement

[r] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 51.

having failed, both nations looked to a field of battle as the arbiter of their respective differences[s].

The truth appears to be, that the Scots, having made very formidable preparations for resisting any attack upon them, were little inclined even to make a shew of abandoning that line of policy which was most popular in the country. The Protector, being apprised of this, travelled towards the end of August to Newcastle, and assumed the personal command of an army awaiting there orders to commence hostilities. This force, consisting of sixteen thousand men, soon after entered unopposed the Scottish territory. The English, indeed, found the roads broken up, and some small castles to bid them a temporary defiance: but the dryness of the season prevented them from suffering much inconvenience from the former cause, and their great numerical superiority soon compelled the surrender of the petty garrisons which pretended to impede their progress. At length an advanced party of the Scots was encountered at Falside, and defeated with great loss, after a protracted struggle. The main body of the enemy, thirty thousand strong, well supplied with artillery, and ably commanded, was now in sight; and the English generals could not contemplate the prospect before them without great uneasiness. Indeed the Scottish army was formidable from the spirit which pervaded it, as well as from its numbers and appointments. The national pride was fired by a report, industriously spread abroad, that

[s] Ibid. 50.

the Protector aimed at carrying away by force their infant Queen; and in order to maintain confidence among the troops it was asserted, that twelve gallies, with fifty other vessels, having already set sail from France, might be expected every day to land ample reinforcements upon the Scottish shore. Fully aware of the situation in which he stood, Somerset tried the effect of a pacific overture. He begged the Scots to consider, that both parties as Christians were bound to prevent as much as possible the effusion of blood; that the war was undertaken by the English only for the purpose of uniting in perpetual peace two communities already one people by identity of language, contiguity of territory, and insular separation from all the world besides; that an unexceptionable opportunity for extinguishing the hostile spirit, ever plunging into trouble the two nations, was now offered by means of a marriage between the two young sovereigns, an arrangement calculated to benefit importantly both kingdoms, but especially the northern one. In the event of these representations being found to fail in bringing about a ratification of the matrimonial treaty, it was even proposed to withdraw the English army, and to compensate all who had suffered by the invasion, if the Scots would only stipulate to educate the Queen in her own country, and not to affiance her to any suitor before she should be of sufficient age to make her own election. Confident in their superiority of numbers, and aware, that a want of provisions was apprehended by

the enemy, the Scottish leaders refused to treat upon these equitable terms. They would not even allow the purport of the English overtures to be known through the camp, lest it should damp the ardour of their troops. It was merely resolved among a few officers of distinction, who deliberated upon Somerset's proposals, that if the English were disposed to withdraw, they should be allowed an unmolested passage into their own country. The bearer of this reply also related that he had heard the Earl of Huntley express a wish to be allowed an opportunity, in company with ten or more of his countrymen, to meet Somerset, attended by an equal number of Englishmen, and to have the disputes between the two nations decided by the issue of a combat between these chosen champions. The Protector, however, would not consent to render his administration contemptible at the outset by retreating ingloriously into England, and as for Huntley's reported challenge, he observed, that the quarrel being not personal, but national, it demanded no attention. Somerset's mode of treating this affair displeased the Earl of Warwick, and he sent an intimation to Huntley of his willingness to give him the meeting which he was understood to desire. The northern peer replied, that he had never spoken the words imputed to him, and both parties, finding negociation hopeless, prepared for the frightful realities of war [1].

[1] Ibid. 54.

The rival camps were pitched on opposite sides of the Esk, at some distance from its banks. The English were first in motion, having advanced to occupy a hill commanding the enemy's position. In order to frustrate this design, the Scots, who were encamped much nearer to the river than their opponents, promptly forded it, and posted themselves upon the elevated ground to which the hostile commander was marching. Their exultation at the success of this movement was increased, when they saw the English fall back, and an opinion immediately prevailed among them, that the invaders, at length seriously alarmed, were taking measures to embark on board the fleet, which was stationed off the neighbouring coast. The object, however, of the English was merely to occupy another commanding position, one in fact, as it afterwards appeared, more advantageous than that to which their steps were originally directed. The low ground now between the two armies was called the field of Pinkey, and into it the Scots descended, eager to prevent the hostile force from taking refuge in its ships, before it had smarted under the vengeance of an exasperated people. The English generals had marked the enemy's approach, and made dispositions to receive him. The two armies met[u] so near the shore, that a fire from the shipping was opened upon the Scots, and it caused a troop of Irish in their pay to fall into considerable disorder. This

[u] September 10. Ibid.

was no sooner observed by Lord Grey, who commanded the men at arms, than, without waiting for orders, he charged the enemy; but his temerity cost him dear, for his gallant horsemen, after sustaining some loss, were fain to retreat in confusion; and the noble commander was severely wounded. Elated by this advantage, the Scots appear to have been thrown somewhat off their guard, and accordingly, by another charge of the English horse, judiciously made, and sufficiently supported, they were plunged into inextricable confusion. They concluded that all was lost, many threw down their arms, some of them even stripped off, for the sake of greater celerity, the heavier articles of their dress, and all fled with the utmost precipitation. The English Infantry were scarcely even engaged on this memorable day. The cavalry, however, not contented with having achieved a victory so signal, pursued the panic-stricken enemy with great ardour, and even cruelty[x]. The country was for miles strewed with the bodies of the slain, and a bloody tinge discoloured the waters of the Esk as they mingled with the ocean[y]. From the circumstances of this as well as of other encounters between the two British nations, it appears, that the English were far more advanced in military science than their northern neighbours. Like most communities in the infancy of civilization, the Scots evinced unquestionable bravery whenever an opportunity was afforded for the

[x] Hayward, 284. [y] Holinshed, Hayward.

display of individual valour, but as a mass they were little able to withstand the steady charge of troops more highly disciplined. Hence when any untoward circumstance occasioned an alarm at the outset of a battle, it was generally found impossible to remedy the mischief: if some foremost men were foiled in their attempts at resistance, those behind them gave up all for lost, and were insensible to every impulse, save anxiety for their personal safety.

In the disastrous rout of Pinkey, it appears to have been officially stated by the English government, fifteen thousand Scots were slain, and two thousand taken prisoners [z]. All their ordnance and baggage also fell into the hands of the victors [a]. The English loss is said to have been comparatively trifling, amounting only to fifty-two killed, and a considerable number wounded [b]. Of the spoils to grace the triumph of the victors, a silken banner, intended to excite the fanaticism of the Scottish army, was the most remarkable. On this was represented the figure of a female, with dishevelled hair, kneeling before a crucifix, and

[z] Circular letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the bishops of his province, enjoining a thanksgiving for the victory. (Strype, Mem. Cranm. 219.) Perhaps this is an oxaggerated statement, as Sir John Hayward computes the Scottish loss in slain at ten thousand, or, according to another estimate, at fourteen thousand. He also says, "The Scottish prisoners accounted by the Marshal's book were about fifteen hundred." 286.

[a] The Archbishop's circular *ut supra*.

[b] Hayward, 286. "The Scotch writers say he lost between two and three hundred." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 56.

round the ensign was this inscription, *Afflictæ sponsæ ne obliviscaris.* A numerous band of monastic and other ecclesiastical persons was with the Scottish army, and this was supposed to be the banner round which they proceeded to the battle. These unfortunate priests suffered severely for their criminal interference with matters alien from their profession. In the rout no fugitives were butchered with less remorse[c].

Severe as had been the blow inflicted upon Scotland, the Protector was well aware, that the nation though stunned, was not vanquished. Hence he was anxious to accomplish the objects of his government, while the recent discomfiture still weighed down the spirits of the enemy. For this purpose he conversed with the captured noblemen upon the matrimonial treaty so often debated. At one of these conferences, the Earl of Huntley, using the blunt freedom of an unpolished soldier, spoke, probably, the sentiments of the wisest men in Scotland. He expressed himself well affected to the proposed marriage, but he added, "I nothing like the kind of wooing." The aggressions of England were, indeed, calculated

[c] "The English shewed themselves valourous, and with great effusion of blood, especially of kirkmen, votaries, and other ecclesiastical persons, upon whom all irreligious cruelty was exercised, became victorious." (MS. Hist. Ref. Bibl. Harl.) "Could this crucifix (on their banner) have spoken, as one is said to have spoken to St. Francis, and another to St. Thomas, it might happily have told them, that neither religious persons are fit men for arms; nor arms fit means either to establish or advance religion." Hayward, 286.

to defeat her policy, for by retaining the northern kingdom in a state of violent irritation, they furnished facilities to the French party for keeping alive a spirit of opposition towards every proposal emanating from the court of London. As, however, the English had undertaken to accomplish by force the objects which they had in view, Somerset judged it necessary to improve as far as possible the advantage that he had gained. He accordingly advanced from Musselborough, near which place the field of Pinkey was situated, towards the capital. All hope of resistance to his progress was now abandoned by the Scots, the shattered remains of their army had withdrawn to Stirling, and Edinburgh was of necessity left to the mercy of a victorious enemy. The recent sack[d], or the apprehensions excited by its memory, appears, however, to have been the means of disappointing the victors in their hopes of plunder, as they thought it worth their while to unroof the abbey of Holyrood for the sake of its lead, which, together with the bells, was shipped for England. Some vessels also belonging to Englishmen, were seized in the harbour of Leith, and some others, the property of natives, were burnt. The castle of Edinburgh, however, during this, as during the last occupation of the town frowned defiance upon the invaders; nor did Somerset endeavour to improve any advantage gained by his progress farther than by garrisoning the isle of St. Columba, in the Firth of Forth, and by des-

[d] In 1544. Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. II. 571.

patching Sir Ambrose Dudley, the Earl of Warwick's brother, to seize the Castle of Broughty, situated at the mouth of the Tay. Still, as he did not venture to move upon Stirling, where the Scottish government, and remnant of the army had taken refuge, these operations were little likely to expedite the objects which had caused the invasion. But the Protector, probably, did not possess the means of pursuing the fortunes of Scotland to their retreat. Soon after his occupation of Edinburgh, he marched to the southward[e], without even waiting to receive the proposals offered to him by the Scottish government. He desired, that the commissioners charged with these should attend him at Berwick, but when he reached that place he determined upon proceeding immediately to London[f], and the Earl of Warwick was left to negociate with the enemy.

When, however, it was seen, that the main body of the English had withdrawn, and only a few garrisons remained to attest the recent triumph of their enemy, the spirits of the Scots revived. The Queen Dowager no longer hesitated to repeat her objections to the proposed alliance with England; nor did the sense of wounded honour, and personal sacrifices allow the nobles about her to deprecate the infatuation of offering continual pretences to the southern kingdom for pouring her squadrons into the comparatively defenceless

[e] On the 18th of September. Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 56.

[f] He returned on the 29th of September. Ibid.

territories of Scotland. The French politics therefore resumed their wonted ascendancy at the fugitive court of Stirling, and it was even resolved to omit the decent formality of sending commissioners to Berwick, to confer with the Earl of Warwick[g]. Thus the Scottish proposal appeared a mere artifice to gain time, and England was justified in complaining of the insidious policy pursued by her northern neighbour. The season was indeed now too far advanced for the renewal of hostilities upon an extensive scale, and therefore, mutual complaints and recriminations were almost the only modes in which, during several months, the angry feelings of the rival nations could find a vent.

During Somerset's absence in Scotland was begun the royal visitation ordered some months before. The visitors were directed to enquire, respecting the bishops, and other ecclesiastical officers, whether they were corrupt in the exercise of their respective jurisdictions; whether they had caused the Litany to be sung or said in English only; and whether the diocesans had been accustomed to preach, especially against the Roman bishop's usurpations, having also chaplains in their service able to assist them in delivering sound doctrine from the pulpit. Respecting the parochial clergy, it was to be enquired, whether they had honestly preached against papal encroachments, and endeavoured to suppress unne-

[g] Ibid.

cessary holidays; whether they had allowed the continuance of images, receiving religious honours, of relics, or of any other incentives to idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy; whether they had taught in English, and expounded the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; whether they were regular in their professional duties, and exemplary in their lives; whether they had advised the use of Latin prayers, had encouraged a confidence in the repetition of prayers a prescribed number of times, and in saying them over beads; whether they had recommended as good works, the moral duties enjoined in God's recorded Word, not the observances prescribed by the fancies of men; whether they had discouraged any, not restrained from reading Scripture, in the use of that privilege; whether they had declared, that men ought to know the articles of their faith in English before receiving the Eucharist; whether they had taught people to consider images merely as commemorative, and that, every other use of them is idolatrous; whether they had explained the canons respecting fasts as mere positive laws, hence to be disregarded without any scruple of conscience, in all cases of necessity, the royal license having been first obtained; whether they had taught that ceremonies do not of themselves confer grace, but are merely outward signs serving to typify and commemorate matters of importance; whether they brought to a sense of their error, promoters of pilgrimages and other superstitious delusions; and, finally,

whether their conduct had been regulated by law, and the injunctions issued in the late reign. Respecting the laity, it was to be enquired, whether any persons endeavoured to prevent men from reading the English Bible, or to hinder the preaching of sound doctrine; whether lustral water, consecrated candles, or other such things were used for any superstitious purposes; whether any were accused of immorality, erroneous opinions, magical arts, incestuous marriages, neglect of duty as churchwardens, irregular solemnizations of matrimony, unfaithful execution of testamentary trusts, the use of any Primer except that published by the late King's authority, or of any grammar save that exclusively privileged [h]; and,

[h] Before the general use of printing, Latin grammars in England were inconveniently numerous, most schoolmasters, probably, compiling one for the use of their own pupils. It is thought, that the first printed grammar was that written by John Holt, of Magdalen College, Oxford, and usher of Magdalen school there. This was entitled *Lac Puerorum*, and was printed about the year 1497, being dedicated to Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. This was succeeded by other grammatical works, but it was not until the foundation of St. Paul's school, that a grammar, generally approved, made its appearance. The excellent Dean Colet then drew up an accidence for the use of scholars upon his foundation. Subsequently he prepared a draught of a manual of syntax, which being afterwards amplified by Lily, the first high-master of St. Paul's school, and corrected by Erasmus, was formed into the syntax since generally used. To these pieces Lily added the *Propria quæ maribus*, and *As in præsenti*. (Knight's Life of Colet, 109 *et sequ.*) "King Henry endeavoured an uniformity of grammar all over his dominions; that so youths, though changing their schoolmasters, might keep

lastly, whether any individuals were privy to the alienation of estates, or other property belonging to the Church [i].

The injunctions delivered by the visitors to ecclesiastical persons and corporations, comprised the several particulars enjoined by the Vicar-general in the late reign [k], together with some new articles. Images, abused by receiving religious honours, were to be removed; people were to be

their learning. This was performed, and William Lily's grammar enjoined to be universally used. A stipend of four pounds a year was allowed to the King's printer for printing it; and it was penal for any publicly to teach any other.—Many were the editions of this grammar, the first set forth *Anno* 1513, as appears by that instance, *Meruit sub rege in Gallia*, relating to Maximilian, the German Emperor, who then, at the siege of Therouenne, in Flanders, fought under the banner of King Henry the Eighth, taking an hundred crowns a day for his pay. Another edition, *Anno* 1520, when *Audito Rege Doroberniam proficisci*, refers to the King's speedy journey into Canterbury, there to give entertainment to Charles the fifth, Emperor, lately landed at Dover." (Fuller, 168.) In the same spirit of accommodation to contemporary events, are the examples, *Regum est tueri leges*, and *Refert omnium animadverti in malos*, which relate to the prosecution of Empson and Dudley. (Knight, 117.) St. Paul's school had also the honour of giving birth indirectly to the Greek grammar afterwards used by authority. This was compiled by Camden the antiquary, who was by education a Pauline; and these two grammars form the groundwork of those edited for the use of Eton College, now generally used, in preference to their more venerable predecessors, under an idea that they are improvements upon them.

[i] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 75. After the articles respecting the laity, are five referring to the residence, duties, morals, and preferments of chantry priests.

[k] Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. II. 200. 304.

examined, in the Lent confessions, as to their ability to repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English; none, unless so qualified, were to be admitted to the Holy Communion; at high mass, the epistle and gospel were to be read in English; at matins and vespers, on every Sunday and holiday, a chapter was to be read out of the English Bible; clergymen were to be diligent in visiting the sick, and to be prepared with texts of Scripture in English for their comfort; processions were to be discontinued and the English litany prepared for them under the late King to be said in future within the choir; all monuments of idolatry were to be removed from the walls, and windows of churches; in addition to a large English Bible, one copy of the paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Gospels was to be provided for every church; on every Sunday when no sermon should be preached, one of the new homilies was to be read; and in cases of simony the clerk was to forfeit his benefice, the patron his right of presentation for that turn[1].

Besides these injunctions relating to the whole clerical body, the bishops were especially enjoined to preach, unless hindered by some sufficient cause, at least four times in every year, once in their cathedral church, and three times in some other places in their diocese; they were also enjoined to admit none into holy orders unless competently versed in Scripture, to deny ordination to none so qualified, being of irreproachable life;

[1] Foxe, 1181.

and neither to preach, nor knowingly to permit any of their clergy to preach doctrine at variance with that of the homilies [m].

The visitors appear principally, if not entirely to have discharged their prescribed duties in the cathedral churches [n]. At these, the bishop and the chapter being summoned to attend on a particular day, an oath renouncing the papal and admitting the royal supremacy was administered to them; they were then examined as to the particulars contained in the articles of enquiry, sworn to observe the injunctions now delivered to them; and to every bishop for the use of his cathedral, to every archdeacon, for distribution among the clergy within his jurisdiction, were delivered copies of these injunctions, together with the new homilies. In fulfilling the objects of their commission the visitors encountered very little difficulty, and in obedience to their orders, the churches were farther cleared of incentives to superstition. In London the inanimate objects of popular veneration were generally removed on the 10th of September, a day rendered remarkable by the defeat of the Scots at Pinkey. When this coincidence was known, many superstitious Protestants drew from it an augury in favour of their principles, imagining that Providence, by crowning Somerset's enterprise with a success so decisive on that particular day, had unequivocally mani-

[m] Foxe, 1182.

[n] "As we collect from what was done at St. Paul's, London." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 210.

fested an approval of his religious policy[o]. Many superstitious individuals, however, were indignant on seeing the churches again purged of objects long venerated, and in some cases, the clergy, to whom exclusively was entrusted the charge of effecting these removals, encountered considerable opposition. Several complaints of such obstructions were laid before the council, and the offenders being summoned to appear, that body dismissed some of them with a reprimand, and committed others to prison until they found security for their good behaviour[p].

Bishop Boner was the first individual of note who shewed a disposition to impede the visitors. On the first of September that prelate attended, in obedience to a summons, at St. Paul's[q], where he took the oaths of abjuration and supremacy; but when he was required to receive the injunctions and homilies he formally protested against such compliance, unless these should appear to be in unison with the law of God, and with the

[o] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 57.

[p] Ibid. 60.

[q] The enquiries made by the visitors at this cathedral brought to light some scandals which are worthy of notice, because they serve to expose the intolerable evils consequent upon the forced celibacy of the Romish clergy. "One John Painter, one of the canons of the said cathedral church, there and then openly confessed, that he viciously and carnally had often the company of a certain married man's wife, whose name he denied to declare. In the which crime divers other canons and priests of the said church, confessed in like manner, and could not deny themselves to be culpable." Foxe, 1192.

ordinances of the Church. This protestation appears to have been considered as indicative of an intention to set the visitors at defiance, and they complained of it to the council. That body commanded the Bishop's attendance, and he then made some excuse for his conduct at St. Paul's[r]. What he said not being considered satisfactory, on the 12th of September, he formally retracted his protestation as unadvised, unbecoming of a subject, and likely to do mischief in the way of example. This submission, however, did not content the government, and probably, with a view of intimidating others from offering any obstruction to the visitors, the Bishop was committed to the Fleet[s]. He remained in confinement there only a few weeks, being at liberty again in the middle of November. During the time of his restraint, the English litany was sung at St. Paul's, and at high mass there the epistle and gospel were read in the vernacular tongue[t].

When Bishop Gardiner perceived, that the visitation was upon the point of being carried into effect, he wrote both to the Protector, and to the council. In his letter to the former he urged the expediency of delay, until the books which it was proposed to circulate should be more carefully considered, or at all events, until, the Scottish expedition being terminated, all the leading men

[r] "Full of vain quiddities; so it is expressed in the council book." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 58.

[s] Foxe, 1192.

[t] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 42.

might be enabled to give their undivided attention to the proceedings of the visitors. In his reply, Somerset seems to have mentioned the religious dissensions then prevailing, and to have intimated that had he not been "pressed on both sides," he should have been well contented to let the visitation stand over until after his return from the North[w]. As matters stood, however, he did not choose to place any impediments in the way of those ecclesiastical arrangements which had been ordered before his departure from the seat of government.

To the council Gardiner wrote, representing in earnest language the danger of precipitation; the probability that the contemplated visitation would prove illegal and consequently prejudicial to those who advised it; the gratification likely to be felt by Somerset should the visitors be restrained from beginning their operations until after his return from Scotland; and the expediency of allowing himself to appear before the board for the purpose of detailing there his objections to the proposed measures[x]. In this desire to be heard, it was resolved to gratify the Bishop, and he repaired to town for the sake of being in readiness to appear when summoned, and with an intention, as it has been thought, to remain at a distance from his cathedral during the visitation

[w] Extract of a letter from Bp. Gardiner. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 215.

[x] Ibid.

of the commissioners[y]. He did not, however, leave the country before he had given particular orders to his officers for the reception of the visitors with all due respect; and he advised some of his clergy who consulted him as to the line of conduct fitting for them to pursue, that they should obey the injunctions likely to be given[z]. On the 25th of September he was called before the council[a] from whom he received a patient and courteous hearing[b]. He came provided with a considerable number of books and papers, and his arguments chiefly went to shew, that the homilies, and the paraphrase of Erasmus, were contradictory to each other in point of doctrine. As what he said appeared unsatisfactory, it did not move the council to retract the orders already issued for the circulation of these books; and the Bishop was intreated in conciliatory language not to embarrass the government by an opposition which appeared to rest upon insufficient grounds. He was then required to state plainly, his intentions respecting the injunctions, and he was informed that the Protector fully concurred in the propriety of such measures as must be adopted in cases of disobedience. After having deliberated for some time in another room, the Bishop returned to the council-board, and said, that he would receive the injunctions so far as

[y] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 84.
[z] Ibid.
[a] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 58.
[b] Bp. Gardiner's letter. Strype. Mem. Cranm. 216.

the laws of God and the King should bind him. This answer being considered evasive, he offered to spend the three weeks, which would elapse before the visitation of his own diocese, at Oxford, and after a disputation there upon the points at issue, to abide by its result. When this offer was refused, he requested leave to reside at his town house for the purpose of discussing there with some divines of eminence the doctrines upon which he disagreed with the council. He was however told, that no farther time would be allowed to him, and that, unless he was then prepared to receive the injunctions unreservedly, he must be committed to custody. Upon this, he said, that such haste was unreasonable, because, notwithstanding his present conviction, he was not ashamed to change his mind upon sufficient cause, and that therefore ultimately his conduct might resemble that of the son in the Gospel, who after refusing to go and work in his father's vineyard, subsequently thought better of it, and went[c]. The prospect offered by these words appears to have somewhat moved the council, and as if inclined to recede from their expressed determination, they now asked the Bishop whether he had uttered to others the opinions which he had avowed before the board respecting the books to be circulated by the royal authority. He ingenuously confessed, that he had; but he added, that it would be an extreme hardship to

[c] St. Matt. xxi. 29.

imprison a man for talking of the manner in which he meant to act upon an occasion not yet arrived; it of course remaining to be seen whether in the mean time he might not discover reason to alter his mind. All his pleas, however, were disregarded, and he found that unless he would consent at once to receive the injunctions without any qualification he must leave the council-chamber in custody. To this disagreeable alternative he made up his mind, and under every appearance of magnanimity, he was conducted prisoner to the Fleet[d]. While in confinement there all practicable attention was paid to his personal comfort, but it was deemed advisable to restrain from access to him certain persons, considered probably as likely to carry on a communication between him, and his party without[e].

Those who ordered Bishop Gardiner's committal undoubtedly possessed a knowledge of their age in which a distant posterity shares but imperfectly, and they probably were acquainted with many important circumstances of which every trace has long since been lost. Hence, it

[d] Bp. Gardiner's letter. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 217.

[e] In the copy of a writ, or evidence respecting the Bishop of Winchester's misdemeanour, it is said of his confinement in the Fleet, that he was there "as much at his ease, as if he had been at his own house." (Foxe, 1219.) On the other hand, Gardiner himself alleged in one of his letters to the Protector, that "he was allowed no friend or servant, no chaplain, barber, tailor, nor physician." (Strype, Mem. Cranm. 213.) These statements appear incapable of being satisfactorily reconciled with each other except upon the principle adopted in the text.

might have been determined, upon grounds appearing sufficient to men of moderation and experience, that all who would not submit unreservedly to the projected visitation should be treated as enemies to the public peace. Such had already been the line of conduct pursued in the Bishop of London's case, and therefore, the council was bound in equity to treat in a similar manner the refractory spirit displayed by Bishop Gardiner. In this instance, however, the results of the course adopted were upon the whole unfortunate; for although the government overpowered for a time its most dangerous opponent, it placed him in a light far more advantageous than any that he had ever occupied before. Hitherto the Bishop of Winchester had been known only as a fortunate adventurer early conducted by his talents for secular affairs to a splendid ecclesiastical appointment, and though ever on the watch to maintain the religious principles in which he was bred, yet always willing rather to decline the open support of them than to make any personal sacrifice. Now, however, his artifices availed him no longer, and he found himself treated as an avowed partizan of the Romish cause, whose hostility to its designs the government had determined to crush. He was thus obliged either to stand forth as the champion of a party which, though rapidly sinking in political influence, was yet dear to a majority of the people, or to adopt the tergiversation displayed by his brother of London, to the great disgust of his friends, and to the serious injury of

that interest in whose exertions were centred all his hopes of regaining his own ascendancy in the state. Bishop Gardiner chose the former alternative, and his first appearance in the new character which he assumed reflects considerable honour upon his memory.

He had not lain many days in prison before Cranmer endeavoured once more to work upon him by argument and persuasion. The Archbishop paying a visit to Dr. William May, the dean of St. Paul's [f], in company with the Bishops of Lincoln [g] and Rochester [h], Dr. Cox, and some others, desired to see Gardiner, at the deanery, and laboured to convince him, that the doctrines now recommended by authority were perfectly sound. This, however, the imprisoned prelate would by no means admit. In vain did Cranmer urge, that when justification was declared to flow through faith alone, nothing more was intended than to teach men the danger of confiding in their own merits as the ground of expecting God's favour. Gardiner challenged the whole party opposed to him to produce any ancient father affirm-

[f] "Elected Feb. 8, 1545, and in the first of Queen Mary he was deprived." Le Neve, 185.

[g] "Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, died the 7th of May preceding. The *congé d'elire* was not given till the 1st of August. Holbeach, Bishop of Rochester, was chosen to Lincoln on the 9th, and confirmed on the 20th of the same month." Life of Bishop Ridley, 211.

[h] Dr. Nicholas Ridley, who was recently consecrated to the see of Rochester; most probably on the 25th of September. Ibid.

ing, that faith excludes charity in the office of justification[j]. A few words of his own comprise all the account of this conference known to be extant, and the answer of his opponents does not appear. It is only certain, that nothing which passed, not even a hint from Cranmer that he could wish to see him reinstated at the council-board[k], induced him to swerve from his determination, and accordingly he again found himself consigned for an indefinite time to his quarters in the Fleet.

In the hope of shaking his resolution, Sir John Godsalve, one of the visitors for the London district[l], wrote to him to represent the ruinous consequences likely to flow to himself from a perseverance in his present conduct. Gardiner's answer, though rather verbose, contained passages worthy of any man, and of any cause. "Sixteen years," he wrote to the Knight, "have I held my bishopric, without infringing, in my official capacity, the laws of God, or those of the King. Equally blameless was I in these respects, on taking possession of my see; I have, therefore, the satisfaction of knowing, that the two portions of my life already spent have only been marked by such miscarriages as human frailty must be expected to pro-

[j] Collier, II. 232.

[k] "As Gardiner writ to the Protector." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 59.

[l] As the diocese of Winchester was not included in this district it seems not unlikely, that Godsalve was a personal friend of the Bishop's.

duce in any man. Now, if I play the third part well, and depart from my bishopric without offence to God's law, or the King's, I shall think the tragedy of my life well passed over. Thus to demean myself is at this time my only desire and study; nor if this third act be finished well, do I care whether my bishopric be taken from me, or myself from my bishopric. I am by nature already condemned to die; a sentence which no man can reverse, or even assure me of delay in the execution of it. Of necessity, therefore, within a short time, my preferment must come again into the King's disposal, my household must be broken up, and all the habits of my life must find an end. The thought of these things, however, troubles me nothing. In my house in London I lately fitted up a pleasant study, which for a time afforded to me great delight; but I grew weary of it, and was glad to leave it for the country. From this I feel justified in concluding, that provided I retain honesty, and truth, I could easily make up my mind to relinquish any worldly pleasure. But these good qualities have attended me through life, they will befriend a man when every thing else forsakes him, no one can take them from me but myself, and I will not surrender them: they are dearer to me than all the possessions in the realm. Were I to take leave of truth and honesty, then, indeed, I should deserve to lose my bishopric, and the gaping expectants of it would have reason to exult over my fall. I shall, however, give them no such pleasure." The Bishop then

declared, that he meant not to protest against the injunctions, only to allege such objections as he was in conscience bound to make; and he concluded, by suggesting, that the visitation being likely to be found illegal in some particulars, no man could safely act under the commission for it, unless he were protected by a regular indemnity[m].

When the Protector returned from Scotland, Gardiner endeavoured by letters to prejudice him against the homilies, and paraphrase; not omitting to remind him, that the visitation might bring trouble upon those concerned in it, on account of its repugnance to the fundamental laws of England. As to the homily of salvation, he wrote; that, if Cranmer had been his extreme enemy, he could have wished no better than to see him produce that piece[n]; that baptism justifies infants;

[m] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 157.

[n] Those who desire to understand completely the Archbishop's doctrine upon the subject controverted by Gardiner should read the homily of salvation, together with the two following ones. For the satisfaction of such as are not disposed to do this, or as have not the homilies at hand, the following extract may suffice. "Faith doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but it shutteth them out from the office of justifying. So that, although they be all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not altogether: neither doth faith shut out the justice of our good works, necessarily to be done afterwards of duty towards God; (for we are most bounden to serve God in doing good deeds, commanded of him in holy Scripture, all the days of our life:) but it excludeth them, so that we may not do them to this intent, to be made just by doing of them. For all the good works that we can do be imperfect, and therefore

penance recovers lapsed adults; that a nice investigation into such matters was only fit for scholastic disputants in the Universities; and that the Archbishop would never persuade men generally to acquiesce in his doctrine of justification, unless he borrowed prisons of the Protector; a mode of silencing opposition resembling that pursued at Rome, where people who do not kneel when the Bishop passes by are knocked on the head with a halberd. He then launched out into some sarcasms upon the primate, as a person so highly gifted with God's spirit, and so deeply versed in theology, that he seemed able with a breath to confound error, and to establish truth.

Upon the paraphrase, Bishop Gardiner wrote, "that he agreed with those who accused Erasmus of laying the eggs which Luther hatched; that of all the monstrous opinions now abroad, evil men had a wondrous occasion ministered to them from the paraphrase; and that he might term the book in one word *Abomination*, both on account of the author's malice, and of the translator's arrogant, ill-disposed ignorance[o]." In another letter, the

not able to deserve our justification: but our justification doth come freely by the mere mercy of God, and of so great and free mercy, that whereas all the world was not able of themselves to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased our heavenly Father of his infinite mercy, without any our desert or deserving, to prepare for us the most precious jewels of Christ's body and blood, whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied." Homilies, 19.

[o] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 215.

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exasperated prelate represented this work as inculcating principles at variance both with the Homilies, and with the *Necessary Doctrine* [p], a book authorised by Parliament for the direction of the clergy; as being written by Erasmus in youth, when his pen was wanton; as involving in doubt the obedience of subjects to their princes; as speaking irreverently of the Eucharist, advocating clerical marriages, and tending in various ways to unsettle the minds of men [q]. Upon another occasion, Gardiner complained to the Protector of being kept in prison at a time when he ought to be at liberty to attend his duty in Parliament, and he desired his release, in order to argue with the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords upon the points in which he differed from him. This application, however, as well as those preceding it, was disregarded; it not being deemed expedient to release a partisan of such talents and activity, while the sitting of Parliament afforded him additional facilities for embarrassing the government by his opposition [r].

The uneasiness generally prevailing among people attached to Romanism induced the Lady Mary to try the effect of an appeal to the Protector. She appears to have expostulated with him by letter upon the impropriety of allowing any religious innovations to take effect during a minority, re-

[p] Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. II. 521.

[q] Bishop Gardiner to the Protector. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 785.

[r] Collier, II. 233.

presenting such a course as alike disrespectful to the memory of her deceased father, and unfair towards her brother, because likely to disturb the peace of his kingdom[a]. Somerset's reply is a verbose epistle, in which he exculpates himself from the charge of disrespect to his late master, protests, that he was only actuated by an anxiety to discharge his duty conscientiously, and expresses his belief, that his royal correspondent's interference was prompted by some of those uncharitable and malicious persons who were then so active. It appears, that the Princess had, among other topics, urged upon Somerset the ready acquiescence yielded by all classes in the late reign to such ecclesiastical arrangements as were then carried into effect; an unanimity which she could "partly witness herself." "At these your Grace's sayings," wrote the Protector in reply, "I do something marvel. For if it may please you to call to your remembrance what great labours, travails, and pains his Grace had, before he could reform some of those stiff-necked Romanists, or Papists: yea, and did they not cause his subjects to rise and rebel against him, and constrained him to take the sword in his hand, not without danger to his person and realm?" Having thus truly stated the case, respecting King Henry's reforms, Somerset proceeded, by adverting to the unsettled state of religion at that monarch's death,

[a] "I gather this to have been the substance of her letter, from the answer which the Protector wrote." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 62.

and to the uneasiness hence pervading the country. He then asserted from his own knowledge that the late King was much concerned, when upon his death-bed, to leave the Reformation so incomplete, having resolved to carry it farther, and he concluded by requesting the Princess to consider the absurdity of calling scriptural religion newfangledness, and fancy[t]. The mortification of seeing her interference thus rebuked was, however, the only one to which the Lady Mary was subjected at this time. In all other respects she received the treatment to which her birth entitled her, and the young King failed not upon every opportunity to give her proofs of his affectionate regard[u].

It was not without reason, that the leading Romanists made such exertions to support the credit of their opinions, for in addition to the hostility of the cabinet, they had to contend almost daily with active assailants, in the inferior walks of life. Their leading doctrine, transubstantiation, especially, was now more controverted than ever, and some of the attacks levelled against it were by their boldness and scurrility calculated to make a powerful impression upon the vulgar. Placards were affixed on the doors of St. Paul's cathedral, and in other places, terming the consecrated wafer itself *A Round Robin*, when contained in the pix, *Jack in the box*, and mass, *The*

[t] Ibid. Records, 161.

[u] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 91.

sacrament of the halter[x]. From arguments and invectives against the corporal presence, all Bishop Gardiner's care and severity had not sufficed even to keep his own diocese free. Before the end of King Henry's reign a clergyman, named Hancock, had preached there from the Epistle to the Hebrews[y], that the single sacrifice offered by Christ upon the cross was a sufficient atonement for the whole sum of human iniquity. This doctrine, though strictly scriptural, was considered as inculcated with a view to disparage the mass, and Hancock was suspended from the exercise of his ministerial functions. This suspension was, however, removed soon after King Edward's accession, by Cranmer's means, and the zealous preacher now impugned unreservedly the corporal presence, in various parts of the southern and western counties[z]. Other clergymen adopted the same line of conduct, and thus the popular mind was retained in a state of constant ferment, as to what were deemed the vitals of religion, not only by means of vulgar ribaldry, but also by the force of serious argument. These attacks upon the mass did not, however, receive any direct encouragement from persons in authority. The coarseness, indeed, with which this Romish service was assailed, disgusted all serious minds, and

[x] Life of Bishop Ridley, 216. These indecencies were far from new; but they were now brought forward with unwonted boldness.

[y] Heb. ix. 12. 25, 26.

[z] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 247.

Bishop Ridley, in a sermon preached, this autumn, at St. Paul's Cross, reprobated these excesses with such severity, that he was afterwards said to have maintained the corporal presence upon that occasion [a].

An incident, which occurred in October, shewed, that the prevailing disposition to pour contempt upon the mass had made some progress in the University of Cambridge. When the members of St. John's College there assembled one morning in their chapel, the strings by which the pix was ordinarily suspended were found to be cut, and that venerated vessel was lying upon the pavement. As there was little probability, that this ignominious fall resulted from accident, an enquiry was immediately set on foot to discover the author of the outrage. The offender proved to be a young Frenchman of Protestant principles, who was a sizar of the house. His act occasioned great uneasiness in the collegiate body, being thought likely to give offence at the seat of government, and, accordingly, it was determined to lay all the circumstances, without delay, before Archbishop Cranmer. By him, in consideration of the youthful delinquent's irreproachable morals, and studious habits, no particular severity was recommended, and the affair was hushed up [b].

[a] Life of Bp. Ridley, 216.

[b] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 231.

CHAPTER II.

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

Ancient opinions respecting the Sacramental presence—Rise of a belief in transubstantiation—Ratramn—Contemporary sentiments of other eminent divines—Lanfranc—Berenger—Progress and establishment of a belief in transubstantiation—Artolatry—The Eucharist represented as a propitiatory sacrifice—Zuingle's attacks upon transubstantiation—Œcolampadius—Elfric—The Anglo-Saxon homily—Anglo-Saxon epistles against transubstantiation—Anglo-Norman arrangements for the reception of that doctrine—Abandonment of it by Ridley and Cranmer.

AMONG the peculiar tenets engrafted under papal influence upon the Catholic faith, that which gives life and energy to the whole system of Romanism, is transubstantiation. This doctrine teaches, that the words of Eucharistic consecration having been pronounced by a priest duly ordained, and intending to produce the effect an-

ticipated[a], the sensible qualities only[b] of the bread and wine remain, their substances being changed into those of Christ's natural body and blood[c].

[a] At the council of Florence, which began its sessions in 1439, and ended them in 1442, it was determined, that the priest's intention was necessary to confer validity upon a sacrament. At the council of Trent, in 1547, it was found difficult to define exactly in what this intention consists, but it was considered to consist in doing as the Church enjoins, in particular cases; that is, to baptise an infant when one is brought for that purpose, to consecrate the elements at a mass. In the end, the Trentine fathers affirmed the decision of their predecessors at Florence as to the necessity of ministerial intentions. F. Paul. 240, 264.

[b] As their taste, smell, colour, extension and the like. These properties are technically termed *Accidents*. "An accident is such a mode as is not necessary to the being of a thing, for the subject may be without it, and yet remain of the same nature that it was before; or it is that mode which may be separated, or abolished from its subject; so smoothness or roughness, blackness or whiteness, motion or rest, are the accidents of a bowl; for these may all be changed, and yet the body remain a bowl still." Watts's Logic. Lond. 1733. p. 18.

[c] "The Papists say that in the Supper of the Lord, after the words of consecration, as they call it, there is none other substance remaining but the substance of Christ's flesh and blood, so that there remaineth neither bread to be eaten, nor wine to be drunken. And although there be the colour of bread and wine, the savour, the smell, the bigness, the fashion, and all other, as they call them, accidents, or qualities and quantities of bread and wine, yet, say they, there is no very bread nor wine, but they be turned into the flesh and blood of Christ. And this conversion they call transubstantiation, that is to say, turning of one substance into another substance. And although all the accidents, both of the bread and wine, remain still, yet say they, the same accidents be in no manner of thing; but hang alone in the air, without any thing to stay them upon. For in the body and blood of Christ, say they, these accidents cannot be, nor

Romish ecclesiastics, therefore, claim the power of presenting at all times to the senses of their congregations an incarnation of the Deity, and of exhibiting the naked qualities of things, after those things themselves have wholly disappeared[d]. Few facts in the intellectual history of man are more remarkable, than the extensive credence attained by these pretensions. It is, however, obvious, that such pretensions are well adapted to captivate ordinary minds. Men unused to serious thought, and unacquainted with God's recorded Word, would readily allow themselves to

yet in the air; for the body and blood of Christ, and the air, be neither of that bigness, fashion, smell, nor colour, that the bread and wine be. Nor in the bread and wine, say they, these accidents cannot be; for the substance of bread and wine, as they affirm, be clean gone. And so there remaineth whiteness, but nothing is white; there remaineth colours, but nothing is coloured therewith; there remaineth roundness, but nothing is round; and there is bigness, and yet nothing is big; there is sweetness, without any sweet thing; softness, without any soft thing; breaking, without any thing broken; division, without any thing divided; and so other qualities and quantities, without any thing to receive them. And this doctrine they teach as a necessary article of our faith." Abp. Cranmer's Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament, 36.

[d] "Neque aliud forte sunt omnia accidentia, quam qualificationes seu modificationes substantiæ. Quod haud ægre fatereutur plerique omnes, nisi propter Eucharistiam contrarium dicendum putaverint Papistæ, ut existere possint accidentia a subjecto suo separata. Sic Jesuita Suarez, in Metaphys. Dis. 7. Sect. 2. Numb. 10. *Per mysterium*, inquit, *Eucharistiæ, certius nobis constat quantitatem esse rem distinctam a materia, quam per cognitionem naturalem constare potuisset.*" Institut. Logic. per J. Wallis, S. T. D. Oxon. 1729. p. 28.

be persuaded, that the sacerdotal voice is privileged to draw * down the Deity sensibly into the midst of his worshippers, and that, although they may eat the bread of life without the preparation of a true Christian faith, yet none, unless wilfully bent on sin, can altogether miss the benefits offered in the Holy Supper. Transubstantiation also tends immeasurably to exalt the priestly character; it is, therefore, a doctrine unlikely to encounter an effectual opposition, in an age of gross ignorance, and increasing superstition, from a large proportion of the clergy. Nor is it unimportant, that this tenet furnishes facilities for rendering religious rites attractive to the grosser elements of society. To the Deity, sensibly amidst his creatures, no demonstrations of respect can be deemed excessive; but the profoundest adoration, the most imposing ceremonies, the proudest triumphs of human ingenuity must be well employed in rendering honour to a presence so august. Such honours, accordingly, have been prodigally lavished by the believers of transubstantiation upon the principal visible object of their worship; and hence even persons careless

* At the council of Trent, in 1547, those were anathematised who maintain, "that the Sacraments are ordained only to nourish faith; that they do not contain in them the grace signified, or do not give it to him that doth not resist; that grace is not always given by the Sacraments, nor unto all for as much as belongeth unto God, though they be lawfully received; that by Sacraments grace is not given, in virtue of the administration of them, called *Opus operatum.*" F. Paul. 263.

of religion have found themselves unable to regard with perfect unconcern the more striking Eucharistic celebrations.

Notwithstanding, however, its attractions for a large portion of men, both clerical and lay, transubstantiation is a doctrine encumbered with difficulties of a kind so formidable, that an inquisitive mind cannot avoid an anxiety to ascertain, whether it is clearly revealed in the Record of God's Word. Such a question is likely to be met with little pleasure by defenders of the corporal presence. Eminent divines holding that opinion have long since admitted, that it cannot be proved from Scripture[f]. Romish polemics,

[f] Duns, the schoolman, says, that "the words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without transubstantiation." (Cranmer, Cath. Doctr. 69.) "Ockham, another famous schoolman, says expressly, that the doctrine which holds the substance of the bread and wine to remain after consecration, is neither repugnant to reason nor Scripture. Petrus ab Alliaco, Cardinal of Cambray, says plainly, that the doctrine of the substance of bread and wine remaining after consecration is more easy and free from absurdity, more rational, and no ways repugnant to the authority of Scripture: nay more, that for the other doctrine, *viz.* of transubstantiation, *there is no evidence in Scripture.* Gabriel Biel, another great schoolman, and divine of their Church, freely declares, that as to any thing expressed in the canon of the Scriptures, a man may believe, that the substance of bread and wine doth remain after consecration; and therefore, he resolves the belief of transubstantiation into some other revelation beside Scripture, which he supposeth the Church had about it. Cardinal Gajetan confesseth, that the Gospel doth no where express that the bread is changed into the body of Christ: that we have this from the authority of the Church: nay he goes farther, that there is nothing in the

therefore, are precluded from asserting, as to the grounds of transubstantiation, any thing more satisfactory than, that the tenet is rendered probable from Scripture, and certain from the unvarying testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity [g].

A careful examination of the most ancient theological works, undoubtedly genuine, will however overthrow this latter assertion. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who sealed his conviction with his

Gospel which enforceth any man to understand these words of Christ, *This is my body*, in a proper, and not in a metaphorical sense; but the Church having understood them in a proper sense, they are to be so explained: *which words in the Roman edition of Cajetan are expunged by order of Pope Pius V.* Cardinal Contarenus, and Melchior Canus one of the best and most judicious writers that Church ever had, reckon this doctrine among those which are not so expressly found in Scripture. I will add but one more of great authority in the Church, and a reputed martyr, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who ingenuously confesseth that in the words of the institution, there is not one word from whence the true presence of the flesh and blood of Christ in our mass can be proved." Abp. Tillotson. Sermons. Lond. 1742. II. 202. where may be found references to the particular passages cited.

[g] The Trentine fathers, accordingly, treated the grounds of this doctrine in the following vague and indefinite manner. They professed to "deliver the doctrine which the Catholic Church, instructed by our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and by his Apostles, and taught by the Holy Spirit daily suggesting to them all truth, has always preserved, and will preserve to the end of the world." (Bp. Marsh, Comp. View, 28.) Thus these divines only ventured to bottom the leading article of their distinctive creed upon bare assertions, and did not descend in this case, as they did in some others, to particularise whether the revelations referred to were preserved orally, or in the Record, or by means of both.

blood at the beginning of the second century[h], speaks of the Eucharist in a manner offensive to Romish ears, terming it "the bread of God[i]." Justin Martyr[k] says, that the Eucharistic elements nourish the bodies of men; an assertion most unlikely to be made by one who believed those elements to be no other than the glorified body of Christ[l]. Irenæus[m] also speaks of the corporal nutriment derived by men from the Eucharistic elements, and says, that these consist of two things, one earthly, the other heavenly[n]. Tertullian[o] explains our Lord's words at the Last Supper by saying, that they mean, *This is a figure of my body*[p]. Origen[q] declares that the bread and cup are signs and images of our Saviour's body and blood[r], hence disposed of eventually in the same manner as other aliments which enter the human stomach[s]. Sentiments resembling these,

[h] He was torn in pieces by wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Rome, in the year 107, according to Archbishop Usher. Du Pin, II. 102. Abp. Wake's Apostolical Fathers, Lond. 1817. p. 55.

[i] Epistle to the Ephesians. Abp. Wake's translation, 222.

[k] A. D. 144.

[l] Tillotson, 209. Joh. (Cosin.) Episc. Dunelm. Hist. Transubst. Papal. Lond. 1675. p. 59.

[m] A. D. 160.

[n] Cosin, 60. Tillotson, 210.

[o] A. D. 200.

[p] Cosin, 62.

[q] A. D. 220.

[r] Cosin, 63.

[s] "This testimony is so very plain in the cause, that Sextus Senensis suspects this place of Origen was depraved by the heretics. Cardinal Perron is contented to allow it to be Origen's, but rejects his testimony, because he was accused of heresy

utterly subversive of transubstantiation, occur in writers of note, throughout the first seven centuries[t], and among them no one is more remarkable than that of Gelasius[u], because he is generally considered to have been Bishop of Rome. If such be the fact, this ancient Pope differed most widely in the leading article of their creed, from a long succession of those who have occupied his chair, for he asserts expressly, that in the Eucharist the substance, or nature of bread and wine remains. These numerous testimonies have been found by Romanists wholly unmanageable, and their writers of good information and ingenuousness have been driven to the necessity of admitting, that transubstantiation cannot be proved from the genuine remains of the fathers[x].

by some of the fathers, and says, he talks like a heretic in this place." Tillotson, 213.

[t] As Cyprian, A. D. 250. Athanasius, 330. Cyril of Jerusalem, 350. Basil, 360. Gregory of Nyssa, 370. Ambrose, 380. Chrysostom, 390. Augustine, 400. Prosper, 430, Theodoret, 440. Cyril of Alexandria, 440. Gelasius, 470. Ephrem of Antioch, 540. Facundus, an African bishop, 550. Isidore of Seville, 630. In Bishop Cosin's work may be seen the passages in which these authors discover their disbelief, or more properly, their ignorance of transubstantiation, together with his own acute remarks upon these passages. Several of these ancient testimonies against Romanism may be seen also in Archbishop Tillotson's discourse against transubstantiation, and in Bishop Stillingfleet's Rational Account.

[u] "Sive is erat Episcopus Romanus, sive alius quispiam, Cardinalis Bellarminus fatetur, ejusdem cum illo et ævi et sententiæ fuisse." Cosin, 80.

[x] "The English Jesuits confessed, that the fathers did not

The origin of this doctrine must probably be sought in the practice, which gained ground so early as the second century [y], of carrying portions of the consecrated elements away from the church for the use of the sick at their own houses. If such a practice be allowed to prevail, it is obviously no more than decent, that the hallowed substances should be preserved with a considerable degree of respect. Christians did thus preserve them, and their conduct, though becoming under the circumstances of the case, led to superstition. An opinion at length was entertained, not only, that the Eucharist ought to be consecrated at church, but also that it was desirable to consecrate it on the festival of Easter [z]. It is obvious, that men, under the influence of such weaknesses, might be easily led in time to confound the mystical, with the substantial body of Christ. The idea of some such confusion was broached in

meddle with the doctrine of transubstantiation. Suarez confesseth, that the names used by the fathers are more accommodated to an accidental change. Father Barns acknowledgeth, that transubstantiation is not the faith of the Church, and that Scripture and fathers may be sufficiently expounded of a supernatural presence of the body of Christ without any change in the substance of the elements. For which he produces a large catalogue of fathers and others." Bp. Stillingfleet's Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion. Lond. 1665. p. 556.

[y] Allix on the Albigenses, 40.

[z] "Sacerdotes quidam Eucharistiam, quæ die Paschali consecrata fuit, per annum ægrotis reservant." Homil. Sax. ap. Wheloc. in Bed. 332.

the fifth century, by the heretic Eutyches, but his hypothesis does not appear to have met with avowed patrons among the superior clergy, much before the year 787, when the second council of Nice, laid on a basis, tolerably secure, the foundations of Popery [a]. The council of Constantinople having alleged, as a reason for rejecting the use of images, that Christ left none of himself except the sacramental elements, which represent his body and blood [b], it was now determined by the daring innovators of Nice, that the Constantinopolitan divines had in this, as in other instances, spoken incorrectly; the consecrated bread and wine not being types, but truly the Saviour's body and blood [c]. This oracular decision, like that respecting images, appears to have failed of obtaining the acquiescence of Western Europe. The illustrious Charlemagne had already, in an epistle to Alcuin, expressed his belief, that the sacramental elements are figures of Christ's body and blood [d], and there is no reason to doubt, that in this respect, as in that of images, he continued through life at variance with the Roman Bishop. During his reign, indeed, the Eucharistic controversy has left no traces in the West. It is known that nearly all Italy, Gaul, and England [e] believed

[a] Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. I. 19.

[b] Usser. de Success. 19.

[c] Tillotson, II. 222.

[d] Cosin, 86.

[e] Matt. Westmonast. ap. Usser. de Success. 101. The monkish historian attributes this state of public opinion to Be-

in the spiritual presence only, at the distance of more than two centuries from the death of Charlemagne; and while he swayed the sceptre the question seems not even to have been agitated among polemics [f].

renger; but without insisting upon the improbability of supposing that a single individual could attain such extensive influence in an age little fitted for intellectual communication, it is certain, from the Saxon homilies, that Englishmen were no believers in transubstantiation long before Berenger was born. Allix may be consulted satisfactorily for the faith of the Italians and Gauls respecting this article.

[f] Bellarmine observes, "that none of the ancients who wrote of heresies, hath put this error (*viz.* of denying transubstantiation) in his catalogue; nor did any of these ancients dispute against this error for the first 600 years." (Tillotson, 222.) These facts, one might think, would be sufficient to stagger ordinary men in their belief of this doctrine. The early ages of the Church were sufficiently fruitful in disputes and refinements. If, therefore, transubstantiation were taught during the course of them, it is strange, that it should have been wholly overlooked by all the various restless spirits which from time to time agitated the Christian world. Men who maintain, that, notwithstanding this extraordinary silence, the corporal presence really was universally believed in primitive times, may fairly be required to answer interrogatories similar to those which Lucretius addressed to such as held the eternity of the world.

"Præterea, si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Terrarum et cœli, semperque æterna fuere;
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, et funera Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere poëtæ?
Quo tot facta virum totiens cecidere; neque usquam,
Æternis famæ monimentis insita, florent?"

De Rer. Nat. v. 325.

If a tenet so utterly repugnant to human reason, as is transubstantiation, were professed by the early Christians, how comes it

In the earlier part of the ninth century, however, inquisitive minds were fixed upon this subject, in consequence of a work offered to the world by Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbey in Picardy[g]. In this tract was maintained a doctrine very similar to that subsequently taught by Luther, but some of the positions were expressed in terms which occasioned a considerable sensation among divines; it being asserted, that the Lord's body, received at the Eucharistic feast, is the same body that was born of the Virgin[h]. This doctrine, though it did not proceed to the length of asserting, that the elements were transubstantiated, but rather taught, that they were united with the incarnate Deity, was no sooner published than it encountered a violent opposition. Charles the Bald, anxious to form a sound opinion upon the controversy which Radbert had excited, applied to Ratramn[i] a monk and priest in the same abbey of Corbey, who as a divine had attained the highest reputation, for an elucidation of the doctrine under dispute. In obedience to this command, Ratramn composed a small work upon the

that no man has found any footsteps of opposition to it during at least six disputatious centuries, according to the chronology of its ablest friend?

[g] "Paschasius his book may be supposed to have been written A. D. 831." Introd. to the Book of Bertram, or Ratramnus. Lond. 1686. p. 78.

[h] Ibid. 80. Cosin, 86.

[i] "His true name was doubtless Ratramnus, which came afterwards to be changed into Bertramus by the error of some transcriber." Introd. to the Book of Bertram, 4.

Eucharist, still extant, and which is of great importance, because it shows incontrovertibly, that in the ninth century an eminent and honoured [k] member of the Romish communion inculcated, without exciting any censure, opinions utterly irreconcileable with modern Popery. The learned author begins, by complimenting Charles upon his desire to think like a Catholic upon the Eucharist [l]. He then observes, that upon one occasion, our Saviour designated himself as "the living bread which came down from heaven [m];" upon another, addressing his disciples, the Lord said, "I am the true vine, ye are the branches [n]." In both these cases one thing is expressed, another understood; for in substance, neither was Christ, bread or a vine, nor were the Apostles, branches [o]. Similarly figurative, he proceeds, were our Lord's words at the Last Supper; hence our commemoration of it is called a sacrament or mystery, words inapplicable to that in

[k] "It is an argument of his known abilities, that Charles the Bald chose to consult him upon points of so great moment as the predestination controversy, and that of Christ's presence in the Sacrament." (Ibid. 9.) "Nay F. Cellot acknowledgeth, that Hincmarus himself had such an esteem for him, (long after his writing of the Sacrament and predestination,) that when at the desire of Pope Nicolaus I. he sought all France for learned men to write against the Greeks, he invited Ratramnus by name to undertake that service." Ibid. 12.

[l] "Quid enim dignius regali providentia quam de illius sacris Mysteriis *Catholice sapere?*" Ratramn, 4.

[m] St. John, vi. 51. [n] St. John, xv. 1. 5.

[o] Ratramn, 13.

which is nothing covered under a veil[p]. Nothing, besides, can be more absurd, than to take bread for flesh, or to say, that wine is blood; and how can ordinary substances in which there is not any change known to be made, be styled Christ's body and blood[q]? Since, therefore, no change whatever in the elements appears, or indeed, under the circumstances of the case, is possible, philosophically speaking, the Eucharistic words of Christ are necessarily figurative. One and the same thing, in one respect, has the nature of bread and wine; in another respect, it is the Saviour's body and blood. For both, as they are corporally handled, are in their nature corporeal creatures; but according to their virtue, and what they are spiritually made, they are mysteries of the body and blood of Christ[r]. In baptism also, the water used is only a corruptible fluid by which the body may be washed, but the Holy Ghost endues it with a power to purge away spiritual impurities, and to raise the soul from everlasting death[s]. Thus in one and the same element, are seen two things contrary to each other; that which is corruptible gives incorruption, and that which is without life becomes the means of bestowing life. So in the Eucharist, the things seen feed a corruptible body, being corruptible themselves: but the things believed feed immortal souls, being themselves immortal[t]. This sound

[p] Ratramn, 15. [q] Ibid. 19. [r] Ibid. 25.
[s] Ibid. 27. [t] Ibid. 29.

and rational doctrine is then enforced by other instances of figurative language occurring in Scripture, such as no man ever dreamt of expounding literally; and the author proceeds to shew, with great learning and acuteness, that the Eucharistic reveries which Radbert had been pleased to advocate upon paper are at variance with Scripture, with the fathers, with the nature of a sacrament, and with human reason. Thus no sooner had something closely bordering upon transubstantiation been tangibly broached, than one of the first divines of the age stepped forward, at his sovereign's desire, to explain what really was the voice of Holy Writ, and of the Catholic Church, upon this question. The result was, that a short, but a very able and explicit piece appeared [u] which proves, to the infinite perplexity of modern self-called Catholics, that in the time of Charles the Bald, this appellation which they have arrogated exclusively to themselves was considered the property of such as hold, upon a point of the first importance, the doctrine of most modern Protestants.

The sentiments of Ratramn were so far from

[u] Bishop Cosin assigns 860, as the date of Ratramn's work. The English translator places its composition, four or five years earlier. Ratramn is thought to have been preferred by Charles the Bald to the government of the monastery of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons. Radbert resigned the abbacy of Corbey in 851, being harassed, as F. Mabillon conjectures, by the Eucharistic controversy which he had excited. Introd. to the Book of Bertram, 5, 6. 79.

giving offence to the more learned and judicious of his contemporaries, that we find them connected with almost every celebrated theological name by which the age was graced. Rabanus Maurus, the far-famed Archbishop of Mentz[x], Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons[y], Claudius, Bishop of Turin[z], the illustrious John Scot, usually designated Erigena[a], Druthmar[b], and several other authors of

[x] "Cui, si Trithemium audimus, nec Italia similem, nec Germania peperit æqualem." (Usser. de Success. 24.) Abp. Usher, and Bp. Cosin, the latter especially, have given a sufficient specimen of this illustrious prelate's opinion upon the Eucharist. He speaks indeed so plainly against the corporal presence that William of Malmsbury, and Thomas of Walden rejected his authority as undoubtedly erroneous; but as Bp. Cosin observes, these writers, in condemning Rabanus, have taken upon themselves to condemn all the doctors of the ancient Church.

[y] In his work upon pictures and images; in which he denies the propriety of allowing to these objects any religious honours whatever. The book is forbidden in the Romish *Index Expurgatorius*. Nevertheless Agobard passes for a saint among the Romanists; it being their usage to claim as belonging to themselves every celebrated name in ancient times. Allix on the Albigenses, 97.

[z] Allix on the Piedmontese Churches, 67.

[a] Cosin, 92.

[b] A monk of Corbey. His sentiments upon the Eucharist are so completely opposed to modern Popery, that Sixtus of Sienna thought proper to qualify them by declaring, that his words, as generally received, do not agree exactly with a manuscript hitherto unused for the press. This manuscript, however, has not been produced, but the assertion of Sixtus has been placed in the margin of Druthmar's work, reprinted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, at Cologne. Cardinal Perron proceeds more boldly

high repute in their day [c], lent the aid of their talents to stay the progress of that unscriptural and irrational fancy by which the superstitious were labouring to embarrass the Eucharistic question. This fact explains the reason why the Roman Bishops allowed the controversy to rage without a single effort on their part to dogmatise. However well disposed they might have been to patronise the notions of Radbert, these were as yet so new, and so decidedly opposed by theologians of eminence, that it would evidently have been found impossible to obtain for them the sanction of any respectable synod [d].

But the carnal presence, strong in its power to fascinate the heart of fallen man, soon recovered of the shock which it had received when first fairly before the world. That intellectual eclipse

with Druthmar. He says that the passage so decidedly subversive of transubstantiation, is corrupted by the Protestants. Unfortunately for the Cardinal's hypothesis, the passage is found entire in an edition of Druthmar, printed in 1514, that is, three years before Luther attacked indulgences. Allix on the Albigenses, 100.

[c] Their names, and citations from their works, may be seen in Bp. Cosin's history, and in the introduction to the Book of Bertram.

[d] "Quelque animée que fût cette dispute, on ne tint point de concile pour la decider; comme il ne s'agissait point du fonds de la doctrine, mais seulement des termes, on la laissa discuter entre les theologiens, et les evêques ne s'en mêlèrent point." (Du Pin, 52.) This mode, however, of characterising the controversy, and of accounting for the conduct of the hierarchy during its course, will not bear examination.

which overshadowed Europe during the tenth century was eminently fitted for the growth of superstition, and through that gloomy period, Radbert's Eucharistic notions, no longer afraid of such geniuses as illumined the age, which first shewed them distinctly to mankind, gained constantly upon public opinion. Their progress was not, indeed, either unheeded, or unopposed [e], but minds equal to the task of effectually correcting popular errors were few and comparatively feeble. Hence as was to be expected, when the millenary year arrived, men of information were less indisposed than heretofore towards that doctrine of the Sacrament which had formerly experienced a reception so unpromising from the gerality of such as were most competent to decide upon it. Guitmund, Bishop of Aversa, Alger, a monk of Corbey, and other scholars of note now openly supported the carnal presence [f]. The most celebrated advocate of this doctrine, however, was a native of Pavia, named Lanfranc, who, being left an orphan at an early age, passed into France, and was highly valued in that country as

[e] "Hanc vero de corpore et sanguine Domini quæstionem deinceps varie fuisse agitatam, ostendunt scripta adversaria Ratherii, (qui ex monacho Lobiensi, Veronensis primum, deinde Leodiensis ecclesiæ factus est episcopus, temporibus Henrici Aucupis, et filii ejus Ottonis Magni Imp.) ac Herigeri Abbatis Lobiensis, qui sub finem decimi seculi, congessit contra Ratherium, (vel ut alii habent codices, contra Ratbertum) multa Catholicorum Patrum scripta de corpore et sanguine Domini." Usser. de Success. 26.

[f] Hospiniani Hist. Sacrament. Tigur. 1598. p. 340.

an instructor of youth[g]. This eminent divine appears to have been somewhat over credulous, for it having been reported when he was a boy, that a priest in his neighbourhood had discovered flesh and blood where he expected to see only bread and wine[h], the young Lanfranc was fixed immovably in the opinions broached by Paschasius Radbert. The learned Italian became at length a monk of Bec, afterwards Abbot of Caen, and as his reputation ever stood high, it cannot be doubted that he was largely instrumental in spreading a belief of the corporal presence among his adopted countrymen. That doctrine, however, yet continued to find its principal supporters among the lovers of the marvellous in lower life; it being designated by its most illustrious opponent as the belief of Paschasius, of Lanfranc, and of the vulgar[i].

[g] Dacherii Vit. Lanfr. Lut. Paris. 1648. p. 1.

[h] "Scribit enim Guitmundus, lib. 2. Lanfrancum narrasse, se puero in Italia accidisse, quod cum presbyter quidam missam celebrans, inventa super altare veram carnem et verum in calice sanguinem, secundum propriam carnis et sanguinis speciem, sumere trepidasset, rem protinus suo episcopo, consilium quæsiturus, aperuisse: episcopum autem cum multis aliis episcopis ad hoc convocatis, calicem illum, cum eadem carne et sanguine Domini, diligenter opertum et sigillatum, in medio altaris *pro summis reliquiis* perpetuo servanda inclusisse." (Hospinian. 340.) The same imposture, it may be recollected, was practised at Calais. (Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. II. 458.) Hospinian seems to have considered that the wonderment which took, as we are informed, an effect so powerful upon Lanfranc's mind was brought about by diabolical agency.

[i] Lanfranc. adv. Berengar. 234.

It was Berenger, Archdeacon of Angers [k], who thus spoke of the corporal presence. This distinguished polemic, who was for virtue, learning, and abilities one of the first men of his age [l], opposed with vigour the prevailing disposition towards a belief in Radbert's doctrine. The principal authority which he used in his arguments upon this subject, was that of John Scot, or Erigena, whose name carried great weight with it among all the best scholars in Western Europe. In the hope of bringing over Lanfranc to his opinion, Berenger wrote a friendly letter to that illustrious monk. He then chanced to be from home, and the letter was opened by some of his clerical acquaintances, who, disgusted at its contents, transmitted it in haste to Leo IX. Bishop of Rome. This prelate, appears to have been a zealous assertor of Radbert's doctrine, for he took upon himself to condemn Berenger unheard, and to pronounce him out of communion with the Roman Church. In the following September, Leo convoked a synod at Vercelli, and in this, Berenger, Erigena, and all their favourers were formally condemned [m]. This attempt of the Roman

[k] "Claruit circa annos Domini 1030." Hospinian. 332.

[l] "Quem virum sanctimonia vitæ et doctrina præstantem fuisse, testantur Platina, Vincentius Bergomensis, et alii quamplurimi." (Cosin. 131.) His epitaph also written by a learned bishop, who was contemporary with him, bears the amplest testimony to Berenger's excellence: it is preserved by William of Malmsbury, and has been extracted either wholly or in part by Hospinian, Abp. Usher, and Bp. Cosin.

[m] In the year 1050. Usser. de Success. 101.

Church to thrust upon the consciences of men a new article of faith immediately excited a violent ferment in France. Berenger's opinions were extensively and warmly canvassed there; being condemned, indeed, by many, but by a large number actively supported, both in conversation, and on paper[n]. Such a spirit of hostility to the decisions of his see alarmed Victor II. who succeeded Leo, and in the hope of reconciling the French to what his predecessor had done, he despatched Hildebrand into Gaul. By means of that able politician a synod was assembled at Tours, at which Berenger appeared[o], and

[n] "Quod autem alibi affirmat idem (Papirius Massonus) *solum inventum esse Berengarium, qui novam de Eucharistia sententiam proferre in medium auderet, eique bellum illius temporis theologos omnes indixisse;* falsi convincunt authores duo, qui a Berengarii ætate non multum abfuerunt, Conradus Bruwilerensis, et Sigebertus Gemblacensis monachus: quorum alter in vita Wolphelmi Bruwilerensis Abbatis, alter in chronico ad annum Domini 1051, his verbis utitur. *Istis diebus Francia turbabatur per Berengarium Turonensem, qui asserebat Eucharistiam, quam sumimus, in altari, non esse revera corpus et sanguinem Christi. Unde contra eum,* ET PRO EO, *multum a multis, et verbis, et scriptis, disputatum est.* Ubi tamen notandum, *in vulgatis Sigeberti exemplaribus, verba illa quæ Berengarii favebant causæ,* (ET PRO EO) *omissa prorsus esse:* quæ non modo in Sigeberti exscriptoribus, Gulielmo Nangiaco, et magni chronici Belgici consarcinatore Nussiensi monacho, cernuntur integra; sed etiam ex ipso, ut creditur, Sigeberti autographo, quod in Gemblacensi asservatum est cœnobio, nuper restituta sunt ab Auberto Miræo, diligentissimo antiquitatum Belgicarum indagatore." Usser. de Success. 100.

[o] In 1055, according to Hospinian and Bp. Cosin; Abp. Usher places it in the following year.

denied that he considered the sacramental elements as mere shadows and figures [p]. He then signed a confession of faith, admitting, that, in the Eucharist, bread and wine truly became Christ's body and blood [q]. On his departure, however, from the synod, he appears to have informed his friends that nothing had been admitted by him in prejudice of his former sentiments; for he continued to disseminate the same opinions that had hitherto proceeded from him [r]. He probably explained his admission as necessarily implying no more than a belief that faithful Christians partake of Christ's body and blood. The controversy being thus kept open, Nicholas II. convoked a large assembly of prelates at Rome, and desired the attendance of Berenger in that city [s]. Confiding in his knowledge of the question, the learned Frenchman obeyed the summons, and supported his positions with such ability, that, it is said, the Pope himself began to waver [t]. But the leading Roman ecclesiastics had no disposition to retrace their steps, and therefore when it was found that Berenger was not to be overcome in argument, he was informed

[p] Cosin, 137.

[q] Usser. de Success. 102.

[r] Hospinian, 337.

[s] In 1058, according to Hospinian and Bp. Cosin: Abp. Usher places this Roman synod one year later.

[t] "Henricus Knightonus, Leicestrensis monachus, Berengarium *fere Nicolaum Papam corrupisse*, asserit." Usser. de Success. 102.

that unless he would sign a confession presented to him, and confirm it by an oath, he would be put to death. By this alternative his fortitude being overcome, he consented to burn his own books with that of Erigena, as well as to subscribe and swear to the paper which was tendered to him; a monstrous document, asserting that Christ was not only corporally present in the Eucharist, but was even truly handled and broken by the priests, and bruised by the teeth of the faithful [w]. Notwithstanding the reservation contained in the last clause, and the revolting absurdity, not to say impiety, which pervaded this recantation, Berenger never ceased to look upon his weakness at Rome without the deepest grief and humiliation. Nor did he fail to embrace an early opportunity, when again at liberty, to confute in writing the blasphemous absurdities to which the fear of death had driven him to set his hand; a measure rendered the more necessary, because Nicholas dispersed in every quarter copies of his recantation [x]. In what he now published, he ap-

[w] "*Panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem, non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse: et sensualiter, non solum sacramento, sed in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri.* Sunt enim hæc præscriptæ abjurationis verba: ad quæ Gratiani glossator, Johannes Semeca. *Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, in majorem incides hæresim, quam ipse habuit. Et ideo omnia referas ad species ipsas. Nam de Christi corpore partes non facimus.*" Ibid. 103.

[x] "Nicolaus Papa gaudens de conversione tua, jusjurandum tuum scriptum misit per urbes Italiæ, Galliæ, Germaniæ, et ad

pears to have animadverted upon his palinody piece by piece, and when he treated of these words, "I agree with the holy Roman Church, and the Apostolical see," he thus gave vent to his virtuous indignation: "Not holiness but malignity characterises the Roman Church, and vanity guides her councils; nor is Apostolic a term suited to the Roman see, it is the seat of Satan [y]." Lanfranc now stepped forward to confute the repentant Berenger. His tract, which occupies twenty folio pages, contains a commentary upon certain passages selected from his adversary's writings [z], and which comprise a great part of that great and good man's literary remains; but little that he wrote having been allowed to reach posterity entire [a]. Lanfranc's piece is dogmatical, personal, and subtle, but by no means calculated to change the opinion of any disbeliever in the carnal presence; as it contains, instead of proofs, mere assertions that this doctrine has ever been maintained by the Catholic Church; and because it discovers the author's disposition to obtain credit for those lying wonders which are so fatal to his cause in the estimation of judicious minds [b]. The

quæcunque loca fama tuæ pravitatis antea potuit pervenire." Lanfranc. adv. Ber. Op. 233.

[y] Usser. de Success. 103.

[z] "Nec ad omnia responsurus sum, quia spinis rosas interseris, et albis atque nigris coloribus phantasma tuum depingis; quædam etiam dicis quæ nihil pertinent ad propositum quæstionis." Lanfranc. adv. Ber. 232.

[a] Cosin, 140.

[b] "Nec defuere quibusdam dubitantibus digna miracula, qui-

learned Italian's efforts were therefore unavailing to still the controversy, and Alexander II., who had succeeded to the papal chair, endeavoured to change the sentiments, or at least to procure the silence of Berenger, by the employment of conciliatory and persuasive language[c]. These endeavours having failed, Hildebrand, now become sovereign pontiff, assembled in November, 1078, another council at Rome, to which he summoned the celebrated Frenchman. Berenger, confiding in Gregory, not without reason, as it appears, again repaired to the pontifical city, and displaying there his wonted ability, he was allowed to renounce the monstrous confession formerly forced upon him by papal violence[d]. Great perplexity now prevailed among the assembled divines, the Pope himself was very little inclined to doubt that Berenger's opinions were correct[e],

bus rerum visibilium atque corruptibilium ablatis tegumentis, sicuti revera est, appareret corporalibus oculis caro Christi et sanguis, omnipotente Deo misericorditer sanante infirmorum imbecillitatem, et terribiliter damnante atque evertente omnium hæreticorum detestabilem pravitatem." *Ibid.* 242.

[c] Mosheim, II. 562.

[d] "It is worthy of observation, that Gregory VII. whose zeal in extending the jurisdiction, and exalting the authority of the Roman pontiffs, surpassed that of all his predecessors, acknowledged, at least tacitly, by this step, that a pope and council might err, and had erred in effect. How otherwise could he allow Berenger to renounce a confession of faith, that had been solemnly approved and confirmed by Nicholas II. in a Roman council?" Note to Mosheim, II. 563.

[e] "Imo ipsum quoque ducem gregis Hildebrandum *dubitasse, si illud quod sumitur in Dominica mensa sit verum corpus et san-*

and by his permission that divine was allowed to frame a new confession, admitting that the consecrated bread became truly the body which Christ derived from the Virgin, and that the consecrated wine became truly the blood which flowed from the Saviour's side at his crucifixion: By these ambiguous admissions Gregory would have been satisfied, but his prudent counsels were over-ruled by those about him who were zealous for the carnal presence [f]. A delay of three months was now granted, in order to give the assembled divines ample time for deliberation; a solemn fast was undertaken by some individuals of admitted sanctity, for the purpose of imploring the Deity to change the sacramental elements into flesh and blood, as had been done, it was said, in the time of Gregory the Great [g]; and the Pope himself de-

guis Christi, asserit Engelbertus Treverensis Archiepiscopus." (Usser. de Success. 103.) "Ego (Gregorius) plane te (Berengarium) de Christi sacrificio secundum Scripturas *bene sentire non dubito.*" Address of the Pope to Berenger before the second Roman council, from a treatise by Berenger published in Martene's Thesaur. Annecdot. IV. 99, 109, and cited in the notes to Mosheim, II. 566.

[f] Mosheim, II. 564.

[g] "Jejunium indixit cardinalibus, ut Deus ostenderet, quis rectius sentiret de corpore Domini, Romanane Ecclesia an Berengarius:—Et de corpore Domini signum quæsivit, quod petente B. Gregorio ad firmandum mulieris fidem contigit, quando panis Christi formam accepit digiti. Et misit duos cardinales, Attonem et Cunonem ad sanctam Anastasiam, ut cum Suppone, ejusdem ecclesiæ archypresbytero, triduanum jejunium perageret; et illis tribus diebus singuli per dies singulos psalterium et missas decantarent ut supra-dictum signum eis Christus osten-

sired a friend to consult the Virgin Mary upon the question at issue[h]. Rome, however, then contained so many of Berenger's friends, who were naturally upon the alert to detect imposition, that legerdemain tricks were plainly impracticable, and the opposite party was reduced to the mortifying necessity of proclaiming that no miracle had confirmed its opinion. Gregory's friend also informed him that the Virgin Mary recommended him not to think or hold any thing respecting the

deret: *quod minime contigit.*" (Benno Cardinal. ap. Usser. de Success. 103.) From this passage it seems probable that Berenger and his friends declared themselves not to be satisfied by the desired miracle unless it should be wrought in some particular church. Of course they would watch such a church very narrowly. The wonder related of Gregory the Great is detailed by Durandus in the following words. "Nota, quod quædam matrona singulis diebus dominicis offerebat panes beato Gregorio, qui cum post missæ solemnia corpus Domini illi offerret et diceret: *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te in vitam æternam:* illa lasciva subrisit; ipse vero mox dextram ab ejus ore convertens, partem illam Dominici corporis super altare deposuit; deinde coram populo matronam interrogavit, ob quam causam ridere præsumpserit? At illa inquit: Quia panem quem propriis manibus feceram, tu corpus Domini appellabas. Tunc Gregorius pro mulieris incredulitate se in oratione prostravit, et surgens *particulam panis ad instar digiti carnem factam reperit*; et sic matronam ad fidem convertit. Oravit iterum, et carnem illam in panem conversam vidit, et matronæ sumendam tradidit." Rationale Divin. Offic. Lugdun. 1508. f. 63.

[h] "Quia consuetudinis mihi (Gregorio) est ad B. Mariam de his quæ movent recurrere—imposui religioso cuidam amico—a B. Maria obtinere, ut per eum mihi non taceret, sed verbis commendaret, quorsum me de negotio quod in manibus habebam de Christi sacrificio reciperem, in quo immotus persisterem." Note to Mosheim, II. 566.

Eucharist, unless it were clearly revealed in authentic Scripture; the decisions of which Berenger pretended not to dispute[i]. When accordingly, the council assembled again in February, 1079, it was distracted as before by conflicting sentiments[k]; the preponderance, however, lying on the side of Berenger's opponents, a new confession was thrust upon him, and it is generally believed, that yielding once more to fear he solemnly assented to it[l]. This confession asserts that the consecrated elements are changed into Christ's natural body and blood, substantially, properly, and truly; and not only figuratively,

[i] "A B. Maria audivit et ad me retulit, nihil de sacrificio Christi cogitandum, nihil esse tenendum, nisi quod tenerent authenticæ Scripturæ, contra quas Berengarius nihil habebat." Ibid.

[k] "Ut est in actis hujus concilii, omnibus in ecclesia Salvatoris congregatis, habitus est sermo de corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi; *multis hæc, nonnullis illa sentientibus.*" Usser. de Success. 103.

[l] "Iterum ad palinodiam adactus est." (Ibid.) "Il fut obligé de le retracter." (son sentiment. sc.) (Du Pin. III. 150.) Mosheim says, he "was obliged to declare his assent by a solemn oath." (II. 564.) The authority, however, for this statement seems to be Thomas of Walden, who flourished about the year 1400. "Bellarminus refert lib. 1. cap. 1. de Eucharist. ex capite 43. tomi 2. de Sacram. Thomæ Vualdensis, Berengarius in eo concilio coactus est confiteri non solum præsentiam realem corporis Domini in Eucharistia, ut antea in concilio Romano sub Nicolao 2. sed etiam transmutationem panis in corpus Domini." (Hospinian. 341.) Bp. Cosin, accordingly (141.) thus speaks of the confession which Berenger was required to make. "Quod tamen an unquam fecerit, non adeo liquet."

virtually, and sacramentally[m]. Soon after this formula was tendered to him, Berenger departed from Rome furnished with letters of recommendation written by the Pope[n]. Indeed the general tenour of Gregory's conduct in this affair unquestionably redounds to his credit, and if his political character had been equally worthy of praise, the name of Hildebrand would have descended to posterity free from the load of odium usually attaching to it. Having returned to France, Berenger continued in the open profession of his former sentiments, and he even published a treatise to refute the doctrines lately obtruded upon him at Rome. This conduct, however, passed unheeded by the Pope[o], and the harassed divine was allowed to wear away what remained to him of life in comparative tranquillity. He did, indeed, never cease to feel severe regret for that dissimulation which the fear of death had extorted from him in the pontifical city, and for some time before his decease, which happened in the year 1088, he lived in a small island, retired from society, wholly devoted to prayer and penitential exercises[p]. Some Romish writers have represented that he ultimately became reconciled to the tenets of their sect, and that his austerities flowed from the profound grief which he felt when he reflected upon his protracted struggle against a belief in the carnal presence. But these statements rest upon

[m] Du Pin, III. 151.
[n] Ibid.
[o] Mosheim, II. 565.
[p] Ibid. 567.

no probable grounds [q]. Hence there is no reason to doubt that Berenger died as he had lived, firm in that opinion of the Eucharist which Scripture teaches, and deeply penitent, because tremblingly alive to his moral responsibility, especially at such time, or times, when having an opportunity of bearing testimony to the truth by the sacrifice of himself, he had allowed his fears to extort from him concessions calculated to rivet others in their errors [r].

After Berenger's death his opinions were still warmly supported in many quarters, and accordingly in 1095, the council of Placentia undertook to condemn them anew: Bruno, Archbishop of Treves, adopted a more effectual mode of reducing those subjected to his power to a conformity with his own standard of orthodoxy, for he drove out of his province all whom he detected in a disbelief

[q] "Quoique quelques auteurs aient ecrit qu'il fut veritablement converti, on le cita neanmoins depuis à un concile de Bordeaux, tenu par Hugues de Die en 1080, et il y rendit compte de sa foi. Il a été aussi traité d'heretique depuis ce tems là par Lanfranc et par Regnaud, Abbé de St. Cyprien de Poictiers, et il a composé un ecrit contre sa derniere profession de foi: de sorte que s'il a changé sincerement d'opinion ce ne peut être que peu de tems avant qu'il mourut." (Du Pin, III. 151.) It should be added, that Berenger was condemned in other provincial councils holden in France besides that mentioned in the extract above. From the Latin form of his name it has been usual among Romanists to term opponents of the carnal presence *Berengarians*.

[r] "This will appear evident to such as peruse the treatise of his composition, as published in Martene's Thesaur. Anecdot. IV. 109." Note to Mosheim, II. 567.

of the carnal presence[s]. But notwithstanding these severities even men of eminence in communion with the Roman Church continued to discourage the error, or perhaps more properly, the heresy of Radbert. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, one of the most distinguished divines of whom the twelfth century has to boast[t], and who is revered as a saint among the Romanists, taught in some of his pieces yet extant, that sacraments are visible signs of invisible benefits, that Christ's body is not corporally manducated in the Holy Supper, and that his flesh is there spiritually exhibited[u]. Other testimonies against the carnal presence occur in writers of the twelfth century, whom Romanists claim as their own[w]. Among these testimonies no one perhaps is more remarkable than that of Peter Lombard, because it discovers the difficulty that he felt in coming to any satisfactory conclusion upon the subject. The Master of the Sentences then, declares himself unable to define, whether any substantial change

[s] Du Pin, III. 152.

[t] He was born in 1091, at Fontaines, in Burgundy, of a gentleman's family. Ibid. 236.

[u] "Appropinquans passioni Dominus de gratia sua investiri curavit suos, ut invisibilis gratia signo aliquo visibili præstaretur. Ad hoc instituta sunt omnia sacramenta, ad hoc Eucharistiæ participatio. Christi corpus in mysterio cibus mentis est, et non ventris; *proinde corporaliter non manducatur*. Usque hodie eadem caro nobis, *sed spiritualiter, utique non corporaliter*, exhibetur." Cosin, 143.

[w] Vid. Cosin, 144, 5, 6.

is effected in the Eucharist [x]. Nor was the carnal presence universally admitted among laymen of distinction in the twelfth century, for it appears that the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa did not hold that opinion [y]. It was, however, during the whole period constantly making its way, and to this age is commonly referred the coinage of the word Transubstantiation [z]. That term appears to have been first used either in the Epistles of Peter of Blois, or in a work upon the Eucharist by Stephen, Bishop of Autun. The former of these writers flourished during the pontificate of Alexander III. [a], the latter is thought to have lived towards the beginning of the century [b]. In

[x] "Si autem quæritur qualis sit illa conversio, an formalis, an substantialis, vel alterius generis, definire non sufficio." Peter Lombard flourished about the year 1140. Ibid. 145.

[y] "Friderico negatam esse carnalem Dominici corporis et sanguinis in sacramento præsentiam, duobus exemplis confirmat Johannes Vitoduranus Minorita, in principio chronicorum, quæ apud Helvetios in S. Galli monasterio manuscripta asservantur." (Usser. de Success. 97.) Frederic Barbarossa was elected to the imperial throne in 1152. Abrégé Chronologique de l' Histoire d'Allemagne, par M. Pfeffel. Paris, 1777. I. 316.

[z] "Nomen transubstantiationis ipsi etiam transubstantiatores concedunt ante XII. sæculum fuisse inauditum." Cosin, 53.

[a] Ibid. 146. Bishop Cosin assigns 1180 as a date to Peter of Blois. It should, however, be observed that Alexander, after struggling for more than twenty years with rival popes, died on the 27th of August, 1181. Du Pin, III. 227.

[b] About the year 1100, or a little after. (Bp. Jeremy Taylor's Real Presence, Polem. Works, Lond. 1674. p. 267.) Bp. Cosin thus speaks of Stephen, "cujus et ætas et scripta valde incerta sunt. Quod enim refertur a recentioribus quibusdam (Bellar-

the year 1215, the term, transubstantiation, was introduced into the authentic formularies of the Roman Church, being used in developing the doctrine, since distinguished by its name, in one of the canons assented to by the great council then assembled at the Lateran, under Innocent III[c].

mine et Possevin) ad sæculum X. id sine testimonio idonei alicujus authoris ab eis factum est." 146. Stephen, however, uses the word under notice with some qualification: he speaks of the sacramental bread as "*quasi transubstantiatum.*" Ibid. 53.

[c] The following are the words of this canon extracted from Labbe and Cossart's councils. "Una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus, cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur; *transubstantiatis* pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo quod accipit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos qui fuerit rite ordinatus secundum claves ecclesiæ quas ipse concessit Apostolis et eorum successoribus Jesus Christus." On the 11th of October, 1551, the council of Trent thus decided, "that in the Eucharist, after the consecration, Christ is contained truly, really, and substantially, under the appearances of the sensible things, notwithstanding he is in heaven by a natural existence." (F. Paul, 339.) The council anathematised those who denied this doctrine, which is thus expressed in the creed of Pius IV.: "In the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there is truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and there is a change made of the whole substance of bread into the body, and of the whole substance of wine into the blood; which change the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation." The *Catechismus ad Parochos*, a manual drawn up by a committee of the Trentine divines for the instruction of parish priests, "acquaints us, that by the words of consecration, the true body of our Saviour, that

This doctrine, being thus admitted into an authentic confession of the Roman faith was gradually received by the great majority of men throughout the West. Inquisitive minds abandoned rational investigation for the mazes of scholastic theology, and hence were occupied in entrenching transubstantiation amidst dialectic subtleties, rather than in examining the grounds upon which it stood. The bulk of men less competent to judge of abstract questions naturally gave implicit credence to their spiritual guides, and many wavering minds were probably affected by those imaginary portents of which accounts were spread abroad in a spirit of the most resolute mendacity [d]. Transubstantiation, indeed, never ceased throughout the

body, which was born of the blessed Virgin, and sits at the right hand of the Father in heaven, is present in this Sacrament. And to make the orthodoxy of this article more apparent, the parochial clergy are put in mind to cite our Saviour's words in their sermons, *This is my body*, and explain them to a literal sense. And, lastly, they are to inform their audience, that whatever is included in the essence and composition of a real body, for instance, *Bones* and *Nerves* (ossa et nervos) are contained and present in this Sacrament. They are farther to instruct their people, That the whole person of Christ, the divine and human nature, are joined in this mystery: that the most comprehensive idea of both these substances, and whatever is consequent to the notion and integrity of either of them; that is, the divinity, and entire human nature, by which is to be understood, the soul, the blood, and all the parts of the body: all this compass of nature, properties, and parts, are to be believed present in the holy Eucharist." Collier's Answer to some Exceptions: ad calcem Eccl. Hist. p. 8.

[d] Vide Hospinian, 434.

middle ages, to find numerous opponents, but these were generally persons in humble life whom the great and learned proscribed and vilified as heretics. It is no wonder, therefore, that at the Reformation, a doctrine which had been pretty firmly established in the West during nearly five centuries, and almost indisputably admitted by influential minds during three, should have been usually considered as coeval with the foundations of Christianity.

Immediately consequent upon the reception of transubstantiation in the Roman Church was Artolatry, or the worship of bread. During the first ages of the Christian æra, the sacramental elements were not at all elevated after consecration. Early in the eighth century, however, we are told by Germanus, Bishop of Constantinople, it was usual in the East to hold up the consecrated bread as a commemoration of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection [e]: perhaps also this practice might be intended to admonish the congregation that the time for communicating was now at hand [f]. That this usage was adopted by the Eastern Christians with a view to the people's adoration of the Eucharist, there is neither evidence nor probability. The Western Church appears not to have elevated the consecrated elements until a much more recent period [g]: that she did not enjoin the ado-

[e] Bingham, I. 759. [f] Hospinian, 871.

[g] This is sufficiently evident from Durant, (De Ritibus Eccl. Cath. Rom. 1591. p. 476 et seq.) who undertakes to prove that

ration of them in the time of Berenger, must be inferred from the total absence of any notice of such a practice in all the contentions undergone by that celebrated divine [h]. The earliest writers in the West who mention the elevation of the sacramental bread are Ivo de Chartres, and Hugh de St. Victor, both of whom lived in the eleventh century; but the reason which they assign for the practice is the same as that assigned by the Constantinopolitan Bishop [i]. In the middle of the following century, however, it is certain that artolatry had begun its course, for Averroes, the Arabian philosopher, said, "Since Christians eat what they worship, let my soul be with the philosophers [k]." The minds of men, therefore, having been sufficiently prepared for this innovation by its gradual reception in the West, Honorius III. who succeeded Innocent III. in 1216 [l], decreed that the clergy should teach their congregations reverently to bow at the elevation of the Eucharist, and on meeting it when carried by the priest to a sick person [m]. The succeeding pope, Gre-

the elevation of the Eucharist was ever the usage of the Church, but produces Eastern authorities chiefly, and even these making little or nothing for his object.

[h] Allix, Piedmont, 220. [i] Bingham, I. 795.

[k] Ibid. 797. Averroes lived about the year 1150. It is worthy of remark, that no such reflection appears to have been cast upon the primitive Christians by the heathens of their time, eager as these were to vilify the Church: a plain proof that artolatry did not exist in the first ages.

[l] Du Pin, III. 292. [m] Hospinian, 372.

gory IX., who attained his dignity in 1227 [n], decreed that, on the elevation of the Eucharist, a bell should be rung, and at its sound the kneeling people should with outstretched hands adore the host [o]. This usage still exists in the Roman Church, and it tends materially to lower the dignity of her most gorgeous masses. Sublime music and magnificent dresses do, indeed, render those solemnities highly captivating to the generality of men; nor are the kneeling worshippers one of the least imposing features in the scene: but the tinkling bell sadly mars the whole contrivance, and throws an air of pettiness about

[n] Du Pin, III. 292.

[o] "Gregorius 9. decrevit, *ut ad Christi corporis et sanguinis confectionem, itemque hostiæ elevationem, campanula seu tintinnabulum pulsaretur, ut eo audito, cuncti, ceu sidere quodam tacti, in genua procidant, et hostiam extentis manibus adorent:* quemadmodum Nauclerus in chronicis suis, Generat. 42. sub anno 1240. annotat; itemque Urspergensis Paralipomena fol. 351. Cranzius in Saxonia lib. 8. c. 10." (Hospinian, 373.) Durandus, who wrote about the year 1386, plainly says that the host is elevated for the purpose of adoration, and he is the first writer who assigns such an object to that ceremony, "as Mr. Daillé proves at large." (Bingham, I. 795.) The following words of Durandus are certainly sufficiently plain. "Dictis verbis istis, *Hoc est corpus meum*, sacerdos elevat corpus Christi: primo ut cuncti astantes illud videant, et petant quod proficit ad salutem." (Rationale 65.) The council of Trent anathematised those who denied, "that Christ in the Eucharist ought not to be worshipped with the honour of *Latria*, (the worship due only to God) or honoured with a particular feast, (that of Corpus Christi) or carried in procession, or put in a public place to be worshipped;" and it also anathematised those who said that such "worshippers are idolaters." (F. Paul. 340.)

it, in keeping indeed with the tricks of artful men, but most unsuited to a stupendous miracle wrought by the mighty hand of Omnipotence [p]. Artolatry, like her twin-sister transubstantiation, was indebted for general reception, in a considerable degree, to those wonders which figure in Romish history and theology. It was observed with astonishment, that even brutes rendered that homage to the host which heretics refused, and a learned mule, ass, or sheep effected conversions which defied the eloquence of friars [q].

[p] As such, transubstantiation is always represented by its friends. "Cum ergo sacerdos illa Christi verba pronunciat *Hoc est corpus meum, et hic est sanguis meus;* panis et vinum in carnem et sanguinem convertuntur illa verbi virtute qua verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis; quia dixit et facta sunt, mandavit et creata sunt; qua feminam mutavit in statuam, et virgam convertit in colubrem, qua fontes mutavit in sanguinem, et aquam convertit in vinum." (Durandi Rationale, 63.) These illustrations, however, are none of the most felicitous, for we are not informed that the Jews of our Saviour's time were expected to believe in his incarnation, although he did not visibly dwell among them; nor do we read, that although Lot's wife was changed into a pillar of salt, those about her could discover no change in her at all; nor that, Aaron's rod appeared to be just as little of a serpent after the change as it was before: nor that, that the Nile though turned into blood was not perceptibly altered. As for the change of the water into wine at the marriage of Cana, we are expressly informed that no person, however incredulous, could take it for water after our Saviour's intervention. It is, therefore, plain that the miracles of Scripture are widely different from those of transubstantiating priests.

[q] "Ce fut dans le même tems que se firent des miracles eclatans pour l'etablissement de cette adoration; car l'an 1230. Antoine de Padouë ayant trouvé dans le comté de Toulouse un

Transubstantiation and artolatry having gained firm possession of the public mind, a crowd of superstitions, absurdities, and indecencies followed in their train. Officiating priests were troubled with numerous directions, known as cautels of the mass, intended to guide them in cases of sudden nausea, fainting, and accidents of every kind which might overtake either themselves, or the consecrated elements[r]. In the schools it was debated, whether brute animals eating the host eat the Lord's body, whence come the worms in a musty host, what becomes of the Lord's body when a host is received into the stomach, or may become of it in case of the recipient's illness; with many other questions relating to this subject equally childish, disgusting, and even blas-

heretique qui nioit la presence reelle, et cet heretique ayant promis après une longue dispute d'embrasser le sentiment d'Antoine, si une mule qui aurait jeûnée trois jours, etant placée entre le foin et le Sacrement, elle quittoit le foin pour aller adorer l'hostie; Antoine ne manqua pas de tenter le miracle: et l'on vit que la mule affamée negligea les alimens que l'heretique lui offroit, pour aller rendre ses respects à l'hostie. Un autre heretique qui avoit accoutumé son ânesse à manger des hosties, crut être fort sûr de son fait, en soutenant au même Antoine de Padouë que son ânesse mangeroit l'hostie, qu'on lui presentoit comme le corps de Jesus Christ. L'heretique fut trompé, l'animal eut plus de raison que lui; car Antoine ayant consacré un hostie, et la presentant à l'ânesse, cet animal se mit à genoux, et l'adora au lieu de la manger. La brebis de St. François faisoit quelque chose de plus, car elle se mettoit à genoux toutes les fois qu'elle entendoit sonner la petite cloche pour l'elevation." Basnage, Hist. de l'Egl. Rotterdam, 1699. p. 1002.

[r] These cautels may be seen in the missals.

phemous[s]. Several masses too were celebrated in the same church in one day, contrary to the usage of all antiquity[t]; the Eucharist was borne in procession as a protection against storms and other calamities[u]; and the Popes adopted, towards the end of the fourteenth century, the practice of having it carried before them when they moved from home[w]. But the most remarkable result of a general belief in transubstantiation was the doctrine of masses satisfactory. The primitive Christians were often reproached by both Jews and Pagans with their neglect of those sacrificial rites which, being common both to the religion of the ancient Record, and to that of unwritten Gentile tradition, were justly deemed integral parts of the

[s] Vid. Hospinian, 404.

[t] "Cœnam Domini semel tantum in primitiva Ecclesia in uno die et in eodem templo celebratam esse ex historiis certissimum est. Et Mediolanensis ecclesiæ morem ætate sua exponens Ambrosius, *Omni Hebdomeda*, inquit, offerendum est: etiamsi non quotidie *peregrinis; incolis tamen vel bis in hebdomada.* His verbis Ambrosius communionem suo tempore semel, aut bis in hebdomada, aut ad summum quotidie semel, si occasio gravior oblata esset, non autem vicies, aut tricies in uno die administratam fuisse testatur. Hanc consuetudinem in Romana Ecclesia suo adhuc tempore usurpatam Franciscus Assissinas monachis suis firmiter tenendam in regula his verbis præscripsit: *Moneo et exhortor vos in Domino, ut in locis, in quibus morantur fratres, una tantum celebretur missa in die, secundum formam sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ.* Et Græci adhuc unicam tantum missam in die celebrant, Thoma Vualdensi teste, lib. 6. cap. 34." Hospinian, 390.

[u] Ibid. 388.

[w] "Benedictus 13, Papa, circa annum Domini 1390, fertur primus Eucharistiam ante se gestasse ad sui custodiam, ut refert Genebrardus in chronicis." Ibid. 392.

revelation made by God to the common ancestors of mankind. As an answer to this objection it was urged by the early professors of our holy faith, that bleeding victims were no longer necessary; since the mighty propitiation of which they were merely types had been offered on the cross. In the hope, however, of reconciling unconverted men to the Christian faith, her ministers adopted terms familiar to the ears, and dear to the prejudices of those around them. The Lord's Supper was usually termed a sacrifice, the communion-table an altar [x]. Nor were these metaphors reprehensible; for the Eucharist is not only a commemoration of that sacrifice which hallows the mention of Calvary; it is also a solemn offering made by the communicant of praise and thanksgiving; of his body, his soul, and his alms to that merciful Saviour who offered a propitiation for his sins. In this scriptural manner was the Eucharistic sacrifice explained by doctors of the Roman Church in the twelfth century [y]. But in

[x] "Les anciens tachans d'attirer à la foy Chretienne les Payens, qui estimoient qu'il n'y a point de religion sans sacrifice, et les Juifs, desquels la religion sous l'ancien Testament consistoit principalement en sacrifices, ont appellé la Sainte Cene sacrifice et la table sacrée autel, et ceux qui servent à cette table Levites." (Anatomie de la Messe, par Pierre Du Moulin. Sedan. 1636. p. 194.) Confiding in this figurative language which occurs in the early theologians, "Eckius told the Elector of Bavaria, that the doctrine of Luther might be overthrown by the Fathers, though not by Scripture." Bp. Jeremy Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery. Polemical Works, p. 289.

[y] "Quo autem sensu Dominica Cœna *Sacrificium*, etiam hisce

process of time, men would not bear such rational interpretations: they gradually became persuaded, that in the Eucharist, Christ was truly offered, and that, as when he died at Calvary he made a propitiatory sacrifice, so whenever a priest celebrated mass a propitiatory sacrifice was in like manner offered. By this kind of sacrifice, it was at length believed, the present, though not communicants, the absent, and even the dead, might be benefitted[z]. The natural result of such a be-

temporibus dicta fuerit, nemo docebit nos melius quam ipse Sententiarum Magister, Petrus Lombardus, Episcopus Parisiensis. Hanc enim quæstionem movet ille, lib. 4. distinct. 12. *Si quod gerit sacerdos, proprie dicatur sacrificium vel immolatio; et si Christus quotidie immoletur, vel semel tantum immolatus sit?* Deinde respondet: *Illud quod offertur et consecratur a sacerdote, vocari sacrificium et oblationem, quia memoria est et representatio vèri sacrificii, et sanctæ immolationis factæ in ara crucis. Et semel,* inquit, *Christus mortuus est in cruce, ibique immolatus est in semetipso: quotidie autem immolatur in sacramento, quia* in *sacramento recordatio fit illius quod factum est semel.*" (Usser. de Success. 98.) Peter Lombard was a native of Novara in Lombardy, (whence his designation,) who taught theology at Paris with great applause, and was appointed to the bishopric of that city in 1150. He is chiefly known as the compiler of a book of Sentences, (a name commonly bestowed in his time upon theological works,) which is made up for the most part of extracts from the fathers, especially from Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin. This work, which served as a nucleus for collecting round it a cloud of commentators, obtained for its compiler the designation of the Master of the Sentences. Peter Lombard died in 1164. Du Pin, III. 273.

[z] After long and keen debates, the council of Trent anathematised, on the 17th of September, 1562, "those who shall say, that the mass is a sacrifice only of praise or thanksgiving, or a

lief, when once firmly established, was, that in every condition was excited an eagerness to purchase these Eucharistic services; hence the Romish priesthood almost daily made accessions of wealth and importance; nor needed it to fear any very serious reverse of fortune so long as a belief in its power to offer propitiatory sacrifices should remain firmly impressed upon the minds of men.

When the Reformers first began their labours, this impression had generally prevailed during two or three centuries, and being supported by some specious scriptural authorities, its soundness was not at first suspected. Zuingle, however, having learned to distrust the whole system of Popery, determined to sift it narrowly in all its parts. In 1524, he entered upon the Eucharistic question, and he soon found that transubstantiation is utterly irreconcilable with the Sacred Record. He then examined the opinions of those who maintain that in, with, or under the elements, are taken the natural body of Christ. All these opinions he found totally untenable, and not even deducible from the words of the fathers critically understood. The result of his enquiries was a conviction, that Christ is received in the Eucha-

bare commemoration only of the sacrifice of the cross, and not propitiatory; and that it doth help only him that doth receive it, and ought not to be offered for the living and the dead, for sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities." (F. Paul. 574.) The creed of Pope Pius IV. thus expresses the doctrine of the Roman Church upon this subject: "I profess likewise, that in the mass there is offered to God, a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead."

rist by faith spiritually, not by the mouth corporally; and that the schoolmen, in teaching a contrary doctrine, had followed neither Scripture, nor ecclesiastical antiquity[a]. Zuingle, having thus found himself unable to retain the Eucharistic opinions in which he had been educated, and duly feeling the importance of that question which now engaged his attention, apprised the learned of his sentiments extensively both in France and Germany. To many his opinions appeared correct, and he therefore made them public without any farther hesitation, in a course of lectures which he delivered upon the Gospel of St. John. Carlostadt had already written against the carnal presence during the time of Luther's concealment in the castle of Wartburg. As, however, the great Saxon Reformer had refused to sanction other innovations made in his absence, so he also condemned the attack of Carlostadt upon the carnal presence. His support, indeed, of that doctrine under a modification of his own, powerfully influenced his future life, and those who respected his exertions were generally inclined to join with him in reprobating Carlostadt's work upon the Eucharist. The circulation of it, accordingly, was forbidden by the senate of Zurich, until Zuingle, though he did not entirely approve the work, exerted himself to have the prohibition removed[b]. In 1525, Luther published a reply to Carlostadt,

[a] Lavather. Hist. de Orig. et Progress. Controv. Sacram. Tigur. 1563. p. 1.

[b] Ibid. 2.

and in the March of that year appeared Zuingle's work *De Vera et Falsa Religione*. Of this publication, the part relating to the Eucharist was, by the author's means, translated into German, and sold extensively at Francfort fair. In the August of the same year, Zuingle published a more comprehensive work upon the Eucharist, in which his former positions were defended by new arguments[c]. Thus in the same year did the two great revivers of scriptural Christianity publicly commit themselves on different sides of the same question, to the great regret of those who had at heart their common cause. In vain did Zuingle, after this, intreat his fellow-labourer in Saxony to consider the novelty of those ecclesiastical arrangements which depend upon a belief in the carnal presence[d]. To reasonings upon this

[c] Ibid. 3. "Hæc autem præcipua fuerunt capita in quibus Zuinglius a Luthero in hac causa dissentiebat: nempe, quod hæc verba Christi (Hoc est corpus meum sc.) per metonymiam essent exponenda: Quod Christi caro et sanguis non ore carnali, sed fide duntaxat perciperentur; Quod Christi corpus in certo cœli loco degeret, neque per omnia, ut divinitas, diffunderetur: Quodque impii symbola tantum corporis et sanguinis Christi, non ipsum corpus Christi, ejusque sanguinem acciperent." (Ibid. 13.) See also Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. I. 351.

[d] "Quod per omnia templa et basilicas quæ cis Rhenum sunt, domicilia, in quibus sacramenta custodiuntur, non vetustiora sunt ducentis annis, aut paulo plus, signum est ante tot annos, Eucharistiæ sacramentum pro eo habitum loco, quo nos habemus. Tiguri urbe vetustissima cum hoc anno aræ omnes tollerentur, nulla prorsus inventa est quæ cum templo excitata esset. Quid? an hoc signum non est, ad octingentos hinc annos aras

subject Luther continued to the last inaccessible. He was ever bent upon holding up to execration the Swiss doctrine of the Eucharist, and within two years of his death, he published annotations upon Genesis, in which he reflected severely upon the Sacramentaries. Soon afterwards, in spite of Melancthon's opposition, appeared his last confession respecting the Lord's Supper, in which Zuingle and his adherents were condemned in terms of inexcusable asperity [e]. The result of this persevering hostility in one possessed of an influence so immense, was a most violent prejudice against the Swiss Reformers, among the generality of those who advocated scriptural Christianity. Men not less zealous in combating the principles and pretensions of papal Rome than Zuingle and his friends could not bear to hear the names of those celebrated divines, and most

nondum fuisse? Sacerdotia missalia, quæ capellanias nostri, alii vicarias vocant, tam Tiguri, quam per omnes Helvetios, Argentoratum usque, vetustiora trecentis annis non inveniri, etiam ad signa pertinent. Glaronæ ac Tugii reperti sunt missales libri, non ad plenum trecentorum annorum, qui rubricas hujusmodi continent: *Ac mox, ubi baptizati sunt,* (infantes sc.) *detur eis panis et vinum corporis et sanguinis Domini.*—Instrumenta habet collegium nostrum Tigurinum, annos nata plus septingentos, in quibus nulla missæ fit mentio. Ordinis Benedictini ac Bernardhini monachi passim apud Helvetios sic sunt instituti, ut corporis Dominici, aut missæ, nulla fiat mentio in diplomatis eorum; etiamsi quidam intra trecentos annos instituti sunt." Amica Exegesis, id est, Expositio Eucharistiæ Negocii ad Martinum Lutherum, Huldrico Zuinglio autore. Tigur. 1563. pp. 36, 7.

[e] Lavather, 32.

uncandidly refused to read any thing that proceeded from their pens[f].

Of Zuingle's assistants in the Eucharistic controversy, by far the most celebrated was John Œcolampadius, or Hausschein, who was born at Winsperg, in Franconia, in the year 1482. This excellent scholar, whose attainments, especially in Greek and Hebrew, were surpassed by very few or none in his day, settled ultimately at Basil, and established the people of that city in the principles of scriptural Christianity[g]. In 1525, he published a work upon the Eucharist displaying uncommon ability, learning, and piety[h]. The book immediately attracted considerable attention, and Erasmus was urged to undertake the task of refuting it. But that celebrated scholar well knew the resources of Œcolampadius, having received assistance from him while preparing the Greek Testament for publication. He saw, besides, that the learned Franconian's positions were of the strongest kind, and he appears to have discovered no means of overthrowing them but by citing the authority of the Roman Church; a species of argument which he knew would only expose him to merited derision[i]. But Œcolam-

[f] "Tandem res eo deducta est, ut multi nimis gravi præjudicio, Zuinglii et Œcolampadii nomen, tanquam pestilentissimorum hæreticorum vix audire dignati sunt: *quæcunque ab eis profecta audiebant, nec visa, nec audita, nec lecta condemnarint.*" Ibid. 22.

[g] Gerdes, I. 118. [h] Lavather, 4.

[i] The following are extracts from the correspondence of Erasmus. "Perlegi librum Johannis Œcolampadii de verbis Cœnæ

padius was assailed by weapons far more easy to wield, than the arguments of learned men, far more destructive also of a scholar's peace, and injurious, at least for a time, to his reputation. He was vilified as the worst of heretics not only by the Romanists, but likewise by all who followed as Luther's commanding genius led. He did not, however, cease to inculcate that doctrine of the Eucharist which he had so long and so ably defended. But his labours and anxieties undermined his constitution, and in November, 1531, he sank into an early grave[k]. It is thought, that, immediately before his death Œcolampadius had been occupied in preparing for the press the work of

Domini, mea sententia, doctum, disertum, et elaboratum, adderem etiam pium, si quid pium esse posset quod pugnat cum sententia, consensuque Ecclesiæ, a qua dissentire periculosum esse judico." On another occasion he wrote, "Œcolampadium emisisse libellum tam accurate scriptum, tot machinis argumentorum, totque testimoniis instructum, *ut posset vel electos in errorem pertrahere.*" Ibid. 5.

[k] Ibid. 21. Œcolampadius professed to the last his conviction of having taught sound doctrine; especially as to the Eucharist. In the month preceding that in which this very learned and amiable divine was called away, his illustrious friend Zuingle perished in the field of battle. Religious animosities had reached such a height in Switzerland, that at length the Romish cantons took up arms, not however without having received considerable provocation. Zuingle, who had vainly endeavoured to restrain the irritation of his disciples within reasonable bounds, was appointed to attend a detachment which marched to meet the enemy, and he received a mortal wound at the commencement of an action fought near Cappel on the 11th of October. He was succeeded in his ministry by Henry Bullinger. Mosheim, IV. 364. Turretin, 262.

Ratramn on the Eucharist. That remarkable relic of antiquity made its appearance in print in the following year[1], and it immediately gave a new face to the Eucharistic controversy. Hereafter when the Sacramentaries were upbraided with reviving an exploded heresy first broached by Berenger, and subsequently patronised by Wickliffe, they were enabled to retort triumphantly upon their opponents the charges of novelty and error so confidently made. No publication, accordingly, so much embarrassed the Romanists as that of Ratramn's treatise. To see extensively circulated among men of information a work written by a learned member of their Church, at the bidding of the most powerful sovereign of his time, and so lately as the ninth century, which broadly denied the carnal presence, and intimated that all who think as Catholics must deny it, threw the partizans of Rome into great confusion. They immediately resorted to the most obvious expedient for eluding this decisive blow, and asserted that the book was either a forgery altogether[m], or at all events shamefully interpolated by their opponents[n].

[1] At Cologne. Cellot says that Œcolampadius prepared the work for the press. But it is not known what MS. was used. Introd. to the Book of Bertram, 21.

[m] Lavather, 23.

[n] Upon this subject let us hear "the learned and honest F. Mabillon, who saith, Travelling in the Netherlands, I went to the monastery of Lobes, where among the few manuscripts now remaining, I found two: one book written 800 years since, con-

Questions, however, of this kind can generally be set to rest within a moderate time, and as the

taining two pieces, one of the Lord's body and blood, and the other of predestination; the former one book, the latter two. The inscription and beginnings of both were thus in the manuscript: *Thus begins the book* of RATRĀNUS *of the Body and Blood of our Lord &c.* as in the printed books. The other book was a catalogue of the library of Lobes with this title A.D. 1049. The friars of Lobes taking an account of the library, find in it these books—Ratramnus of the Lord's body and blood, one book: the same author of God's predestination, two books: which gives us to understand that the book which contains these pieces of Ratramnus, is the very same set down in the catalogue A.D. 1049, and written before that time, and by the hand it appears to have been written a little before the end of the 9th century. And I doubt not but it is the very book which Herigerus, Abbot of Lobes, used at the end of the 10th century.—I compared the Lobes manuscript with the printed books, and the reading is true, except in some faulty places, which I corrected by the excellent Lobes manuscript. There is one word of some moment omitted, which yet I will not say, was fraudulently left out by the heretics, the first publishers of it, in regard, as I said before, there appears not any thing of unfaithfulness in other places." (Introd. to the Book of Bertram, 61.) The omission is that of the word *existit* in the following passage: "Iste panis et calix, qui corpus et sanguis Christi nominatur et *existit*, memoriam repræsentat Dominicæ passionis, sive mortis." (Ratramn, 132.) It is evident that the omission here is of little or no importance, because the original publishers of Ratramn did not deny the spiritual presence, and therefore, if the word in question were found in the MS. which they used, it is not to be doubted that it was left out of the printed copy accidentally. "Outre le MS. de Lobe, le même Pere (Mabillon) en decouvrit un autre dans le monastere de Salem Weiler en Allemagne; et il juge par la charactère, qu'il peut avoir 700 ans d'antiquité." *Dissertation sur Ratramne*, prefixed to the French translation of his work. Amsterdam, 1717. p. 132.

publishers of Ratramn had no reason to shrink from the responsibility which they had encountered, the work was openly circulated without the least hesitation. It was, indeed, soon rendered accessible to the mass of the people; for Leo Judas translated it into German, and his version was sent by the divines of Zurich to the Margrave of Brandenburg, in consequence of a letter received by that prince in 1532 from Luther, in which he was exhorted to drive the Sacramentaries from his territories [o]. Thus Ratramn's tract was brought forward in opposition to Lutheranism, and that circumstance will perhaps account for the late notice which it appears to have received in England. The Saxon correspondents of our Reformers would be likely either to pass over in silence, or to mention in a very slight manner a book which was esteemed subversive of a principal tenet adopted by their master. At length, however, the name of Ratramn was heard in every region of Western Europe, and Romish polemics, throughout the sixteenth century, in mere despair of eluding the force of such testimony, were reduced to the mortifying necessity of compromising their credit by pronouncing the book supposititious [p].

[o] Lavather, 23.

[p] The Book of Bertram "is a late forgery, it was written by Œcolampadius," and published under the venerable name of an author of the 9th century. This Sixtus Senensis, and after him Possevine, with extreme impudence pretend. But for want of good memories they elsewhere tell us that the author of the book

At the time when continental theologians were first actively engaged in search of documents to

wrote under Charles the Great, A.D. 810, or the Gross, A.D. 886, and was confuted by Paschasius Radbertus. And Sixtus Senensis forgets that he hath accused Œcolampadius for rejecting St. Ambrose his books of the Sacrament, which are cited by Bertram in this work. It is withal pleasant to observe that Bishop Fisher, against Œcolampadius, names Bertram, among other Catholic writers of the Sacrament, five years before the first edition of it in 1532." (Introd. to the book of Bertram, 34.) Durant, like Possevino and Sixtus of Sienna, a writer of the 16th century, after detailing some frivolous objections, says rather cautiously "Probabile est Bertramum libellum nunquam scripsisse, cum illius ætatis auctores ejus non meminerint, nec aliquis extet qui adversus Bertramum scripserit." (De Rit. Cath. Eccl. 474.) The Roman Church, however, did not venture to tread in the steps of some among her divines. She pretended not to dispute the genuineness of Ratramn's piece: she only, by means of the inquisition at Rome, and of the council of Trent, forbad the reading of it. (Abp. Usher's Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge. Lond. 1631. p. 19.) The Spanish censors went to work in a manner still more effectual. They ordered "*Deleatur tota epistola Udalrici; Epistolâ Augustani de cœlibatu cleri; item totus liber Bertrami presbyteri de corpore et sanguine Domini penitus auferatur.*" (Usser. de Success. 25.) "The King of Spain gave a commission to the inquisitors to purge all Catholic authors; but with this clause; that they should keep the expurgatory index privately, neither imparting that index, nor giving a copy of it to any. But it happened by the Divine Providence so ordering it, that about thirteen years after, a copy of it was gotten and published by Johannes Pappus, and Franciscus Junius, and since it came abroad against their wills, they find it necessary now to own it. Now by these expurgatory tables what they have done is known to all learned men. In St. Chrysostom's works printed at Basil, these words, *the Church is not built upon the man but upon the faith*, are commanded to be blotted out; and these *There is no merit but what is given us by Christ.* And

prove the novelty of transubstantiation, it was not known that English libraries contained the

yet these words are in his sermon upon Pentecost, and the former words are in his first homily upon that of St. John, *Ye are my friends*, &c. The like have they done to him in many other places, and to St. Ambrose, and to St. Austin, and to them all, insomuch that Ludovicus Saurius, the corrector of the press at Lyons, shewed and complained of it to Junius, that he was forced to cancellate or blot out many sayings of St. Ambrose, in that edition of his works which was printed at Lyons in 1559.—Nay, they correct the very tables or *indices* made by the printers or correctors; insomuch that out of one of Froben's indices they have commanded these words to be blotted out: *The use of images forbidden: The Eucharist no sacrifice, but the memory of a sacrifice: Works, although they do not justify, yet are necessary to salvation: Marriage is granted to all that will not contain: Venial sins damn: The dead saints, after this life, cannot help us:* nay, out of the index of St. Austin's words by Claudius Chevallonius at Paris, 1531, there is a very strange *delcatur: Dele: Solus Deus adorandus:* that *God alone is to be worshipped,* is commanded to be blotted out, as being a dangerous doctrine. These instances may serve instead of multitudes which might be brought of their corrupting the witnesses, and razing the records of antiquity, that the errors and novelties of the Church of Rome might not be so easily reproved." (Bp. Jer. Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery. Polem. Works. 289.) "Passages refuting transubstantiation, extant in older editions, are cut out in modern ones." (Abp. Usher's Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge, 13.) "Rabanus Maurus says in his penitental published at Ingoldstadt in 1616, in a tome of ancient writers that never saw the light before, 'For some *of late*, not holding rightly of the body and blood of our Lord, have said, that the very body and blood of our Lord, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and in which our Lord himself suffered on the cross, and rose again from the grave—Against which error, writing unto Abbot *Egilus*, according to our ability, we have declared what is truly to be believed concerning Christ's body.' In the margin it is said, that

means of establishing that point by decisive evidence. Such, however, proved ultimately to be the fact. Among the men of learning who flourished during the Anglo-Saxon rule, Elfric the Grammarian stands eminently conspicuous. This

there is a blank in the MS. copy, and we do easily believe him, for Possevine, the Jesuit, hath given us to understand that MS. books are to be purged, as well as printed." (Ibid. 17.) With respect to Ratramn's book, it was however printed, and had become the theme of general conversation in England, and other countries, before the original MS. could be subjected to the inquisitorial pruning knife, therefore, "the divines of Douay, perceiving that the forbidding of the book did not keep men from reading it, but gave them rather occasion to seek more earnestly after it, thought it better policy, that Bertram should be permitted to go abroad, but handled in such sort, as other ancient writers that made against them were wont to be. 'Seeing therefore,' say they, 'that we bear with many errors in other old Catholic writers, and extenuate them, excuse them, *by inventing some device* (*excogitato commento:* en Papistarum fidem! de Success. 25.) often deny them, and feign (affingamus) some commodious sense for them when they are objected in disputations or conflicts with our adversaries; we do not see why Bertram may not deserve the same equity and diligent revisal. Lest the heretics cry out that we burn and forbid such antiquity as maketh for them.' Accordingly when Bertram says that 'the body of Christ is incorruptible, the Eucharistic elements corruptible,' the Douay divines say, 'It were not amiss, therefore, nor unadvisedly done, that all these things should be left out.'" (Usher. Answ. to a Jesuit, 19, 20, de Success. 25.) It is often a matter of astonishment with Protestants, that any serious men of sound sense, and good information can continue in the profession of Popery, but when it is known that such pains have been taken to prevent even learned Romanists from finding in libraries complete information upon their own religion, this circumstance may be accounted for easily enough.

illustrious scholar appears to have been born about the middle of the tenth century[q], and to have presided towards the end of that period over the abbey of Cerne, in Dorsetshire[r]. In this retirement, he translated from the Latin into Saxon eighty discourses, entitled Catholic sermons, and adapted for popular instruction. From one of these, intended for Easter-day, are to be collected the clearest proofs that transubstantiation was not the doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Elfric, it should be recollected, was no obscure divine. He was one of the most respected scholars in his day, and his eminent qualities conducted him at length to the episcopate. It has been commonly believed that Canterbury was the see which he filled. That opinion, however, seems to be untenable; there were two Elfrics[s], archbishops within a short distance of each other[t], and the one to whom the Romish claimants of King Alfred are so little obliged, was most probably the prelate who held the see of York between the years 1023, and 1051[u].

[q] Wharton. Dissertatio de duobus Elfricis. Angl. Sacr. I. 130.

[r] Ibid. 132.

[s] "By which soever of them the homilies &c. were written, the authority of them is beyond exception: that they were the doctrine of the then Church of England has never been contested, and is sufficiently proved by their public use and reception." Collier, I. 204.

[t] The earlier Elfric succeeded to the see of Canterbury about the year 995, and died either in 1005, or in the following year. Angl. Sacr. I. 126.

[u] Ibid. 134.

Elfric's Paschal homily thus instructs the people. "Some things are spoken of Christ literally, others figuratively. What is said of his birth, passion, death, and other matters which happened to him upon earth, is to be understood according to the plain import of the words. But when he is called bread, a lamb, or a lion, the language is emblematical, for he is no one of these things. He is termed bread, because he is the life of both men and angels; a lamb, on account of his perfect innocence; a lion, in reference to the power whereby he overcame Satan. Upon this principle, bread and wine, though continuing unchanged to human apprehension, become in truth by consecration the Saviour's body and blood to believing minds. Thus also, after baptism, a heathen child remains in outward appearance unaltered, but from within is washed away the stain which was contracted from Adam's transgression. So that a corruptible fluid is made a well-spring of life through the operation of God's Holy Spirit. In like manner the Eucharistic elements are naturally corruptible bread and corruptible wine, but God's might renders them spiritually, though not naturally, the body and blood of Christ. Great, however, is the difference between the body in which Jesus suffered, and that which is hallowed at the Communion. Our Lord's body in which he suffered was born of Mary, and had all the parts common to the human frame; his mystical body in the Eucharist, is made from grains of wheat, and has no part belonging to the human

frame. "The holy sacrament, therefore, is called a mystery, because in it, one thing is seen, and another is understood. That which is seen has the properties of matter, that which is understood strengthens the spirit. Assuredly Christ's body, which suffered death and rose from the grave, dieth no more, but is eternal, and obnoxious to no change: the Eucharistic elements, however, are temporal not eternal, liable to corruption, and to all the accidents which attend ordinary substances. These elements, therefore, are the Lord's body and blood mystically and figuratively. A like figure is used by St. Paul in speaking of the Israelites, who were all, he says, 'under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptised unto Moses in the cloud, and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat; and did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them; and that rock was Christ[x].' Now the rock from which the water ran was not Christ bodily, but spiritually. It was a type of Christ, who says to all the faithful, 'Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst: but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life[y].' This our Lord spake of the Spirit which those received who believed in him. So St. Paul, when he spake of the spiritual meat and drink received by the ancient Israelites, intimated, that they derived spiritual nourishment from the body and blood of

[x] 1 Cor. x. 1, et seq. [y] St. John, iv. 14.

Christ, which is now offered spiritually in the Eucharist. Upon this principle, our Lord, before he suffered, hallowed bread and wine, saying, 'This is my body, and this is my blood.' Nor did these things fail to become such to the receivers, any more than did so, what was received by the Israelites in the wilderness before Jesus was born. Upon another occasion, the Saviour said, 'Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life[z];' but he did not mean by these words the body wherewith he was enclosed, and the blood which he shed upon the cross. He only referred to the holy Eucharist, his mystical body and blood, and the means of attaining eternal life to all who receive it with a believing heart. Under the old law, various sacrifices were offered, presignifying the great sacrifice for sin hereafter to be made by Christ. Under the new dispensation, the holy Sacrament is administered as a commemoration of that sacrifice now that it has been offered. Christ suffered for sin once, but his sufferings are mystically renewed at his holy Supper. At this also, we are reminded, that, as many grains go to make the bread of which we eat, and many grapes to make the wine of which we drink, so all true Christians are members of Christ, and form integral parts of his mystical body. Now, therefore, as that mystical body is placed upon the altar, receive it with due preparation of mind, and ye will receive that with which ye are spiritually united[a]."

[z] Ibid. vi. 54.

[a] Foxe, 1045. Wheloc. in Bedam. 462. This homily was

There are also extant two epistles written by Elfric to two prelates of his day, which are equally decisive against transubstantiation. In these it is asserted in the plainest manner, that Christ's presence in the Eucharist is spiritual, and not corporal [b]. To the language in which these interesting remains of antiquity are written, it is probable, that Englishmen owe the satisfaction of being enabled so completely to vindicate their remote progenitors from a suspicion of having entertained unscriptural opinions respecting the Lord's Supper. Archbishop Lanfranc, and the other foreigners, and the immediate posterity of foreigners, by whom transubstantiation was introduced into England, and who, during a long period enjoyed the best English benefices, knew little or nothing of the idiom spoken by the conquered nation. The miserable remains of Saxon literature were therefore disregarded, and the transubstantiators only thought of obliterating or destroying such Latin documents as made against them. Hence it is, in all probability, that although Elfric's homily against the carnal presence is translated from the Latin, the original may be sought in vain [c].

evidently composed by some person acquainted with Ratramn's treatise; for the ideas, and even the words, are in many places the same in both pieces.

[b] Foxe, 1041.

[c] "There is yet remaining one certain piece or fragment of an Epistle of Elfricus in the library of Worcester. Wherein, so much as maketh against the matter of transubstantiation, we have

In the Church of England, as in that of Rome, effectual means for confirming the people in a belief of the carnal presence were not, however, taken immediately on the adoption of that tenet by the ruling ecclesiastics. It was not till after the lapse of considerably more than a century that the condemnation of Berenger was followed up by any change in the religious formularies of the Papacy[d]. In 1215, however, Innocent III. so no-

found in the middle of the said Latin epistle utterly rased out, so that no letter or piece of a letter doth there appear. The words cut out, were these: '*Non est tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, neque sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit: sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis, sicut manna quod de cælo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit. Sicut Paulus &c. Notwithstanding this sacrifice is not the same body of his, wherein he suffered for us, nor the same blood of his which he shed for us: but spiritually it is made his body and blood, as that manna which rained from heaven, and the water which did flow out of the rock. As Paul, &c.*' These words so rased out are to be restored again by another Saxon book found at Exeter. By the rasing of which one place, it may easily be conjectured what these practisers have likewise done in the rest." Ibid.

[d] "It was late before the church defined transubstantiation; for a long time together it did suffice to believe, that the true body of Christ was present, whether under the consecrated bread, or any other way. So said the great Erasmus." (Bp. Jer. Taylor's Real Presence, 181.) "Ante Innocentium tertium Romanum episcopum, qui in Lateranensi concilio præsedit, tribus modis id (Chr. præs. in Euch. sc.) posse fieri curiosius scrutantibus visum est: aliis existimantibus una cum pane, vel in pane, Christi corpus adesse, veluti ignem in ferri massa, quem modum Lutherus secutus videtur: aliis panem in nihilum redigi, vel corrumpi: aliis substantiam panis transmutari in substantiam corporis Christi, quem modum secutus Innocentius, reliquos

torious for his ambition, pride, avarice, and reckless prosecution of his private ends [e], having ventured to insert transubstantiation among articles of faith, his creature, Cardinal Langton, in this respect, followed as his patron led. Langton was born in England but educated abroad, and being at the papal court during a contest respecting the validity of an election to the see of Canterbury, he was intruded into that dignity, contrary to all precedent, by one of the boldest strokes of Innocent's unprincipled policy. When at length the Cardinal found himself firmly seated in the metropolitan chair, after the complete humiliation of his contemptible sovereign, King John, he shewed himself as an English politician worthy of his elevation; for he cordially concurred in measures, highly offensive to the court of Rome, which led to the signing of *Magna Charta*. As a divine, however, Cardinal Langton was never emancipated from Italian bondage. In 1220 [f], he translated, as it is called, with extraordinary pomp, the corpse of Archbishop Becket, from the marble coffin in which it had hitherto mouldered, into a shrine of gold ornamented with precious stones. Fifty years had elapsed since the barbarous assassination

modos in eo concilio rejecit." Tunstall. de Ver. Corp. et Sang. Do. in Euch. Lutet. 1554. f. 46.

[e] "Noverat enim (Johan. Rex) quod Papa (Innoc. III.) super omnes mortales ambitiosus erat et superbus, pecuniæque sititor insatiabilis, et ad omnia scelera pro præmiis datis vel promissis aptus et proclivis." Matt. Paris. ap. Parker. de Antiqu. Brit. Eccl. 240.

[f] Collier, I. 428.

of that resolute papal partizan, and his successor now determined to celebrate in his honour a solemn jubilee, the first of those sanctimonious fairs, which so much enriched Canterbury, and degraded England. Upon this occasion, the young King, Henry III. and an immense concourse of people from every rank in society, were attracted to the scene of Archbishop Langton's holiday shew. For this, arrangements were made upon the most lavish scale of expense; travellers found entertainment provided for their horses all along the road from London to Canterbury; and on the day[g] devoted to the gorgeous translation, fountains running wine attested the Primate's anxiety to honour his martyred predecessor's memory[h]. After an interval of two years from this testimony to the excellence of Becket's cause, Langton proceeded farther to gratify the Roman see by promulging a canon in unison with that doctrine of the Eucharist which Pope Innocent had sanctioned at the Lateran seven years before. At a provincial council holden in Oxford, in 1222, it was enacted, that the Eucharist should be reserved in a pyx of silver, ivory, or other handsome materials; that when the clergy should carry it to sick persons, they should invite all who might hear or see them to treat it with reverence[i]; and should pronounce with particular attention, when celebrating mass,

[g] July 7. [h] Parker, 242.

[i] "Et audientes et videntes invitent ad habendum tanto Sacramento reverentiam." Constitut. Steph. Cantuar. Archiep. ad calcem constitut. Othon. et Othobon. Paris, 1504. f. 125.

those words of the canon which are thought to indicate a substantial change in the elements [k]. These cautious approaches towards the complete establishment of transubstantiation, with its consequences, in the Church of England, were followed up with spirit after the lapse of more than half a century. John Peckham, a Franciscan friar, born at Lewes in Sussex, after studying with great reputation at Oxford and Paris, fixed himself at Rome, and was appointed to hear causes in the papal palace there. From this judicial employment, he was intruded by the Pope, in defiance of an election regularly made in favour of another [l], into the see of Canterbury. In 1281, Archbishop Peckham held a provincial council at Lambeth, in which he lamented, that as regards the Eucharist, the English clergy were highly reprehensible [m]. He probably found that, upon this subject, the parochial priests of his native land had not yet attained to the Italian standard of orthodoxy. He, therefore, obtained the passing of a canon, by which it was enjoined, that, on the elevation of the consecrated elements, one of the bells in the steeple should be rung, in order to invite by its sound persons at home, or in the fields to bend

[k] "Item, verba canonis, præsertim in his quæ ad Sacramenti substantiam pertinent, plene et integre, et cum summa animi devotione proferant." Ibid.

[l] Robert Burnel, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Lord Chancellor.

[m] "Multos igitur esse numero et paucos merito Domini sacerdotes quotidianis scandalis experimur." Constitut. Peckham. ut supra. 126.

their knees, and thereby obtain those indulgences which many bishops had granted to such worshippers [a]. Lest, however, even the promise of these indulgences should fail of inducing some persons to acquiesce in the propriety of such practices, the clergy were, by the same canon, ordered to teach their congregations carefully, that, in receiving the consecrated bread, they received Christ's body and blood, nay, Himself entire, living, and in truth [b]. Those who believe that transubstantiation had ever been the doctrine of British Christians will, probably, wonder, that near the close of the thirteenth century, it should have been deemed necessary to press upon the clergy the careful teaching of that tenet [p]. From

[a] "In elevatione vero illius corporis Christi pulsentur campanæ in uno latere: ut populares quibus celebrationi missarum non vacat quotidie interesse, ubicunque fuerint, seu in agris, seu in domibus, flectant genua: indulgentias concessas a pluribus episcopis habituri." (Ibid.) Of the elevation, Lindwood says, "Quæ fit ut populus illud adoret." Provincial. Antwerp. 1525. f. 167.

[b] "Attendant insuper sacerdotes quod cum communionem sacram porrigunt simplicibus Paschali tempore vel alio, *solicite eos instruant* sub panis specie eis simul dari corpus et sanguinem Domini: immo Christum integrum, vivum, et verum, qui totus est sub specie Sacramenti." Constitut. Peckham. ut supra.

[p] Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter, also found himself, about this time, called upon to admonish his clergy upon the subject of teaching transubstantiation. In a diocesan synod, holden at Exeter in 1287, "the fourth article or canon, speaking of the adoration of the host, endeavours to satisfy the consciences of the laity, who sometimes were afraid that they might go too far in their worship, as not being thoroughly satisfied in the doctrine

another clause in Archbishop Peckham's canon, it appears that the sacrilegious abuse of half-communion had already made its way into the smaller churches. For the clergy are directed to teach their congregations, that the wine given to them at the communion, is not the Lord's blood, but merely an unconsecrated liquor distributed for the purpose of enabling them to swallow the bread with greater ease [q]. But notwithstanding

of transubstantiation. To remove this objection, the priests are enjoined to instruct the people before they give them the Eucharist, *that they receive under the species of bread that which hung upon the cross for their salvation: and in the cup, they receive that which was shed from the body of our Saviour.* From hence it appears, that the laity received the communion in both kinds in the diocese of Exeter, notwithstanding the late provincial constitutions of Lambeth, to the contrary; and that the denying the cup to the people was so great an innovation, that the Bishop of Exeter did not think himself bound to be concluded in that point by the order of his Metropolitan; or the Lambeth synod." Collier, I. 489.

[q] "Doceant etiam eosdem illud quod ipsis eisdem temporibus propinatur, Sacramentum non esse, sed vinum purum eis hauriendum, ut facilius Sacramentum glutiant quod ceperunt. Solis enim celebrantibus sanguinem sub specie vini consecrati sumere in hujusmodi minoribus ecclesiis est concessum." (Constitut. Peckham. ut supra.) "Hic vocat minores ecclesias, sive capellas rurales, vel etiam in urbe quæ sunt parochiales; et dicuntur minores respectu ecclesiarum cathedralium, quæ sunt majores ecclesiæ." (Lindwood, 7.) "This innovation of half-communion had not yet prevailed in cathedral and conventual churches; nor in all likelihood in the Universities. For this new doctrine was to be inculcated *simplicibus*, to the more illiterate sort of people: their ignorance being most likely to make them acquiesce under so unprimitive, and uncatholic a practice. This, to say no more

the authority and endeavours of the Roman Bishops and their creatures, it was long before men generally were persuaded to believe in transubstantiation. In the middle of the fourteenth century, few persons of superior intelligence entertained that opinion[r]. Its advocates, indeed, could devise no mode of defending it effectually, but by resting it on the authority of the papal see, then infamous throughout Europe for extortion, venality, and every species of political delinquency[s]. By that see the tenet continued to be supported with the most intrepid consistency, and towards the close of the fourteenth century Gregory XI. decided, that should the consecrated bread find its way into the stomach of a mouse, or into the receptacle of human excrement, thither would descend the Saviour's body[t]. But such nauseous absurdities, however defended by subtle

of it, was so notorious a departure from general custom and tradition, that they did not think it safe to venture upon a counter-practice all at once. They left the more knowing people to the benefit of both kinds. And where they were so hardy as to do otherwise, they continued the appearance of the ancient usage, and gave the people the wine, though they retrenched the consecration." Collier, I. 481.

[r] "Paucis hujus sæculi hominibus persuasum fuerit, (quod de sua ætate scribit Robertus Holkot, qui inter nostrates sub medium sæculi XIV. vixit,) corpus Christi esse realiter (aut transubstantialiter) in sacramento altaris." Cosin, 159.

[s] Scot. "Communis opinio tenenda est, non propter aliquam rationem, sed propter determinationem pontificis Romani." Bacon. "Oportet declarationem fidei tenere, quam Romanus pontifex tenendam declarat." Ibid. 160.

[t] Ibid.

schoolmen, or fanatical friars, were revolting to the good sense of mankind, and therefore it is not matter for surprise, that when Gregory's contemporary, the illustrious Wickliffe, once more introduced to men in superior life the Eucharistic belief of their ancestors [n], the calumniated priest should have been credited by many competent judges in preference to the tri-crowned pontiff.

The tremendous powers of persecution with which the ruling ecclesiastics contrived to arm themselves after Wickliffe's death, soon banished his opinions from those classes where much of worldly goods may be lost or gained. Nor, as at that period the supply of books was comparatively scanty, were men, divided by a few generations from the contemporaries of our celebrated early Reformer, easily enabled to judge as to the real state of religious opinion at the time of his appearance. The traditional knowledge of man is confined within very narrow limits, and unless he possesses ample means of consulting written documents, he cannot hope for any thing more than a vague idea of that which occurred even a century before his own time. Hence it happened, that at the beginning of the Reformation so few men of learning possessed any acquaintance with the real history of transubstantiation. The century which preceded them was one of fierce per-

[n] "Johannem Wycliff hæresiarcham magnum qui multas *hæreses antiquas* resuscitavit in Anglia tempore suo." Lindwood, 205.

secution against all who denied that doctrine; and as the materials for understanding the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages were mouldering in oblivion, the frightful cruelties of the fifteenth century effected their intended object. Scholars examined not the progress of those doctrines which they were called upon to believe. They heard with implicit faith that the church of Rome then professed no other tenets than those which she had entertained from the first. If, therefore, a denial of the carnal presence became the subject of attention, it was not doubted that this was a heresy broached by Berenger and revived by Wickliffe. No scholar, probably, suspected, that something like transubstantiation first attracted notice in the ninth century, and was immediately opposed by divines of the highest reputation; that the Roman Church did not venture to commit as herself to this doctrine until the eleventh century; that she did not embody it in her formularies until the thirteenth; that it was warmly opposed during that and the following age; that it was at length established in superior life by dint of sanguinary persecutions; and that its authority was wholly derived from lying wonders, the interested assertions of popes, and the equivocating sophisms of schoolmen. In consequence of their reliance upon Luther's authority, English divines of eminence attached to the Reformation were particularly late in acquiring a knowledge of these facts. From Saxony were communicated very imperfect materials for forming a correct

judgment upon transubstantiation, and from the same quarter was inculcated a violent prejudice against the labours of the Swiss divines upon this subject. Hence the writings of these polemics were announced in vain to the majority of the English Reformers; who were anxious to shun the perusal of works, rashly pronoumced alike unsound in their principles, and injurious to the cause of scriptural Christianity. At length, however, Ratramn's treatise * found its way into England,

* Before this treatise is dismissed from notice it may be desirable to mention a mode of evading its testimony adopted by some of the more cautious Romanists. "Cardinal Perron tells us, that the adversaries whom Ratramnus encounters, were the Stercoranists, a sort of heretics that rose up in the ninth century, and Mauguin followeth him, with divers others. They are said to believe that Christ's body is corruptible, passible, and subject to digestion and the draught, and that the accidents were hypostatically united to Christ's body. But we read of no such errors censured by any council in that age, we do not find any person of that time branding any body with that infamous hard name. The persons whom some late writers have accused as authors of that heresy, viz. Rabanus, Archbishop of Mentz, and Heribaldus, Bishop of Auxerre, lived and died with the repute of learned, orthodox, and holy men, and are not accused by any of their own time of those foul doctrines. The first I can learn of the name is, that Humbertus, Bishop of Silva Candida, calls Nicetas, Stercoranist. And Algerus likewise calls the Greeks so, for holding that the Sacrament broke an ecclesiastical fast: which is nothing to the Gallican Church in the ninth century." (Introd. to the Book of Bertram, 97.) Both Humbert and Alger were among Berenger's opponents in the 11th century. Accordingly "F. Mabillon waives this pretence of the Stercoranists, and makes Bertram to have, through mistake, opposed an error he thought Haymo guilty of, viz. *that the consecrated bread and cup are not*

and few candid readers could arise from a perusal of it, without doubting the assertions of both Ro-

signs of Christ's body and blood." (Ibid. 99.) Ratramn, however, was not a man to write a book under a palpable mistake, and besides, let his opponents have been whom they may, what he has written is plainly at variance with transubstantiation; which is all that English Protestants have to do with it. Hence Turrian observes, "to cite Bertram, what is it else but to say that Calvin's heresy is not new?" (Bp. Jer. Taylor's Real Pres. 266.) The candid Du Pin vindicates the genuineness of Ratramn, and gives some account of the Eucharistic controversy which agitated his time. He then mentions the Stercoranists as known in the ninth century, but cites no authority. Afterwards he says, "Ratramne soutient que le corps invisible de Jesus Christ ne peut être sujet à la condition des autres alimens; mais il croit que les especes y sont sujettes. Amalarius propose la question, mais ne la decide pas, et laisse à penser si le corps de Jesus Christ est enlevé dans le ciel, ou reservé dans notre corps jusqu'au jour de la sepulture, ou exhalé en l'air, s'il sort du corps avec le sang, ou par les pores; enfin s'il est sujet aux accidens des autres alimens. Raban decide affirmativement que les especes de l'Eucharistie sont sujettes à la condition des autres alimens. Mais d'autres auteurs se sont imaginés que cela n'etait pas convenable à la dignité du mystere, et qu'il étoit plus raisonnable de penser, ou que les especes etoit aneanties, ou qu'elles etoient conservées à perpetuité, ou qu'elles se changeoient en sang et en chair, et non en humeurs ou en excremens. C'est le sentiment de l'anonyme cité par Eriger, et Eriger le soutient comme un dogme certain. Guitmond et Alger poussent encore la chose plus loin, et pretendent que les especes de l'Eucharistie ne sont jamais ni pourries, ni alterées, quoiqu'elles le paroissent; qu'en cas que des rats les rongeassent, ou qu'un homme voulut s'en nourir, elles sont enlevées miraculeusement, et que du pain non consacré est mis en leur place. Sur ce fondement, Alger fait un procés aux Grecs, et les accuse d'être Stercoranistes, comme avoit fait Humbert à Nicetas Pectoratus, parce qu'ils croient que le jeûne etoit

manists and Lutherans as to the antiquity of a belief in the corporal presence.

The first Englishman of eminence thus affected by Ratramn's piece was Dr. Nicholas Ridley. In 1544, appeared the last, and perhaps the most violent attack made by Luther upon the Swiss Reformers [y]. In the following year these injured Christians replied to their Saxon assailant in a full statement of his opinions, and of their own. During a great part of that year, Ridley lived retired upon his vicarage of Herne, in Kent [z], engaged no doubt, according to his usual habit, in theological research. It is known, that he then became acquainted with Ratramn, and it appears probable, that he was induced to study that author in consequence of perusing the controversy then raging between Switzerland and Saxony. He now became convinced that those who believe that transubstantiation has ever been maintained by the Catholic Church, proceed upon an assump-

rompu par la communion; cependant Nicetas et les autres Grecs ne fondoient point leur usage sur cette raison; mais sur ce que recevoir l'Eucharistie etant une action de solemnité et de joie, il ne faut pas la recevoir pendant la tristesse et le jeûne. Humbert n'imputoit pas cette erreur à Nicetas que par consequence, et l'on ne voit point qu'il y ait eu depuis de dispute là dessus entre les Grecs et les Latins." (Du Pin, III. 53.) Thus, after asserting that the Stercoranists were known in the ninth century, but not mentioning to whom, the historian slips insensibly, as it were, into the eleventh century, and there he finds two of Berenger's opponents using this term in some controversy with the Greeks.

[y] Lavather, 32.

[z] Life of Bishop Ridley, 162.

tion merely gratuitous, and farther enquiries did not allow him to doubt that the doctrine could be satisfactorily traced to no very remote period. Having come to these conclusions, he took an opportunity of communicating them to Cranmer; probably some time in the year 1546[a]. The Archbishop then, assisted by Ridley, applied himself to a consideration of the Eucharistic question, with all that cautious and persevering industry which he never failed to use in every matter of importance. At length, his mind became satisfied as to the truth, and sometime in the year 1547, he felt convinced that the carnal presence was a doctrine unacknowledged by the ancient Church[b]. His enquiries, in fact, terminated like those of Wickliffe, in a full persuasion that no ecclesiastical authority had ventured to impose a belief in any thing like transubstantiation, as an article of faith, before the eleventh century[c].

[a] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 368.

[b] "This I confess of myself, that not long before I wrote the said catechism, I was in that error of the real presence." Abp. Cranmer's Answer to Smyth, cited by Strype, *ut supra*.

[c] "If it can be proved by any doctor, above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is there (in the Eucharist) really, I will give over." (Abp. Cranmer to the Commissioners at Oxford. Foxe, 1701.) "The Papists' Church truly represented has never made any innovations in matters of faith; what she believes and teaches now, being the same that the Catholic Church believed and taught in the first three or four centuries after the Apostles. And though in most of her general councils there have been several decisions touching points of faith, yet can no one,

without an injury to the truth, say, that in any of these have been coined new articles, or Christians forced to the acceptance of novelties, contrary to Scripture, or *ancient tradition.* They have only trodden in the Apostles' steps, as often as they have been in like circumstances with them, doing exactly according to the form and example left to the church by those perfect masters of Christianity. And therefore, as the Apostles, in their assembly, Acts xv. determined the controversy respecting the circumcision, and proposed to the faithful what was the doctrine of Christ in that point, of necessity to be believed; of which, till that decision, there had been raised several questions and doubts, that are now no longer to be questioned, without the shipwreck of faith; so to all succeeding ages, the elders of the Church, to whom the Apostles left the commission of watching over the flock, in their councils have never scrupled to determine all such points as were controverted among Christians, and to propose to them what of necessity they were to believe for the future, with anathema pronounced against all such as should presume to preach the contrary. Thus in the year 325, the first Nicene council declared the Son of God to be consubstantial to his Father, against the Arians; with an obligation on all to assent to this doctrine, though they till then never proposed or declared it in this form. Thus in the first Ephesian council, *Anno* 431, Nestorius was condemned, who maintained two persons in Christ, and that the blessed Virgin was not mother of God; with a declaration, that both these his tenets were contrary to the Catholic faith. *Thus in the second Nicene council, Anno 787, image-breakers were anathematised. Thus in the great council of Lateran, anno 1215, transubstantiation was declared; the sufficiency of communion in one kind in the council of Constance; purgatory in the council of Florence; and all these together, with the sacrifice of the mass, the invocation of saints, &c. in the council of Trent,* against Luther, Calvin, &c." (A Papist Misrepresented and Represented, 86.) Hence it must be inferred, that articles of faith fairly deducible from the Divine Record, but above human comprehension, inasmuch as they relate to the Deity personally, were controverted in primitive times; while other articles, not so deducible, nay, even supposed

by a multitude of competent judges to be at variance with the Record, not relating to subjects above human comprehension, and liable to the most serious difficulties, were implicitly believed until a period comparatively recent.

CHAPTER III.

Proceedings in Parliament—and in Convocation—Liberation of Bishop Gardiner—The Marquess of Northampton's divorce—Some Romish ceremonies forbidden—Order of council for removing images from churches—Proclamation for the observance of Lent—The preaching of Bishop Latimer—Queries upon the Eucharist—The mass—The new Communion-office—Confession—Plunder and profanation of churches—Unsound opinions repressed—The Scottish war—Sermon and imprisonment of Bishop Gardiner—Archbishop Cranmer's visitation—The liturgical committee—Antiquity of liturgies—The vernacular tongue used in their composition—The first service-book—Calvin.

On the fourth of November, was assembled the great council of the nation, and it continued sitting until Christmas eve, when it was prorogued. This Parliament sanctioned most of King Edward's measures; successive prorogations having continued its existence until near the close of his reign[a]. On the day preceding that in which the legislators met, Somerset discovered in a manner somewhat indiscreet, how much he was elated by the prosperous issue of his recent expedition into Scotland. For he produced a patent warranting him to take his seat on the right hand of the throne, and conferring

[a] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 47.

upon him all the privileges ever enjoyed by any uncle of an English king [b]. Richard, Lord Rich, now appeared as Lord Chancellor, having been appointed to that dignity on the 24th of October; and Sir John Baker was elected Speaker of the House of Commons. It is thought that the members of the two houses generally were well affected towards Romanism; but that many of them had received a bias against it from having become possessed of monastic, or other ecclesiastical property, and that some lived in hopes of making an increase of fortune from estates of these kinds, as yet in the hands of the King, or remaining to the Church. The Romish party was farther weakened by the want of able leaders; Bishop Gardiner being a prisoner in the Tower, and Bishop Tunstall being dismissed from the council-board [c].

On the day following that in which Parliament was opened, the Convocation began its session, and John Taylor, Dean of Lincoln, was unanimously chosen Prolocutor [d]. Archbishop Cranmer, now no longer apprehensive of effectual opposition to his plans, and thoroughly settled by long study and reflection in his religious opinions, discovered greater confidence than ever. Nor was there any considerable party in the Convocation inclined to dispute his will; hence he was enabled to carry his various reforms with but little difficulty. As a preliminary to the propo-

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 63. [c] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 48.
[d] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 220.

sitions that he might make, he exhorted the assembled clergy to study diligently the Scriptures, in order thus to acquire the power of deciding accurately upon the merits of such professional questions as were likely to come before them. To this it was replied, that so long as the act of Six Articles should remain in force, an impartial consideration of theological subjects was scarcely to be expected of any man. Since, if his enquiries should lead him to dissent from the legislative standard of orthodoxy, that intolerant statute would tie his tongue. Stricken by the justice of this observation, Cranmer represented to the council, that the lenity with which infractions of existing laws were treated would not sufficiently encourage the dissemination of principles purely scriptural, so long as the letter of the statutes continued at variance with the mildness of the government. There were those who thought, that, notwithstanding this objection, it would be prudent to retain, though in a dormant state, the persecuting edicts. The majority of the council, however, shewed no desire to possess such a discretionary power, and it was determined to propose the repeal of those laws by which an open dissent from the doctrines of Papal Rome was rendered penal[e].

Accordingly, on the 10th of November, a bill was brought in for the abrogation of several statutes relating to treason. By this, protection was

[e] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 65.

afforded against some charges of a nature merely civil, to which men were liable under the merciless system of legislation adopted in the late reign[f]. But the principal object in view was to relieve men from all apprehension of a prosecution for Lollardy, or for doctrinal offences created under King Henry's government. It was, therefore, provided in the bill proposed, that the acts against Lollards passed during and since the reign of King Richard II., the act of Six Articles, another act by which this was qualified, the act restraining the use of Scripture, and every act relating to religious doctrine, should be repealed[g]. It was, however, not intended to allow any latitude to the papal partizans; hence all who should deny the King's supremacy, were, for the first offence, to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to suffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the second, they were to incur the penalties of a *præmunire;* for the third, they were to be attainted as traitors. And if any should attempt, by writing, printing, or other overt act, to deprive the King of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, after the 1st day of the following March, he was to be adjudged guilty of high treason. But this clause was not to affect such as should style the French king, King of France. It was also provided in this bill that the act of the late reign giving to royal proclamations the force of law should be rescinded. The bill was read in the

[f] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 48. [g] Collier, II. 235.

Upper House for the second time on the 12th of the month, for the third time on the 16th, and on the 19th it was sent down, with some additions, to the Commons. They, however, had formed the design of affording the desired relief by means of a bill originating among themselves, and it was not until after a conference with the Lords, that they abandoned their intention. At length, on the 24th of December, they sent up passed, but with some alterations, the bill which had been transmitted to them, and it then received the royal assent. The variations made in the Lower House were disapproved by certain members of the episcopal bench. The Bishops Boner of London, Tunstall of Durham, Goodrich of Ely, Skip of Hereford, and Day of Chichester dissented[h]. By the passing of this act Englishmen were relieved from all danger of prosecution under any of the statutes enacted for the protection of Popery. Offences, however, against the Christian faith as recorded in Scripture still continued to be punishable by the common law, as they had been before the time of Wickliffe[i].

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 64.

[i] "By the common law, as the learned Fitzherbert affirms, the punishment for heresy was burning." (Collier, II. 235.) In the reign of King John this barbarous penalty was inflicted upon some unfortunate Albigenses, who had hoped to find that refuge in England, which their own miserable country refused them. One of these oppressed foreigners was burnt in London, in the year 1210. (Usser. de Success. 162.) In the year 1166, or thereabouts, under King Henry II. a synod holden at Oxford condemned certain religionists known as Publicans,

Another important act passed by the legislature during this session, was one for the double purpose of repressing indecent attacks upon the Eucharist, and of restoring to the laity their right of communicating in both kinds. The various controversies agitated of late respecting propitiatory masses had completely unsettled men's minds upon that subject, and the unthinking levity of injudicious polemics, or mere jesters, had converted the service of the altar into an object of popular derision. Mirth, however, is a weapon which no serious man of sound judgment would wish to have employed in the cause of religion. For although well calculated to shake the credit of exceptionable opinions among the more unthinking, it affords to those who hate all the restraints of piety a cover for making assaults upon every thing sacred and venerable. Religious minds in general must therefore have been re-

and charged by the historians of the time with monstrous errors. These unhappy persons were in effect subjected to a capital punishment, for, after being branded, they were turned adrift, and the severest penalties being denounced against all who should afford them the least relief, they perished in the fields. (Rapin, I. 350.) In 1222 two impostors were condemned by a provincial council holden under Cardinal Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. One of these was a miscreant or madman who exhibited five wounds in imitation of our Saviour's. "But Bracton adds another, and a more notable instance. He tells us of a certain deacon, who, out of love to a Jewish woman, apostatised from the faith of Christ; and was thereupon sentenced and degraded by the synod (in 1222,) and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt for it." Abp. Wake's Authority of Christian Princes Asserted, 117.

joiced to see the legislature intent upon repressing a licence which tended to sap the foundations of their common faith. The act, however, as it stood, did not pass without opposition. The Bishops Boner of London, Skip of Hereford, Repps of Norwich, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, opposed it[k]. By its provisions, all persons who should in any manner revile or contemn the Eucharist, after the first of the following May, were to be fined and imprisoned at the King's pleasure; they having been convicted of the offence at the Quarter Sessions. Communion in both kinds was restored to the laity by this act, as more agreeable to the first institution of the Sacrament, and more conformable to the usage of the Church during the first five hundred years after our Lord's ascension, than the practice of administering the bread alone[l]. But it was

[k] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 66.

[l] "Harding, the first who took up arms against it in Queen Elizabeth's time, doth acknowledge in plain terms, that the communion was delivered in both kinds at Corinth, as appeareth by St. Paul; and in many other places also, as may most evidently be found in the writings of many ancient fathers. And finally, that it was so used for the space of six hundred years and after. But because Harding leaves the point at 600, and after, I doubt not but we may be able, on an easy search, to draw the practice down to six hundred more, and possibly somewhat after also. For Haymo of Halberstadt, who flourished in the year 850, informs us, that *The cup is called the communion of the blood of Christ, because all communicate thereof.* And we are certified in the history of Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, that William, Duke of Normandy, immediately before the battle near Hastings, Anno 1066, caused his whole army to communicate in both

added, with commendable moderation, this restoration of the ancient practice in England was not

kinds; as the use then was. And finally, it is observed by Thomas Aquinas, who lived in and after the year 1260, that in some churches of his time the cup was not given unto the people. Which though he reckoneth for a provident and prudent usage; yet by restraining it only to some few churches, he shews the general usage of the Church to have been otherwise at that time; as indeed it was." (Heylin, Hist. Ref. 50.) That the cup was not universally denied to the English laity towards the close of the thirteenth century has already been proved from the provincial constitutions of Archbishop Peckham, and from the diocesan constitutions of Bishop Quivil. "The principal advocates of Popery at the beginning of the Reformation were not willing to own, that the universal practice of the Primitive Church was against the modern sacrilege of denying the cup to the people: and therefore, though they confessed that there were some instances in antiquity of communion under both kinds, yet they maintained, the custom was not universal. So Eckius and Harding, and many others. But they who have since considered the practice of the ancient Church more narrowly, are ashamed of this pretence, and freely confess, that *for twelve centuries there is no instance of the people's being obliged to communicate only in one kind in the public administration of the Sacrament*, but in private, they think, some few instances may be given. This is Cardinal Bona's distinction; whose words are so remarkable, that I cannot forbear to transcribe them. *It is very certain*, says he, *that anciently all in general, both clergy and laity, men and women, received the holy mysteries in both kinds, when they were present at the solemn celebration of them, and they both offered, and were partakers. But out of the time of the sacrifice, and out of the church, it was customary always and in all places to communicate only in one kind. In the first part of the assertion all agree, as well Catholics as Sectaries; nor can any one deny it that has the least knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs. For the faithful, always and in all places, from the very first foundation of the Church to the twelfth century, were used to communicate under the species*

to be interpreted as condemning the usage of any Church out of his Majesty's dominions [m].

In the course of this session were introduced two bills, eventually thrown into one act, relating to the election and privileges of bishops. In the primitive Church, both clergy and laity were admitted to take a part in the choice of their diocesan [n]. On the establishment of the Gothic monarchies in France and Spain, this choice, however, was rendered in those countries subject to the approval of the crown, and the privilege thus acquired led ultimately to a claim on the sovereign's part to an absolute right of nominating to the vacant dignity [o]. Nor was the claim altogether unreasonable; for the bishops and abbots having acquired considerable landed possessions, it was not to be expected that they should be allowed to enter upon the enjoyment of these properties without the concurrence of their feudal superior. The usage, however, led to very seri-

of bread and wine; and in the beginning of that age the use of the cup began by little and little to be laid aside, whilst many bishops interdicted the people the use of the cup for fear of irreverence and effusion. And what they did first for their own churches, was afterwards confirmed by a canonical sanction in the council of Constance." (Bingham, I. 785.) When the age, in which half-communion was first generally adopted, is considered, the reasonableness of Bishop Burnet's observation upon receiving in both kinds becomes apparent. "It continued thus till the belief of the corporal presence of Christ was set up; and then the keeping and carrying about the cup in processions not being so easily done, some began to lay it aside." Hist. Ref. II. 67.

[m] Collier, II. 236. [n] Bingham, I. 135. [o] *Ibid.* 142.

ous inconveniences; mercenary princes being found eager to make the ecclesiastical patronage which they had acquired a source of pecuniary gain. This undeniable abuse engendered in both laity and clergy a disposition to elude or resist the sovereign's claim, and hence arose those stormy discussions respecting investitures, which agitated the eleventh century, and which tended to aggrandise in a manner so effectual the Roman see[p]. In England, during the Saxon period, bishops appear to have been chosen by the chapters of their respective cathedrals, but the election, probably, was not valid until sanctioned by the crown[q]. From the Conquest until the reign of King John, the bishops were usually chosen at a solemn meeting of the nobility and prelacy in presence of the sovereign. In order, however, to preserve an appearance of adhering to the ancient system, certain delegates from the chapter of the vacant see were summoned to the election[r]. This last practice occasioned the restoration of the Anglo-Saxon mode, and in the miserable reign of King John, the chapters were formally reinstated in the privilege of choosing their diocesan[s]. The Roman court, however, now obtained that influ-

[p] Mosheim, II. 509.

[q] So much may be inferred from the election of Edmund to the see of Durham, in the reign of King Canute. Collier, I. 213. Malmsburien. ap. Godwin. de Præsul. 726.

[r] Collier, I. 328.

[s] This privilege was confirmed by the first clause in *Magna Charta*.

ence in the election of English prelates which had been heretofore exercised by the crown, and this badge of national degradation continued until King Edward I. made an arrangement with the Pope to the following effect. On the vacancy of a bishopric, the dean and canons, or prior and monks of its cathedral, were to apply for the King's writ of *Congé d'elire*, and their election being made, they were to petition for the royal confirmation of it[t]. Until the year 1534, when the English legislature aroused itself to a sense of its duty and effectually emancipated the country from Italian bondage, this arrangement continued in operation. Then, however, it became the law of England, that, on the vacancy of a see, a *Congé d'elire* should be transmitted as usual from the crown to the chapter, and that if the individual recommended by his Majesty should not be chosen within twelve days, the King should be empowered to appoint him to the vacant dignity by letters patent: the contumacious electors being made liable to the penalties of a *præmunire*, if their resistance to the mandate of authority should continue during the space of twenty days[u]. This act was now repealed, as enjoining a tedious and expensive process, which at last ended in an election merely nominal. It was, therefore, provided, that in future no *Congé d'elire* should be granted, nor any election made by the chapter, but that, on the vacancy of a see, the King should

[t] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 53. [u] Collier, II. 84.

nominate an individual to fill it by letters patent. This act also provided, that legal proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts, hitherto conducted in the names of the several prelates, should hereafter be conducted in the name of the sovereign, as in the lay courts, and that all persons exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction should have the royal arms engraven on their official seals [x]. This act was represented by many people as a decisive proof that the Reformation would end in annihilating the independence of the Church, and in rendering the priesthood a mere band of functionaries moving at the will of the crown [y]. A repeal, however, in the first year of Queen Mary's reign obviated these objections, and by means of subsequent enactments, the system of King Henry's act is restored [z]. So that the prelates of England continue to be chosen by virtue of a *Congé d'elire* from the crown to the chapter of a vacant see. Perhaps the most important point of view in which the system of electing our prelates can be placed, is its conformity to ancient usage. The chapter of a cathedral may be considered as representing the clergy of a diocese; inasmuch as before the settlement of parishes, a band of ecclesiastics lived around the mother-church of a district under the personal inspection of their bishop, and left their homes as itinerants to evangelise the surrounding country. The custom, therefore, of entrusting, even in appearance,

[x] Ibid. 236.

[y] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 69.

[z] Collier, II. 237.

the election of their diocesan to capitular bodies is a recognition of an important right inherent in the priesthood of a district. So long, indeed, as bishoprics are endowed with worldly possessions, it is fit that the crown, from which such endowments originally flowed, should have the privilege of selecting a prelate to fill them, upon the same equitable principle that assigns the patronage of parochial churches to the representatives of those who provided a maintenance for their incumbents. But the Church established in England, being of Apostolical origin and constitution, depends not for existence upon political events. Were her endowments to be wrested from her, she would be found nobly to outride the storm, and fully to substantiate in adversity those claims to the respect and confidence of mankind, which she has maintained so triumphantly during a long continuance of national liberality[a]. It would then become the duty of her ministers to provide for continuing the succession of their prelacy, and to choose among themselves, in their respective districts, according to the venerable usage of antiquity, individuals to preside over them.

[a] Of this, the conduct of the clergy of the Church of England during the period of her depression in the seventeenth century, is a sufficient earnest. Usher, Walton, Pearson, Cosin, Fuller, Bramhall, and many others, then splendidly vindicated their Church from the obloquy which had been cast upon her, and by means of example, conversation, the pulpit, and the press, proved incontestably, that even under the pressure of external adversity, she would not only maintain her existence, but also her long-established fame in undiminished lustre.

The statute-book was also augmented in this session of Parliament by another severe, not to say tyrannical law against vagabonds. It was enacted that any man or woman, "not being disabled by age, accident, or sickness, and not having lands, or other means sufficient to maintain him, who wandered up and down idly for three days together, without offering himself to labour and employment: such person, being brought before two justices of the peace, was to be adjudged a slave for two years to the person bringing him, and was to be marked with the letter V." The barbarous severity to which the idle and disorderly had been exposed by former statutes would have rendered this new act no matter of remark for an ecclesiastical historian, did not some of its clauses evidently shew that it was mainly intended to restrain the locomotive propensities of the secularised monks and friars[b]. There is reason to believe that these ecclesiastics had recently just cause of complaint: for on the 18th of the preceding September, was issued a proclamation for the more effectual payment of pensions due to such persons[c]; who were by it required to remain in the places of their ordinary residence, and to transmit the proper certificates to the court of augmentations. While their pensions were irregularly paid, it was not to be expected that they should stay at home; and if any one of their body were apprehended in an act of

[b] Collier, II. 237. [c] Fuller, 387.

vagrancy, or any vagabond who found it convenient to assume their character were taken into custody, the local magistracy would naturally be most unwilling to execute the laws in force against his offence. The individual in charge would not fail to plead that he was necessitated to journey upwards in order to solicit for the arrears of his pension, and that, being destitute, his only hope of support by the way was from mendicity. But nothing could be more injurious to the credit of the government, especially bent as it now was upon ecclesiastical reform, than this state of things. Men in general were as yet weaning slowly and with difficulty from the superstitions amid which their fathers had been reared. Hence their compassion was powerfully excited by the spectacle of individuals struggling with indigence who had once belonged to orders long venerated; and they readily believed these unfortunate or hypocritical persons in their assertions that England must bid adieu to prosperity and happiness until she should repeople monasteries with their cloistered inmates.

Besides these acts relating to ecclesiastical affairs, one was passed before the Legislature separated for vesting in the crown such revenues of colleges, free chapels, chantries, and other similar foundations as were not actually in his Majesty's possession[a]. The act conferring such

[a] "The hospitals were not included in this grant, as they had been in that to the King deceased." (Heylin. Hist. Ref. 50.) "The endowment of these chantry lands was for the maintenance

properties upon King Henry had been only partially carrried into effect, and new legislative powers were required in order to enable the existing administration to seize the ample revenues which yet continued in a state of appropriation to their ancient purposes[*]. Fain would Cranmer have persuaded his friends in power to leave these foundations untouched. He did not, indeed, desire the continuance of those masses, considered as propitiatory, for the performance of which misguided men had settled these estates. But he was willing, that, at all events, the actual incumbents should remain in possession until the king should come of age; calculating that he should then be able to procure, as an augmentation to small vicarages, a portion of these chantry, or other lands. If, however, the revenues of the different religious foundations yet in mortmain should become engulfed amidst the mass of private property, it was evident that no fund would remain at the disposal of the crown for affording

of one or more priests to pray for the souls of the founders. Of these chantries and free chapels there were two thousand three hundred and seventy-four. They were commonly united to some parochial, collegiate, or Cathedral church. The free chapels, though designed for the same purpose, were independent in their constitution, stood without being annexed, and were better endowed. The colleges exceeded these last foundations, both in the beauty of their building, the number of priests, and the largeness of their revenues." (Collier, II. 238.) "There were ninety colleges within the compass of the grant." Heylin, ut supra.

[*] Ibid.

that degree of relief to the inferior clergy which was justly their due, and without which a permanent supply of efficient ministers could hardly be expected. The Primate's representations do not, however, appear upon this occasion to have had any weight with those who were at the head of affairs. Probably it was found difficult to discharge the late King's debts [f], and certainly there then existed in the upper walks of life a disreputable longing for ecclesiastical property. Cranmer's objections were, therefore, overruled, and the bill of confiscation was introduced into the House of Lords. There, the Archbishop met it with a spirited opposition, in which he was cordially joined by the whole strength of the Romish party. The Bishops, Boner, Tunstall, Goodrich, Repps, Skip, Heath, and Day were now seen reinforcing the arguments of their metropolitan; a line of conduct to which, with the exception of Goodrich, they were very little used to follow. The object of these prelates generally in thus concurring with one whose measures they so rarely approved, was most probably very different from his. They were anxious, it must be supposed, to preserve untouched the wreck of that noble property so lately the inheritance of superstition, because they viewed it as a fund which, in case of a change in the national councils might serve to reinstate monkery and the mass in some portion of their former glory. This coalition, however,

[f] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 73.

between the Protestant and Romish interests upon the Episcopal bench, availed nothing against the active exertions of those hungry courtiers who plainly saw that this new spoliation was indispensable to the satisfying of their expectations. The bill, accordingly, passed the Lords in spite of the dissentients on the ecclesiastical side of the House. Opposition to it, however, did not cease on its arrival in the Lower House. Some members for boroughs represented, that should the crown seize upon the estates belonging to guilds and fraternities, it would be beyond the power of their constituents to support the churches, and other public works which formed the principal ornament of their respective towns[g]. These representations weighed greatly with the House, and it was found necessary before the act could be passed, to silence some of the more active members by assurances that it was not intended by the government to seize upon the property of their guilds[h]. In the preamble to the statute it is asserted, that a great portion of the superstitions and errors, by which Christianity was debased, resulted from that imperfect estimate of the Saviour's propitiation, necessarily flowing from the number of establishments devoted to the celebration of masses satisfactory. Such establishments were, therefore, to be broken up, and their revenues, after a due provision made for existing interests, were to be surrendered to his Majesty, in order to furnish him

[g] Ibid. [h] Collier, II. 238.

with additional means for the foundation of grammar schools, the augmentation of the Universities, and the more effectual relief of the necessitous. From the operation of this act were expressly exempted all foundations in the two Universities, the colleges of Winchester and Eton, all the Cathedrals, and the collegiate church of Windsor[1]. Of the new property now vested in the crown some portion eventually was applied to the purposes recited in the act. Brief as was the earthly course allowed to the excellent young king, he was not gathered to his fathers before the establishment of several grammar schools, and other eleemosynary foundations attested to posterity that he was worthy of the confidence reposed in him.

Besides the bills relating to religion passed in this session of Parliament, others were debated by the Legislature, which, although they failed, plainly discovered the temper of the times. In the House of Lords a motion was made to remove all restraints upon the free use of Scripture, but that illustrious assembly was not found to be sufficiently ripe for this reasonable concession, and accordingly the bill never reached a second reading. A proposal was also made for the erection of a new court of chancery, to take cognizance of causes both ecclesiastical and civil. This was referred to a committee of spiritual and temporal peers; but the result of their deliberations never

[1] Ibid. 239.

came before the House. The Commons also discovered the earnest attention then universally directed to the Church, by passing two bills which the Lords rejected. One related to the regulation of benefices, and to the residence of incumbents. The other, which passed through the House with more than ordinary celerity, was intended to remove all doubts as to the legality of clerical marriages [k]. When this politic and equitable bill was introduced into the Upper House, it was found likely to engender such protracted and keen debates as could not possibly be terminated before Christmas. At that time, however, it had been determined to release the members from their attendance, and accordingly, the Peers, after hearing the bill once read, postponed the consideration of it to an indefinite period [l].

While so many matters peculiarly interesting to ecclesiastics were being agitated in Parliament, the Convocation was similarly engaged. On the third day of its session, which was on the 22nd of November, and which afforded the first opportunity for the dispatch of business [m], it was determined to memorialise the Archbishop upon the following subjects. 1. "That thirty-two persons, or any other number agreeable to his Majesty, be appointed for the purpose of revising

[k] "To this the Commons did so readily agree, that, it being put in on the 19th of December, and read then for the first time, it was read twice the next day, and sent up to the Lords on the 21st." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 75.

[l] Ibid. [m] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 220.

the canon law according to the statutatory provisions of the late reign. 2. That, according to the ancient custom of the realm, and the tenor of the King's writs for the summoning of the Parliament, which are now, and ever have been directed to the several bishops, the clergy of the Lower House of Convocation may be adjoined and associate with the Lower House of Parliament: or else, that all such statutes and ordinances as shall be made concerning all matters of religion, and causes ecclesiastical, may not pass without the sight and assent of the said clergy. 3. That, the results of the labours undertaken in the late reign by certain bishops and other learned men, for the compilation of a convenient and uniform service-book, be laid before the house for its perusal and approbation. 4. That, such allowance should be made from the first fruits of benefices as would allow those preferred to them the means of subsistence, and of meeting other charges during the first year of their incumbency [n]. It does not appear whether any specific answer was ever returned to any one of these petitions. But arrangements were made soon afterwards for reforming the service-book, and eventually for remodelling the canon law. As for the grievance of first fruits, the clergy seem to have been left to struggle with it as they could. Happily the decreasing value of money gradually found them relief as to this matter, and the first year of a clergy-

[n] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 164.

man's incumbency, though generally still, from the many charges upon him, very far from an easy year, became at length one in which he could commonly subsist without incurring serious pecuniary inconvenience. The desire of an incorporation with the House of Commons, expressed by the Lower House of Convocation, or at least of being allowed a negative in matters peculiarly affecting the ecclesiastical profession, arose from various proceedings in King's Henry's reign by which the clergy were pledged in honour, and bound under heavy penalties, not to make or promulge any canons without the royal authority [o]. For some modification of this restriction they were naturally anxious, now that so many measures were in agitation concerning themselves in an especial manner. Their requests, however, upon this subject appear to have been disregarded; but the grounds, upon which they were advanced, will scarcely allow a lover of English history to pass them over without farther notice.

Among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors the legislative powers were exercised by councils holden in the sovereign's presence, and consisting of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the chief of the laity [p]. In these assemblies, matters purely ecclesiastical appear to have been determined by the clerical members present, and ratified by the King. Civil affairs were determined by the con-

[o] Ibid. 165.

[p] Abp. Wake's Authority of Christian Princes asserted, 161.

sent of the clerical and lay members conjointly; as were those in which civil and ecclesiastical considerations were blended together[q]. At the council of Becanceld, holden under Withred, King of Kent, for ecclesiastical purposes, in 694, there were present, besides persons of distinction both clerical and lay, priests, deacons, and abbesses[r]. A council similarly employed and attended was holden at Calcuith, in 816, under Kenulph, King of Mercia[s]; but in general, it was only the more distinguished individuals who were called to the Anglo-Saxon councils. After the Norman Conquest it was usual with the sovereign to hold, chiefly at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, a council composed of his bishops, abbots, and nobles. At these assemblies during the first William's reign, ecclesiastical questions were sometimes decided[t]: at other times, for the sake of trampling down the patriotic opposition to his rule, which animated the English priesthood, he allowed the papal legates to preside in synods composed of clergymen alone. This opening was not overlooked in Rome, and under the Conqueror's more immediate descendants it was managed so that several councils were holden by papal authority. These were all, however, ostensibly for ecclesiastical purposes alone, and the great council of the nation consisted as heretofore of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the more important holders of

[q] Wake 162.
[r] Ibid. 170.
[s] Ibid. 172. Collier, I. 148.
[t] Wake, 182.

land in chief from the crown; forming together an assembly which still exercised the right of regulating the Church as well as the State [u]. The troubles of Henry the third's reign led to the introduction of two orders of men into the great national council which are not certainly known to have been previously admitted to that distinction. In 1265, was assembled a Parliament to which were summoned besides the nobility and prelacy, with two gentlemen from every county, representatives from the principal towns, and from the inferior clergy [x]. In what manner these ecclesiastics of humbler degree were required to attend, does not appear, nor does it seem probable that they continued during several subsequent years to take a place among the crown's ordinary councillors. In the year 1295, however, the reigning monarch, Edward I., being under considerable difficulties, again summoned to Parliament persons of inferior condition, both clerical and lay. In this case, it is known that both these classes of men were summoned in a similar manner. The sheriffs received orders to return a certain number of knights, citizens, and burgesses, from their respective counties. To the writ of summons transmitted to every bishop was appended a clause beginning with the word *præmunientes*, a barbarous corruption of *præmonentes*, and hence the clause itself was technically distinguished,

[u] Ibid. 201, et sequ.

[x] Who were called "for ought appears, in a larger proportion than the laity themselves were." Ibid. 209.

This clause enjoins the several diocesans to attend their duty in Parliament accompanied by the dean or prior of their respective cathedrals, by one individual as a representative of their cathedral chapter, by their archdeacons, and by two fit proctors from each archdeaconry; the representatives of the chapter and of the parochial clergy being furnished by their constituents with full and sufficient power to treat, order, and act with the King, the prelacy, the nobility, and other inhabitants of the realm concerning various urgent affairs[y]. Upon this occasion, therefore, the English Church sent to Parliament her prelacy, and representatives of all her secular clergy, together with the superiors of such societies of regulars as were attached to cathedrals. That this whole assemblage met together in the same place at the opening of Parliament cannot be doubted, but it is by no means clear that it continued under the same roof during the agitation of the various questions which were proposed. It is, in-

[y] "Præmunientes priorem et capitulum ecclesiæ vestræ archidiaconum, totumque clerum vestræ diœcesis; facientes quod iidem prior et archidiaconus in propriis personis suis, et dictum capitulum per unum, idemque clerus per duos procuratores idoneos, plenam et sufficientem potestatem ab ipsis capitulo et clero habentes, una vobiscum intersint, modis omnibus tunc ibidem ad tractandum, ordinandum, et faciendum, nobiscum, et cum cæteris prælatis, et proceribus, et aliis incolis regni nostri, qualiter sit hujusmodi periculis et excogitatis maliciis obviandum." (*Ibid.* 363.) Since the reign of Queen Elizabeth the barbarous Latin word which has furnished a name for this clause has been changed into the correct form, *præmonentes*.

deed, rather probable that, after the business in hand had been explained to them, different committees were formed to deliberate upon it, each consisting of a different order of men, and that these several parties did not meet again unless for the purpose of holding a conference with each other, or of expressing their united decision upon any matter, or of being dismissed[z]. In truth the reason why persons of inferior stations were summoned to Parliament at all, was no other than a sense of the expediency or necessity of obtaining the consent of such persons before taxes were levied upon the classes to which they belonged. Hence it seems probable that the lower branches of our ancient parliaments were employed, when assembled, in little else than in voting money, and that their consent to matters purely political or legislative was rather inferred than expressly required[a]. It had become a principle of policy universally recognised, that pecuniary demands

[z] In the 40th of Edward III. "When the Pope sent hither to demand tribute and homage, to be paid to him, we are told, that *The bishops went apart by themselves, the lords by themselves, and the commons by themselves.* And being returned from their several places, and met together, they all declared their unanimous resolution to oppose the Pope's demands." Ibid. 219.

[a] "Throughout the reign of Edward I., the assent of the commons is not once expressed in any of the enacting clauses; nor in the reigns ensuing, till the 9th of Edward III., nor in any of the enacting clauses of 16 Rich. II. Nay, even so low as Henry VI., from the beginning till the 8th of his reign, the assent of the commons is not once expressed in any enacting clause. See preface to Ruffhead's edit. of the Statutes, p. 7." Note to Hume, *an.* 1295.

could be made by the crown upon no order of men which had not formally assented to the imposition; the merchants, accordingly, though they never constituted a separate order in the state, are known both in the reign of Edward I., and in that of Edward III., to have granted imposts upon merchandise [b]. It was the prevalence of this principle, probably, which early caused an alteration in the mode of summoning the inferior clergy to Parliament. The writs addressed to the bishops secured only the attendance of the principal dignitaries, and of proctors from the parochial clergy, an order of men usually in very humble circumstances. The monastic establishments, in which ecclesiastical wealth chiefly centred, were unrepresented, unless in the few instances where one of them was appended to a cathedral. Nor did the bishops possess the power of compelling these societies universally to attend them, by means of delegates, in Parliament: for many convents were exempted from episcopal authority. Such being the case, it is obvious, that, upon the principle admitted in the infancy of Parliaments, conventual societies might object to the payment of imposts, which had never received the concurrence of any person in their behalf. Whether such an objection was ever advanced by any monastery does not appear, but it is worthy of remark, that in the 9th year of King Edward II., a practice was adopted, for the first

[b] Ibid. infra.

time so far as we have the means of judging, by which all the superiors of religious houses were summoned to take a place among the assembled clergy. In this case, besides the clause *præmunientes*, embodied as usual in the parliamentary writs of the several bishops, there was, probably after a short interval, transmitted to each of the archbishops an instrument known as a Convocation writ. By this, the metropolitan was enjoined to assemble all the bishops, deans, precentors, abbots, priors, archdeacons, and ecclesiastics of every description, whether secular or regular, exempt or not exempt, within his province[c]. The Archbishop of Canterbury was empowered to command, under the royal authority, this general assemblage, because in addition to his metropolitical rights over the seculars, he was the ordinary legate of the Roman see. From this see also the Archbishop of York was invested with the pall. The two metropolitans, however, were not by the Convocation writs enjoined to summon their

[c] "Rogando mandamus, quatenus præmissis debito intuitu attentis et ponderatis, universos et singulos episcopos vestræ provinciæ, ac decanos, et præcentores ecclesiarum cathedralium, abbates, priores, et alios electivos, exemptos et non exemptos, nec non archidiaconos, conventus, capitula, et collegia, totumque clerum, cujuslibet diœceseos ejusdem provinciæ, ad conveniendum coram vobis in ecclesia S. Pauli, London. vel alibi, prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda, modo debito convocari faciatis: ad tractandum, consentiendum, et concludendum super præmissis, et aliis quæ sibi clarius proponentur, tunc et ibidem ex parte nostra." Extract from the Convocation writ as issued before the Reformation. Wake, 366.

clergy to attend at the place assigned for the meeting of Parliament. In the northern province, York was the place of assembling. In the province of Canterbury, the clergy were usually summoned to St. Paul's in London. Nor was the day of meeting the same with that of the Parliament.' On the contrary, the first Convocation known to have met in virtue of this writ, that of King Edward II., did not sit until the 17th of February; whereas the Parliament assembled in the preceding October[a]. The object of calling this Convocation was avowedly in order to obtain from such of the clergy as were not summoned to Parliament, their consent to a subsidy lately voted in that assembly[b]. For giving validity to such consent, it should be recollected, the age did not necessarily require that men should be congregated in any capacity strictly legislative. It was deemed sufficient if any persons to be affected by an impost, agreed to its assessment, either by themselves, or by those who had received authority from them for that purpose. Upon this principle it was perfectly reasonable to require the

[a] Ibid. 226.

[b] "It was declared, that those bishops and others of the clergy, who were summoned to Parliament, had as far as they were concerned, unanimously yielded to a subsidy; but so that others of the clergy, who were not summoned to Parliament, should meet in convocation, and consent thereto, the King had sent his writ to the Archbishop, to summon all prelates, whether religious, or others, and others of the clergy of his province, to meet at London, *post* 15 *Pasch.* to treat and consent of the matter aforesaid." Ibid. 228.

members of a synod, in its constitution purely ecclesiastical, to tax themselves and their constituents for the service of the state. The conveniences afforded by that means for obtaining from the clergy an acquiescence in such measures of finance as were found to be necessary from time to time, suggested the system of regularly summoning the Convocation together with every Parliament. The clause *præmunientes* was not, indeed, ever omitted in the parliamentary writs of summons transmitted to the several bishops. But at the same time, the Archbishops constantly received those more general writs by which they were enjoined to assemble representatives from the whole clerical body of their respective provinces. Although however, two injunctions differing from each other, are thus issued at the same time, there does not appear much difficulty in fixing upon that one of them under which the clergy are actually convened. The place of meeting assigned to the Convocation, is not the same as that in which the Parliament is assembled; it is summoned into the presence, not of the King, nor of any one in his name, but into that of the Archbishop; and among the reasons assigned for summoning it, the defence and security of the Anglican Church occupies the first place. It is true that the peace, tranquillity, public good, and defence of the realm, are also mentioned as likely to furnish matter for consideration[f]. But it is ob-

[f] "Quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis defensionem et

vious that the first three of these things might depend upon arrangements merely ecclesiastical, and that the last might be considered as concerning the clergy only so far as requiring from them pecuniary supplies. It is also worthy of remark, that the practice of causing the Parliament and Convocation to sit at the same period, though not on the same days, has not been universally maintained, but that upon several occasions, the one has been in deliberation while the other was dispersed [s]. Upon the whole, therefore, it appears, that the Convocation is no member of the Parliament, but merely a provincial synod, and that the practice of requiring it to vote imposts upon the clergy, was nothing more than a remnant of that ancient principle of English government which admitted, that no order of men ought to be taxed unless by its own express consent. It is obvious that in this light, Cardinal Wolsey viewed the financial deliberations of the Convocation. For in the year 1523, the assembly of that name representing his own province, after meeting for the sake of form at York, was immediately prorogued, and summoned to Westminster. There it was joined with the Convocation of the southern province, which having met at St. Paul's under Archbishop Warham, was in like manner

securitatem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem, tranquillitatem, et bonum publicum, et defensionem regni nostri, et subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus." Extract from the Convocation writ. Ibid. 366.

[s] Ibid. 250.

immediately prorogued. The two assemblies, however, were not thus united by the royal authority as forming an integral part of Parliament, but by the authority conceded to Wolsey over the clergy as legate *a latere*. Yet, notwithstanding, to this assembly, convened as it was by powers emanating from the Pope alone, and therefore entitled to legislate only upon Ecclesiastical subjects, Wolsey proposed the grant of a subsidy [h]. It is, indeed, true that the southern clergy refused to act as they were desired by the Cardinal, and would not vote the money until after they had been allowed to assemble again as a provincial synod. But this demur was grounded upon the fact, that the proctors representing the parochial incumbents, having been elected as members of a provincial synod merely, possessed no powers from their constituents to vote pecuniary supplies at a legatine council [i]. It does not however, appear to have been objected, that the assembly, not having even the shadow of a parliamentary character, was plainly incompetent to impose taxes. Evidently, therefore, in the early part of the sixteenth century it was understood, that the Convocation was a synodical assembly constitutionally empowered to vote subsidies from the body which it represented. The election of clergymen as members of the House of Commons had in fact long since been discontinued [k]; the

[h] Parker, 469.

[i] Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 85.

[k] "Through how many reigns the representatives of the lower

business of voting supplies from their order which alone had caused the presence of such individuals to be desired, having been wholly transferred to the Convocation. By that body the clergy continued to be taxed until the year 1664, when the usage was tacitly abandoned, and clerical property for the first time included in a money bill passed by the House of Commons. This innovation, however, was not carried into effect without a saving clause acknowledging the ancient right of the clergy to tax themselves [1]. On ceasing to exercise that right ecclesiastics were allowed to vote for members of Parliament upon their bene-

clergy acted with the temporal commons in Parliament, is not easy to determine. It is probably conjectured, that about the time of King Henry VI. this usage began to be discontinued, and quite dropped by degrees. The clergy themselves are thought to have contributed towards the parting with this privilege. It seems they looked on their parliamentary attendance as a kind of burthen, and therefore were not unwilling to be disengaged." Collier, II. 234.

[1] "Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be drawn into example to the prejudice of the ancient rights belonging unto the lords spiritual and temporal, or clergy of this realm, or unto either of the said universities, or unto any colleges, schools, alms-houses, hospitals or cinque ports." (Extract from the statute. Ibid. 893.) Before the Reformation, imposts upon clerical benefices appear to have been enforced, when necessary, by means of ecclesiastical censures, or other proceedings instituted by the ordinary. "These aids from the time of King Henry VIII. downwards, are generally confirmed by act of Parliament. And therefore, from this time, I suppose the property of the clergy came under the compulsion of the laws, and the money might be levied by way of distress." Ibid. 892.

fices as qualifications. So that they are not wholly unrepresented in the House of Commons. They have also obtained the solid advantage of being called upon to pay no heavier taxes than their fellow-subjects; a benefit which was usually denied them, when their own Convocations, which were much under the influence of divines expecting preferment from the court, yet exercised the privilege of voting clerical supplies[m]. Upon

[m] "The bishops and clergy now thought themselves grieved in this method of taxing, by which they paid more in proportion than the laity, and were subject more to the pleasure of the court, and more to the humour of the commons, who expected and often required that the clergy should give beyond their proportion, and even beyond their abilities. And besides all these mischiefs and dangers, the body of the clergy were left too much at the mercy of the Convocation divines, who were many of them court-chaplains, and seekers of court-preferment, and so might be tempted to raise their own fortune by laying a heavier burthen on their brethren. The experience or fear of these evils put the Archbishop (Sheldon) and some of the chief bishops into a consult with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and some other prime ministers of state; wherein it was concluded, that the clergy should tacitly recede from the custom of taxing themselves, and should be included in the money-bills prepared by the House of Commons: and to encourage their assent, should have two of the four subsidies remitted to them; and should have a clause of saving the ancient rights belonging to the clergy, as in this part of the act for granting a royal aid unto the King's Majesty, in the session held at Westminster, Nov. 24, 1664." (Bp. Kennett's Hist. of Engl. III. 255.) Perhaps it should be added, that the Convocation still meets as a matter of form, about the time appointed for the assembling of every new Parliament, but it is not allowed to enter upon the dispatch of business, being prorogued immediately after the conclusion of divine service.

the whole therefore, clergymen have little or no reason to complain of their exclusion from the popular branch of the legislature. Their interests and those of religion are sufficiently protected by the prelates, who still occupy that place in the great national council which has belonged to them even from the infancy of the English constitution.

King Edward's Convocation, during this session also made an attempt to improve the condition of the clergy by arranging a plan for the payment of tythes in cities. An act passed in the late reign had wisely and justly provided for the London incumbents by rendering their parishioners liable to an ascertained rate of assessment for their maintenance [n]. This arrangement, or some one similar to it, the clergy very fairly wished to have established in such other parishes as consist only of houses. It was, indeed, most reasonable that some attention should be paid to their desire. For the abolition of soul-masses, with other lucrative devices of superstition, either effected, in progress, or to be anticipated, evidently could not fail to curtail in a very serious manner the resources of many clergymen entrusted with laborious cures; unless the legislature should interpose for their relief. Such interposition, however, was not at this time afforded, and the result has been that in many of the most arduous and important fields for ministerial vigilance and ability, clergymen are left to struggle through life

[n] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 221.

with difficulties and privations which respectable and industrious members of other professions usually experience only at the outset of their career. The income, indeed, to be expected, in numerous instances by the minister of a populous parish, arises almost entirely from fees paid for the performance of divine offices, and from the kind consideration of individuals when called upon for an annual due of high antiquity. These sources, however, are usually found to supply, even from a numerous and opulent population, a remuneration for the incumbent at once precarious, and insufficient for his comfortable support in the middle station of society.

On the last day of November, was presented to the Convocation by the Prolocutor an ordinance for administering the Eucharist in both kinds to all communicants. This paper came from the Archbishop of Canterbury, by whom it was signed, as well as by his brother the Archdeacon, by the Prolocutor, and by several other divines. It was taken into consideration on the next day of meeting, being the 2nd of December, when it was unanimously approved by the members present, who were sixty-four in number[a].

Upon the agitation of another question personally affecting the clergy, a considerable diversity of sentiment was found to prevail in the Convocation. At the eighth sitting, on the 17th of December, the following proposition was sub-

[a] Ibid.

mitted to it:. "That all such canons, laws, statutes, decrees, usages, and customs, heretofore made, had, or used, that forbid any person to contract matrimony, or condemn matrimony already contracted by any person, for any vow or promise of priesthood, chastity, or widowhood, shall from henceforth cease, be utterly void, and of none effect." The affirmative of this proposition was maintained by fifty-three voices [p], the negative by

[p] That highly-respected divine, Dr. Redmayn, appears not to have been present when this question was decided by the Convocation; as his name is not found in the lists of those who delivered their opinions. His judgment however, was deemed of so much importance, that he was requested to state it. He did so before the Convocation separated in the following words. "I think, that, although the Word of God do exhort and counsel priests to live in chastity, out of the cumber of the flesh and the world, that thereby they may the more wholly attend to their calling: yet the band of containing from marriage doth only lie upon priests of this realm by reason of canons and constitutions of the Church, and not by any precept of God's Word; as in that they should be bound by reason of any vow, which, in as far as my conscience is, priests in this Church of England do not make: I think that it standeth well with God's Word, that a man which hath been, or is but once married, being otherwise accordingly qualified, may be made a priest. And I think, that, forasmuch as canons and rules made in this behalf be neither universal, nor everlasting, but upon consideration may be altered and changed: therefore the King's Majesty, and the higher powers of the Church may, upon such reasons as shall move them, take away the clog of perpetual continency from the priests, and grant that it may be lawful to such as cannot, or will not, contain, to marry one wife. And if she die, then the said priest to marry no more, remaining still in his ministration." (Ibid. 223.) Æneas Silvius, who, under the de-

twenty-two.[p] Among the majority were several individuals then unmarried, and who continued so to the end of their lives. On the other hand, some of those who had voted for clerical celibacy, were notwithstanding, soon after tempted to renounce that state themselves.

On the eighth of January, Bishop Gardiner was brought before the council, and set at liberty, being informed that his case came within the general pardon which had been announced from the throne on the prorogation of Parliament[q]. He was then admonished upon the subject of his former contumacy, and required to state plainly whether he would undertake to receive the royal injunctions, the homilies, and such other points of doctrine or ecclesiastical discipline as might hereafter emanate from the King and clergy. He replied, that, with respect to his future conduct, he should be guided by that of his brethren upon the episcopal bench, and that as to the homilies, he admitted the general soundness of their doctrine. He added, however, that he must still protest against the homily treating of justification, and he begged to be allowed four or five days in order to consider that subject more fully. Bishop Ridley, accordingly was sent to him together with Cecil[r]. Whether the doctrinal argu-

signation of Pius II. filled the papal chair from 1458, to 1464, said that "there were very good reasons why clergymen should be compelled to live in celibacy, but that there were much better reasons why they should be allowed to marry."

[q] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 89.

[r] Life of Bp. Ridley, 221.

ments urged by these distinguished persons produced any effect upon his mind does not appear, but he certainly parted from them with a disposition to obey the mandates of authority. For he retired to his diocese, and there, both by his precepts and example, he induced the clergy to acquiesce in such alterations as their superiors thought proper to sanction.

About the end of January, was debated in council the first remarkable case of divorce which had occurred since England's emancipation from the papal yoke. The Marquess of Northampton, who was brother to the Queen Dowager, Catharine Parr, had married Anne Bourchier, daughter to the last Earl of Essex of that name. This unhappy female had disgraced the long line of her illustrious ancestry by the foul crime of adultery. Her infamy had been fully established before the ecclesiastical court in the preceding spring, and she had accordingly been divorced in the usual way from her injured husband's bed and board. It was, however, justly doubted whether this relief was so complete as to warrant Northampton in contracting a new marriage. For the purpose of deciding this question, a commission was issued in the last May to Archbishop Cranmer, the Bishops Tunstall and Holbeach[a], Dr. Ridley, and six others, who were to enquire, whether by God's law, the Marquess would be justified in marrying again. Cranmer immediately applied

[a] Then Bishop of Rochester, but translated to Lincoln before the end of the summer.

himself to the task imposed upon him with that unshrinking diligence which he never failed to use in an enquiry of importance. He collected a volume of authorities bearing upon the case, and the impression of his mind appears to have been, that the innocent party might lawfully contract a new marriage[t]. Our Saviour, it was shewn, had described marriage as that state in which the individuals entering into it became one flesh, and he had condemned divorces upon every ground but that of adultery[u]: by which, indeed, according to his definition of matrimony the tie is broken. The Master's views were then shewn to be those of his Apostles, by whom marriage is represented as a state in which the contracting parties acquire personal rights over each other[x]. Nay, so broadly does this principle seem to be maintained by St. Paul, that he is considered as authorising divorce, in case a converted wife or husband should be deserted on that account by an unconverted partner[y]. On the other hand, however, authorities were collected to shew that Christ only admitted divorce, in order to mitigate the rigour of the Jewish law, which denounced death to the adulteress and her paramour; and some of his words were cited to prove the absolute indissolubility of marriage[z]. To the same purport were alleged St. Paul's words, in which

[t] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 226.
[u] St. Matt. xix. 6, 9.
[x] 1 Cor. vii. 4.
[y] Ibid. 15.
[z] "What, therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." St. Matt. xix. 6. St. Mark x. 9.

he declares that the wife is bound to the husband so long as she lives *. These passages, however, were considered as not admitting an interpretation strictly literal; since, if they did, every kind of separation between married persons must be deemed unlawful. Upon the whole, therefore, it was rendered probable from Scripture, that Christians are to consider marriage as indissoluble, except on the ground of adultery, which naturally breaks the tie; and that the innocent party, after disruption, is in no manner bound to the guilty one. From Scripture, the Archbishop's collections proceed to the fathers; but these venerable authorities were found to throw no certain light upon the subject: they agreed as to the propriety of divorce in case of adultery, but they differed as to the lawfulness of a new marriage contracted either by the innocent party, or by the guilty one. Something, however, it was thought, might be inferred from their silence upon this subject. By the civil law, divorce, together with the liberty of marrying again consequent upon it, was allowed not only in case of adultery, but also upon many other grounds. Yet it did not appear that any of the fathers had written against this licence. The ancient laws of divorce were, indeed, admitted by Justinian into his celebrated code; which is a very strong presumption, that they were not considered as highly objectionable by the divines of his day.

* Rom. vii. 2.

The early Roman canonists were also found to affirm the lawfulness of marriage contracted by a man divorced from an adulterous wife. Pope Gregory denied this privilege to the guilty party, but conceded it to the innocent one. The early councils appeared generally to have admitted the lawfulness of divorce in case of adultery, and also of a second marriage, at least by the unoffending party. By the council of Milevi, however, both the parties released from each other by divorce were inhibited from marrying again. From the mass of authorities collected by himself the laborious Primate could scarcely fail to infer the lawfulness both of divorce in case of adultery, and of a new marriage by the injured party. There was, however, an individual engaged in the enquiry who collected authorities of a different character. But the passages cited in this paper are chiefly from writers of a later date, who, living at a time when it was the fashion to extol celibacy above measure, might be reasonably expected to display something of that prejudice which had taken general possession of the human mind[b]. In order that the question might be set at rest upon the most satisfactory grounds, eight queries were submitted to certain learned men whose names are unknown. They decided that by the Divine law, the act of adultery dissolves the band of matrimony, and that neither of the parties so released was prohibited from marrying again[c].

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 90. [c] Ibid. Records. 175.

For the final adjudication of his case, however, Northampton had not thought proper to wait, but had contracted a new marriage with the daughter of Brooke, Lord Cobham. This hasty step gave great offence, and the Marquess was summoned before the council to answer for his precipitancy. He then justified his conduct as plainly warranted by Scripture, and condemned only by Popish canons imposed under a notion that marriage was a sacrament. Such arguments, however, were deemed unsatisfactory, and it was ordered that his new wife should leave his house, and reside with his sister, the Queen Dowager, until the legality of his marriage should be ascertained. At length that matter was decided to his satisfaction, and the Marchioness returned to cohabit with him. Still it was doubted whether his marriage would stand good in law, and therefore, he thought it prudent, about four years afterwards, to procure the sanction of an act of Parliament for what he had done [d].

No sooner was the attention of the leading divines released from Northampton's case, than it was fixed upon objects of more general concernment. The time was now at hand when the Church of Rome found most employment for the imaginations of the people. Before the commencement of Lent, confession was expected of all men; during the continuance of the fast they were to perform the several penances imposed

[d] Ibid. 94.

upon them by their spiritual guides; and the gloomy season of abstinence was closed by various imposing ceremonies and exhibitions. In all this bustle and variety, there was much to captivate the senses, little to amend the heart, or to store the mind with sound religious knowledge. Justly, therefore, did those excellent men, who were now the crown's ecclesiastical advisers, determine upon abolishing these spurious incentives to devotion. Accordingly, Bishop Boner, who, in right of his see, was the provincial dean of Canterbury, received from his metropolitan, an order of council upon the subject of certain superstitions, for the purpose of transmitting it to the several prelates of the southern province. Boner's letter to his brethren, written in obedience to this command, bears date the 28th of January, and interdicts the use of candles in processions on Candlemas-day, of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and of palms on Palm-Sunday*. This order appears to have been received with no small satisfaction by the more zealous opponents of Romanism, and it is probable that some such persons immediately commenced a series of unsparing attacks upon the established ritual. In order to stay the indiscretion of such reformers, a royal proclamation was issued on the 6th of February, by which all persons, whether clerical or lay, who should discontinue ancient ceremo-

* Circular letter of the Bishop of London. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 55.

nies, preach or argue publickly against them, or introduce new church usages, without proper authority, were threatened with imprisonment and other penalties. All clergymen also were by this instrument interdicted from preaching out of their own pulpits, unless by especial licence from the King, the royal visitors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or their respective diocesans. From the penalties denounced, however, those were expressly excused who should refuse to bear a candle, take ashes, bear a palm, creep to the cross, take holy bread or water, or omit such other rites and ceremonies as the Archbishop of Canterbury, by his Majesty's will and commandment, has enjoined, or may hereafter enjoin to be discontinued[f]. Thus cautiously were the minds of men prepared for such farther innovations upon the system under which many generations had lived and died, as might appear necessary to those illustrious divines, who then laboured for the religious renovation of their country. Perhaps a proscription of ancient superstitions may be thought by some, an injudicious mode of introducing to the populace a more scriptural faith than that which they had hitherto known. But it should be recollected that Holy Writ encourages no compromise with human frailty. Men with ears yet tingling with the thunders of Jehovah would hardly have debased themselves by the stupid adoration of a golden

[f] Royal proclamation. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 179.

calf, had not their sacrifice to the brutish idol been succeeded by the banquet and the dance [g]. But, however, attractive religious rites were rendered by such exhilarating ceremonies, all such were utterly and indignantly rejected by the Divine founder of the ancient Jewish Church. In this respect the Old Testament is a safe guide to those who teach the doctrines of Christianity. It shews them the danger and impropriety of alluring gross and sensual minds into the semblance of religion by means of striking ceremonies and holiday pastimes. The affections of thoughtless people may, indeed, be thus conciliated towards an ecclesiastical system, but a spirit of rational piety and sound morality can only flow from long-continued, and heaven-directed reflection upon the awful truths of Revelation. To these, therefore, will the well informed and conscientious teacher of religion steadily direct the minds of those who look up to him as a spiritual guide. Nor is it likely to escape the observation of such a man, that even important truths cannot safely be communicated to the populace through the medium of ceremonies which are chiefly calculated to take a strong hold upon the imagination. In these, the shadow effectually conceals the substance from a large portion of mankind. Hence it was desirable to wean the minds of men from their inveterate habits of religious trifling, as a preparative for a thorough

[g] Exod. xxxii. 6.

purgation of the Church of England from the blemishes contracted in her long connexion with papal Rome.

On the 11th of February Cranmer had the satisfaction of receiving an order of council, for transmission through his province, enjoining the indiscriminate removal of images from Churches. In this instrument it is stated, that former injunctions upon the subject, having been very partially and imperfectly obeyed, there were in many places violent contentions respecting images. In scarcely any place, it was added, were men at peace unless these things had been wholly removed. For the sake, therefore, of putting an end to such disputes, and in order that "the lively image of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which be things not necessary, and without which the Churches of Christ continued most godly many years," an immediate removal of all these venerated objects was commanded[h]. Several years had now passed away since images abused to superstitious purposes had been proscribed by royal authority, and in consequence, some of the most glaring instances of this kind were no longer allowed to pollute the land. But it was only where local feelings coincided with those expressed in royal proclamations that the search for these

[h] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 55. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 181. This order of council is signed by the Protector, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Russel, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Sir William Paget.

snares to entrap unwary worshippers had been honestly conducted. In very many churches there yet remained objects upon which the superstitious cares of a deluded populace continued to be lavished. Among these were some of the most offensive character. Even the Holy Trinity had not been held sacred from the presumptuous fingers of Romish artists. The Almighty Father was degraded to vulgar apprehensions by being represented under the figure of an aged man wearing on his head the triple diadem which ornaments the brows of popes. The Eternal Son was figured as a man in the prime of life with rays of glory playing round his face. Between these two was often seen a figure of the blessed Virgin. Nor was her presence in such a place generally deemed unbecoming, for among the friars there had been found blaspheming babblers so hardy as to assert that our Lord's fleshly mother was now mysteriously associated with the triune Godhead[1]. Over Mary's head hovered the dove-like emblem of the Holy Spirit; and the whole representation offered to the eye a mass of impious and stupid daring which no enlightened Christian could contemplate without disgust, nor many ignorant ones without serious injury to their conceptions of the Deity. Groupes worthy of such unqualified reprobation were not, indeed, of general occurrence in Romish churches; more commonly were their walls ornamented with figures of the Virgin

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 96.

singly, and of other departed individuals, indiscriminately known as saints, though differing widely in pretensions to the saintly character. To the propriety, nay the necessity of removing such objects from places consecrated to religious uses, the experience of thousands of years loudly bears witness. When were the Creator and the creature blended together in the offices of piety, without a popular transfer to the latter of that homage which is due only to the former? In all probability, the great Mother, with her immediate progeny, eventually deified, were viewed in the infancy of Paganism merely as blest spirits long removed to paradise, whose mediation with the Almighty Supreme might be without impiety invoked by their suffering descendants. But the intended mediators gradually usurped the place of principals in the worshipper's religious rites, and while to Jupiter or Juno the altar smoked on every hill, the unknown, because unfigured God of patriarchal times at length wholly disappeared from view. Of the Christian apostasy the course was shorter far, than of that which degraded the ancient heathen world, it was curbed besides in every stage by virtuous and enlightened opponents, and it was ever liable to be confronted with the recorded Word of God. Hence the evils inflicted by Popery upon the religious apprehensions of mankind, though enormous, fall greatly short of those which flowed from Paganism. The two corruptions, however, are the same in kind, though not in extent. To the Great Mother, has

succeeded the Blessed Virgin. The real or imaginary saints of the Romish calendar occupy that place in the minds of ignorant worshippers which formerly was occupied by the crowd of heathen deities. The Virgin is still the general favourite, as was the principal female divinity, known under different names, in ancient times. But besides her, numerous other departed spirits, now as heretofore, have their respective votaries. Men put themselves under the tutelage of particular saints, or at least of dead persons passing for such, and these imaginary patrons inspire the Romanist with the same kind of confidence which his Pagan predecessor felt in reflecting upon his attendant genius, or favourite deity. Those who have happily been exempted from temptation to these impious follies may probably think them too contemptible for the notice of a sensible mind. But history refuses to sanction this confidence. Even Rachel, who must necessarily have been instructed in true religion by her husband Jacob, could not refrain from purloining her father's household gods when she left the home of her youth [k]. Of the extent to which the mind of man is liable to be fascinated by a reliance upon canonised mediators advocating individual interests with the Great Supreme, let the gigantic triumphs of both Popery and Paganism bear witness. Nor can he who reasons impartially from either the past or the present aspect of human society, elude a conviction

[k] Gen. xxxi. 19, 30.

that so long as men are surrounded by incentives to a trust in inferior mediators they will press their suits on these in preference to the Mighty God. The strongest minds, indeed, both in Romish and in heathen communities have ever risen superior to this wretched reliance upon beings, respecting whom no man knows whether they can help, or even hear the suppliant. But how thinly are these master-spirits scattered through the world! In every rank of life, from the royal palace to the peasant's hovel, the mind of man eagerly yields to the weaknesses by which it is naturally beset. Men who wear the crown have looked for blessings by the mediation of the Virgin, or in less favoured regions by that of some Heathen deity, with a confidence as miserably besotted as ever actuated the neglected child of ignorance and penury. He, therefore, who knows what is in man far better than man does himself, wisely charged his chosen people to root out from the promised land every monument of the superstitions by which it had been defiled[1]. In this, as in every other instance, let rulers hear the voice of inspiration. Let them learn from Holy Writ, that it is their bounden duty to remove from all places consecrated at the public expense to religious uses those visible objects of veneration, which, as long experience testifies, operate most injuriously upon the great mass of men in every station. No selection will accomplish the re-

[1] Deuteron. vii. 5. xii. 2, 3.

former's end. If the attempt be made, it will but open a door for the making of such reserves as are calculated to keep alive the exploded superstition, and to reinstate it, on any favourable occurrence, in all its pristine vigour. Such had proved the result of every measure hitherto adopted by the English Government for the removal of images. Many of these venerated objects were, indeed, no longer to be seen, but enough of them remained to feed the superstition still lurking in every corner of the land. Wisely and religiously, therefore, did the King's ministers at length determine upon removing from the people committed to their governance all incentives to idolatry. Nor, though the antiquary, and the man of taste may sometimes regret to see the graceful canopy deprived of the antique figure which once gave it life and meaning, will any judicious Christian find himself able to pass censure on a measure, indispensably requisite for the restoration of Englishmen to the Catholic faith in its native purity.

The mortification inflicted upon the zealous adherents to Romanism by the indiscriminate proscription of images was somewhat lightened by what was done in the highest quarter respecting Lent. The repudiation of tradition in matters of faith had pretty completely undermined the credit of that ancient fast. Men could find in Scripture neither any injunction to observe such a regular season of abstinence, nor much encouragement to expect spiritual blessings from

formal austerities of any kind. Hence both such as despised Romanism, and such as hated all restraints upon their usual indulgences, loudly condemned the folly and the tyranny of tying men down to particular kinds of food at particular seasons. This clamour appears to have rendered the administration apprehensive both lest a general licentiousness of manners should disgrace the Reformation, and lest an unusual demand for butcher's meat should injuriously diminish the national stock of cattle; while at the same time it entailed ruin upon all who depended for a subsistence upon the fisheries. In order to prevent these imaginary evils, a royal proclamation was issued on the 16th of January, which, after premising that the King desired to see fasting, praying, and all other religious duties on the increase, enjoined the observance of Lent as usual. His Majesty, it was stated, wished it to be understood that intrinsically there was no difference between meats and days, but that, notwithstanding, he considered it important to continue the dietary restrictions anciently imposed by the English Church, in order that men should be reminded of subduing the flesh to the spirit; and likewise with a view to the advantage of persons engaged in the fish-trade, as well as to guard against an unusual slaughter of cattle in the breeding season. White meats, however, such as butter, eggs, and cheese, were still, as they had been in the late reign, to be deemed lawful food in Lent [m]. But although

[m] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 129.

the people in general were thus constrained to observe that season in the accustomed way, little difficulty was made in granting royal licences, by which individuals during their whole lives were left at liberty to choose their own diet at all seasons; and in some cases these grantees were even allowed to entertain guests in their own way on days when their less favoured neighbours were interdicted from dealings with the butchers [n]. Among the applications made at this time for such a licence was one from Roger Ascham, the

[n] "In the year 1551, Jan. 10, a licence was granted to the Lord Admiral Clinton to eat flesh, *cum quibuscunque cum eo ad suam mensam convescentibus, omnibus diebus jejunalibus quibuscunque*; and *all others that should eat at his table with him, on all fasting days whatsoever*. Another licence, under the King's seal, dated Feb. 24, 1551, was granted to John Samford, of the city of Gloucester, draper, that he, with two of his guests at his table, might eat flesh and white meats, during all the Lent, and all other fasting days in the year; and this licence was during his life. And the next Lent, *viz.* in the year 1552, a patent was granted to Gregory Railton, one of the clerks of the signet, to eat flesh with four in his company, during his life. Another licence for the Lord Treasurer, the Marquess of Winchester, and Elizabeth his wife, and to their family and friends, coming to the said Lord Marquess's house, not exceeding the number of twelve guests, during his and his wife's natural lives, in the times of Lent, and other fasting days; to eat flesh or white meats, notwithstanding the statute of abstinence from flesh; as the licence ran, dated March the 19th. And another, dated March 11, was granted to John a Lasco, superintendent of the church of strangers within the city of London, and to every one else whom he should invite to his table for society sake; that to him, and every of them, during his life, in Lent, and other fasting times, it might be lawful to eat flesh and white meats freely, and without punishment, at their own will, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding." Ibid.

University orator, at Cambridge. That celebrated scholar having probably reached manhood with a constitution weakened by the bodily inactivity which generally distinguishes the early years of genius, had suffered much from sickness, and was now slowly recovering from an obstinate ague. While thus struggling with the relics of his malady, his spirits became seriously depressed, and he anticipated the fish-diet, to which Lent would in the ordinary course of things consign him, with an invincible feeling of repugnance. Haunted by a morbid apprehension of ill effects likely to arise from a long continuance of such watery food, he applied to Cranmer for permission to choose his own diet on fast days, through Poynet, one of his Grace's chaplains. "It is not," wrote the sickly student, "to pamper my appetite, or from an affectation of doing something unusual, but only for the sake of preserving my health, and of thus being enabled to read with greater diligence, that I desire an exemption from the dietary restrictions imposed on those around me. At Cambridge, where the air is naturally cold and moist, fish-diet is more than usually unwholesome. I could wish, therefore, to be no longer tied to certain meats at certain seasons. We are told by Herodotus, in his Euterpe, that the Egyptian priests, from whom originally issued all kinds of arts and learning, were not allowed to taste of fish[o]. No doubt this prohibi-

[o] Herodot. Lib. II. c. 37. This prohibition arose undoubtedly from the Noetic superstition which is the basis of Paganism.

tion flowed from an anxiety to prevent the fiery force and noble qualities natural to the human mind from being quenched by such cold juices as fish-eating is likely to engender. Among these Egyptians took its rise that stream of superstition, which, after visiting Greece and Rome, at length, through the sink of Popery, reached the shores of England. Surely therefore, it is most unreasonable, that, after having been obliged to follow so many pernicious devices originating in

The departed spirits, or in Romish language, the saints venerated by the Gentile world, were those eight favoured individuals whom Providence mercifully reserved in the Ark during the universal deluge. Of these, the deified personage most adored in several eastern regions was a female variously designated according to the idiom of different countries, as Ashtaroth, Astarte, Atargatis, Derceto, Aphrodite, or Venus. The mythologic allegory relates that his divinity, being closely pursued by Typhon, transformed herself into a fish, and thus escaped her enemy. In other words, the mother of the postdiluvian world, being endangered by the rising waters of Noah's flood, took refuge in the Ark and under its friendly shelter was enabled to survive the ruin which overtook contemporary mortals. In memory of this wonderful preservation, the Great Mother's Syrian descendants addressed in after ages their prayers to statues intended to represent her, of which the upper part presented the form of a woman, the lower that of a fish. Similarly fashioned in all probability were the figures of Dagon, or the *Fish-god*, worshipped by the Philistines. These allegorising superstitions invested fish with a sacred character in Syria, and to feed upon them was there deemed sacrilegious. Now between the superstitions of Egypt and Syria there existed a close connexion; a fact sufficient to account for the abstinence from fish enjoined to the priesthood of the former country. Lucian. de Syria Dea. Op. Amstel. 1687. II. 657. 662. Xenophon. Anab. Hutchinson. Oxon. 1735. 40.

Egypt, we should be debarred from adopting one of the most sensible rules in operation there." Whatever Cranmer might think of the ingenuity which discerned one of the stultifying processes of the Roman Church in her dietary laws, his good nature would not allow him to turn his back upon Ascham's application. Accordingly he procured a royal licence allowing that learned person to use his own discretion through life as to his Lenten repasts. The Archbishop also, well aware of the scanty finances usually at a scholar's command, kindly paid out of his own pocket all the fees of office, and being personally unacquainted with the applicant, he transmitted to him the desired dispensation through the master of his college [p].

Among the means adopted in London for disposing men's minds towards a decided change of religion, few, perhaps, were more efficacious than the restoration to public notice of Bishop Latimer. That eminently pious and zealous minister of God's Word had spent the last seven years of King Henry's reign a prisoner in the Tower, and in constant expectation of a violent death. When restored to liberty at the commencement of the present reign, he was found to have lost nothing of that pastoral diligence and fervour which had formerly captivated so many honest hearts. Archbishop Cranmer kindly gave him entertainment at Lambeth, and many, nay, most men

[p] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 238.

would have thought that he might allowably have spent the short remainder of his life in bodily ease and private devotion. His age now closely verged on seventy years, and his frame was irremediably shattered by the fall of a tree, from which he received a serious injury within a short time of his imprisonment. But when the venerable Latimer looked around upon the world to which he was restored, he felt that the holy cause of scriptural truth greatly needed strenuous advocates, and bowed down as he was by more than the ordinary infirmities of his age, he turned not back from the laborious field which lay before him. It was his habit throughout the year to rise at two in the morning for the purpose of pursuing his studies [q], and during the busier part of the day his time was almost incessantly employed in affording spiritual counsel to those who came to ask it of him, or in hearing cases of oppression for the redress of which his influence was sought with such as could remedy the injury [r]. On Sundays, he seldom failed to deliver

[q] Bernher's dedication to the Duchess of Suffolk. Latimer's Sermons, Lond. 1824. II. xii.

[r] "I cannot go to my book, for poor folks come unto me, desiring that I will speak that their matters may be heard. I trouble my Lord of Canterbury, and being at his house, now and then, I walk in the garden looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it. But something I must needs do to satisfy this place. (The royal pulpit.) I am no sooner in the garden, and have read awhile, but by and by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith, Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you. When I come

two sermons, and of these, from his ardent zeal, his unquestionable integrity, his homely illustrations, his penetrating rebukes, and his humorous images, the effect was irresistible. On New Year's day he preached at St. Paul's Cross, and again on the two following Sundays, as well as upon the Conversion of St. Paul. The third of these sermons is yet extant. It is upon the Parable of the Sower, and after describing the duties of the Christian ministry, it launches out into severe invectives against the Romish hierarchy, as well as against the mass[s]. On the first Sunday in Lent, Latimer was appointed to preach before the King, when the pulpit was placed for the first time in the privy garden, it being thought probable that the chapel would be unable to contain the crowd which the fame of his eloquence was likely to bring together[t]. Edward listened to the sermon from an open window of the palace, and was so much affected by the exemplary preacher's earnestness, that he presented him with a gratuity of twenty pounds[u]. In subse-

there, then it is some one or other that desireth me I will speak that his matter might be heard, and that he hath lain this long at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing." Latimer's Sermons, I. 110.

[s] "For whereas Christ, according as the serpent was lifted up in the wilderness, so would he himself be exalted; that thereby as many as trusted in him should have salvation; but the devil would none of that. They would have us saved by a daily oblation propitiatory: by a sacrifice expiatory, or remissory." Ibid. 68.

[t] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 57.

[u] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 122.

quent Lents, the truly Apostolic Latimer was called upon to fill the pulpit in the privy garden. At that, as well as at other places, crowds of anxious hearers attended upon his ministry. Nor though his alliterations, anecdotes, and strokes of satire would in these times be generally deemed improper in the pulpit, was his style unsuited to the age in which he lived. Such a man was eminently fitted at that period to impress his own convictions upon the minds of others. Nor, when at length, a willing victim, he closed his useful life upon the blazing pyre, could those who had listened to his doctrine easily avoid a feeling of respect for any principles which old father Latimer, as he was affectionately called, had thought it his duty to inculcate.

As the winter drew towards a close, certain prelates and divines retired under a royal commission to Windsor Castle, for the purpose of consulting together there upon the preparation of a new and uniform mode of administering the Holy Communion in both kinds, as ordered by the recent act of Parliament[x]. The individuals named for this important business were the Archbishops Cranmer and Holgate; the Bishops Boner of London, Tunstall of Durham, Heath of Worcester, Repps of Norwich, Parfew of St. Asaph, Capon of Salisbury, Sampson of Litchfield and Coventry, Aldrich of Carlisle, Bush of Bristol, Barlow of St. David's, Goodrich of Ely,

[x] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 57.

Holbeach of Lincoln, Day of Chichester, Skip of Hereford, Thirlby of Westminster, and Ridley of Rochester; together with Dr. Cox, the King's tutor and dean of Christchurch; Dr. May, dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Taylor, dean of Lincoln; Dr. Heynes, dean of Exeter; Dr. Robertson, afterwards dean of Durham; and Dr. Redmayn, master of Trinity College in Cambridge[y]. The first step taken in pursuance of this commission was to reduce the principal preliminaries requiring discussion into a series of questions, to each of which a written answer was demanded from every one of the divines engaged. Of these queries the following one stood at the head of the list: "Was the Sacrament of the altar instituted to be received of one man for another, or of every man for himself?" To this it was unanimously replied, that the Eucharist was instituted to be received, not of one man for another, but of every man for himself. Bishop Capon, however, affirmed that the grace received by every communicant was profitable to the whole mystical body of Christ. It was secondly asked; Is one man's act in receiving the Eucharist profitable to another? Cranmer, Barlow, Cox, and Taylor, plainly answered this question in the negative. All the rest admitted, that besides profiting the recipient, every act of communion was beneficial to the whole body of Christ's Church. Bishop Aldrich went so far as to say, "whatsoever the receiving or receiver be, it availeth

[y] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 98. Collier, II. 243.

and profiteth all present, absent, living and dead." The third question was, "What is the oblation and satisfaction of Christ in the mass?" Cranmer, Holbeach, Barlow, Ridley, Cox, and Taylor, denied that in the mass there is properly any oblation of Christ at all, he having been once only offered, on the cross; they maintained, accordingly, that the oblation of Christ in the mass is a mere figure of speech, used because in that solemnity the Lord's offering of himself is represented and commemorated. All the others asserted, that under the forms of bread and wine, the very body and blood of Christ are offered to the Father, for the universal Church, and in remembrance of our Saviour's passion. Bishop Aldrich here again outstripped his brethren in the maintenance of Romanism, affirming, that, "on the cross, Christ, being both priest and sacrifice, offered himself visibly, and in the mass, being likewise both priest and sacrifice, he offers himself invisibly by the common minister of the Church." To the fourth question, "Wherein consisteth the mass by Christ's institution?" Cranmer, Capon, Holbeach, Goodrich, Ridley, Barlow, and Bush, replied, by saying that it so consists in the things mentioned in such passages of Scripture as relate to the Eucharist [z]. Boner, Heath, Skip, Day, and Parfew gave it as their opinion, that the mass principally consists in the consecration, oblation, and receiving of Christ's body and blood, with

[z] St. Matt. xxvi. St. Mark xiv. St. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. x. and xi. Acts ii.

prayers and thanksgivings; but they admitted, that as to the prayers and rites used or commanded by our Lord at the institution of the mass, Scripture is wholly silent. Tunstall affirmed that the mass consists in the things mentioned in such texts as relate to it, together with confession, the oblation of Christ, communion, thanksgiving, and prayer for the mystical body of Christ. Holgate's answer was in effect the same; as is Sampson's, only he takes the liberty of surmising, that at the institution of the Eucharist, more was done by Christ than is related in Scripture *. The staunch Bishop of Carlisle goes a little farther. After delivering an answer substantially the same as those of the other Romanists, he adds, "Because Christ was, after his resurrection, long with his disciples, communing and treating of the kingdom of God, what should be done here to come thither, it may well be thought, that whatsoever He, or his Holy Spirit left with the Apostles, and they with others, after which also the whole universal congregation of Christian people useth and observeth, most ancient and holy doctors in like form noteth, may likewise be said and taken as of Christ's institution." Cox replied, that the mass by Christ's institution consists in thanksgiving, and in dis-

* "What thanks that Christ gave before this most holy action, or what thanks that he gave after it, by the general words of Matthew, *When they had sung an hymn*, are not expressed. So that there appeareth, both before this most holy action, and also after, to be a certain ceremony appointed by Christ more than is expressed."

tribution of the elements to commemorate the Saviour's passion. Taylor said, that it consists in thanksgiving, and in blessing, breaking, and reverently receiving the Sacrament in both kinds with all such rites and circumstances as were used by Christ. To the fifth question as to the time when the priest alone began to receive the Sacrament, Cranmer replied, that, in his opinion, this practice was not in use during the first six or seven hundred years of the Christian æra. Holgate depending upon a forged decretal epistle [b], refers the origin of this practice to the time of Zephyrinus [c]. Holbeach says, that the date of this, though uncertain, is assigned by the best authorities to the pontificate of Gregory the Great, about the close of the sixth century. Ridley cites some spurious authorities to prove that solitary masses were unknown in the primitive Church, and he concludes by expressing his belief that they were not in use during the first four or five centuries. By none of the other prelates, or by either of the doctors, is any time specified for the origin of solitary masses, but they all agree in ascribing them to that decay of piety which indisposed the bulk of Christians to a daily communion. Sixthly it was enquired, "Whether it be convenient that solitary masses continue?" Cranmer answered, "I think it more agreeable to the Scripture, and the primi-

[b] Collier, II. 244.

[c] Zephyrinus was Bishop of Rome between the years 201, and 219. Du Pin, II. 23.

tive Church, that the first usage should be restored again, that the people should receive the Sacrament with the priest." Ridley replied to the same effect. All the others most approve that administration of the Eucharist in which the people communicate, but admit that if individuals from the congregation do not present themselves, the priest may lawfully receive alone. The seventh question is; "Whether it be convenient that masses satisfactory should continue, (that is to say,) Priests hired to sing for souls departed?" Cranmer and Ridley answer it flatly in the negative. Cox says, "Masses to be said for satisfaction of sin, since Christ is the only satisfaction for all sin, is an abuse not to be continued: and priests to be hired only to sing for souls departed, seemeth to be a superfluous function in Christ's Church." Holbeach, after citing two texts from the Hebrews [d] which assert that Christ made at once a sufficient sacrifice for sin, adds, "which redemption and satisfaction, unless we think insufficient, it were meet masses satisfactory to be taken away, and not to count Christ and his Apostles, either unlearned, or unloving teachers, and who could not, or would not teach a thing so necessary." The Bishop, however, admits it to be recorded by Nauclerus of Gregory III. [e], that

[d] Heb. ix. 12. x. 10.

[e] Gregory III. who has gained a memorable, if not an honourable name for his exertions in the cause of image-worship, was Bishop of Rome between the years 731, and 741. Du Pin, II. 535.

he desired priests to pray and offer for the dead, but he denies that any ancient author mentions the hiring of ecclesiastics for these purposes. All the other prelates evade the question as to the word "satisfactory," but they assert that priests may lawfully celebrate masses with a view to praying both for the living and the dead, and that they are justified in accepting a pecuniary recompense for such services. In the eighth place it was asked, "Whether the Gospel ought to be taught to the understanding of the people present at the time of the mass?" The two Archbishops, Holbeach, Goodrich, Aldrich, Ridley, Bush, and Cox, answered this question in the affirmative. The others maintained that such discourses were not necessary at every mass, but they admitted the desirableness of delivering them often. The ninth question was, "Whether in the mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people may understand?" Cranmer's reply to this exhibits a remarkable instance of the power exerted by early prejudice over the human mind. "I think it convenient," he says, "to use the vulgar tongue in the mass, except in certain secret mysteries, whereof I doubt." Ridley not only approves the vulgar tongue for the mass, but also maintains that the words generally should be spoken in an audible voice. "Nevertheless," he adds, "as concerning that part which pertaineth to the consecration, Dyonise[f] and Basil move me to think

[f] "The counterfeit St. Dennis." Collier, II. 245.

it no inconvenience that it should be spoken in silence[g]." Tunstall thinks it desirable to retain the Latin tongue in the more mysterious parts of the mass, at all events, as being the language of the ancient western Church. But he admits the propriety of inserting in the service certain prayers

[g] In a low tone of voice, according to the usage of the Romish priesthood in pronouncing the words of consecration. This absurd and superstitious practice most probably took its rise from the prevalence of a belief in transubstantiation; it being thought becoming to pronounce with an air of mystery words which were thought to convert bread and wine into flesh and blood. This usage, however, like many others, when once adopted, was recommended to vulgar approbation by a lying legend culled from the ample pages of Popish mythology. The words, deemed so mysterious, had been formerly, it was said, uttered aloud, and were consequently well known to the populace. This knowledge proved fatal to some shepherds, who having placed the bread, which they were about to eat, upon a stone, blasphemously pronounced over it the form of Eucharistic consecration. Immediately the bread became flesh, and soon after, a flash of lightning struck the unhappy scoffers. In order to guard against the recurrence of such accidents, it was ordered that, in future, the words of consecration should be spoken in a tone inaudible by the people. Durandus does not, however, seem inclined to stake his credit upon this relation, but rather records it as a marvellous account in ordinary circulation. His words are, "Fertur enim, quod cum antiquitus publice et alta voce canon diceretur, omnes pene per usum illum sciebant, et in plateis et in vicis decantabant. Unde cum quidam pastores illum in agro cantarent, et panem super lapidem posuissent, ad verborum ipsorum prolationem, panis in carnem conversus est: *ipsi* tamen divino judicio igne cœlitus misso percussi sunt: *propter* quod sancti patres statuerunt verba ista sub *silentio dici*, inhibentes sub anathemate ne proferantur *nisi a sacerdotibus* super altare, et in missa, et cum vestibus sacris." Rationale, 58.

in the vulgar tongue for the people's edification. Bush thinks it undesirable to have the whole mass in the vernacular language, because if it were so, England would differ from the rest of Christendom. Boner, Heath, Skip, Repps, Day, and Parfew, briefly dismiss the question by saying that they thought it "neither expedient nor convenient to have the whole mass in English." Aldrich modestly said, that in this matter he was willing to abide by the decision of his "superiors and betters." On the other hand, Holgate, Goodrich, and Holbeach approve without any qualification of having the whole mass made intelligible to the people. The tenth query was, "When began the reservation of the Sacrament, and the hanging up of the same?" To this we find only two answers. Cranmer says, "The reservation of the Sacrament began, I think, six or seven hundred years after Christ. The hanging up began, I think, of late time." Holbeach cites Polydore Vergil for the fact, that Innocent III. enjoined the reservation of the Eucharist for the sick, and he adds, that Honorius III. made regulations for its custody, and for the people's adoration, whenever it should be presented to their sight. As for hanging the Sacrament over, or placing it upon the altar, he decides that it is a practice of comparatively recent origin, and one that has never been universally received[h].

The mode of administering the Eucharist adopt-

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 185.

ed by the Apostles and their contemporaries, was simply to break the bread intended for distribution, to repeat the words used by our Saviour at the institution of the Holy Supper [i], and to add the Lord's prayer [k]. In process of time, as the Church enlarged her borders, and a mixed multitude gladly listened to her voice, it became the general opinion, that if the Communion service were judiciously augmented, it would be rendered more beneficial to Christian congregations, constituted as they then were. Hence pastors accompanied the Eucharistic feast with prayers, thanksgivings, exhortations, and the reading of

[i] St. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25.

[k] "Gregorius M. lib. 8. ep. 7. testatur, nude et simpliciter juxta Christi institutionem ab Apostolis Cœnam administratam fuisse, adjecta solummodo Oratione Dominica. *Mos,* inquit, *Apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo Orationem Dominicam oblationis hostiam consecrarent.* Habet hoc absque dubio ex Hieronymo, qui lib. 3. contra Pelagianos dicit, *Dominum docuisse Apostolos, ut Orationem Dominicam dicerent super sacrificio corporis.* Hinc etiam Durandus scripsit lib. 4. *Dominum instituisse quidem Cœnam; nec aliis verbis usum esse quam consecrationis; quibus Apostoli adjecerint Orationem Dominicam.* Atque hoc modo idem author refert *D. Petrum primum in Oriente missam celebrasse.* Adstipulatur etiam his Antoninus tit. 5. cap. 2. 1. Chronicon Martini et aliorum. Platina etiam in vita Sixti 1. dicit *Orationem Dominicam præmisisse: Nuda,* inquit, *ab initio fuit sacrosanctæ illius actionis omnis ceremoniarum ratio, plus pietatis habens quam apparatus. Apostolus enim Petrus in consecratione Cœnæ tantummodo Oratione Dominica usus est, et paucissimis quibusdam preculis.* Et Innocentius III. in prologo librorum 6. mysteriorum Missæ, *Primus,* inquit, *B. Petrus Apostolus missam Antiochiæ dicitur celebrasse, in qua tres tantum orationes in primordio nascentis Ecclesiæ dicebantur.*" Hospinian, 13.

passages selected from Scripture. These additions, however, were not prescribed by any paramount authority, but were left to the discretion of such as governed particular churches[l]. At length, in order to bring about uniformity in the Christian assemblies, and to prevent the needless increase of liturgical offices, some of the earlier Bishops of Rome undertook the task of compiling a complete service, partly from the materials which were already in use, and partly from compositions of their own. The last considerable undertaking of this kind was accomplished towards the close of the sixth century, by Gregory the Great[m]. Of his compilation chiefly, is the Communion-service, or mass[n], as Romanists have long exclusively termed that office, which has been since generally used in the Papal Church. It must not, however, be supposed that the mass has descended to modern times exactly as Gregory left it; for such is not the fact. Since his days this service has been interpolated, and has been augmented by various

[l] Ibid. 21.

[m] "Orationum varii fuerunt doctores; quarum numerus et varietas in tantum excrescebat, quod octavum Africanum concilium constituit, ut nullæ preces, vel orationes, vel missæ, vel præfationes, vel commendationes, vel manuum impositiones dicantur, nisi in concilio fuerint approbatæ. Et Gelasius Papa tam a se quam ab aliis compositas preces dicitur ordinasse. Beatus Gregorius, seclusis his quæ nimia vel incongrua videbantur, rationabilia coadunavit, congrua multa nihilominus per se necessaria superaddens." Durandi Rationale, 44.

[n] For the origin of this word, see Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. I. 322.

rubrics prescribing what may be designated as the pantomime of the mass[o]. By the bowings, crossings, kissings, finger-washings, and other such contemptible ceremonies enjoined in these multitudinous rubrics, the whole service is rendered to the eyes of an ignorant Romish worshipper, highly superstitious and idolatrous. On the other hand a Protestant spectator unless captivated by fine music, and gaudy decorations, can seldom look upon those things without an invincible feeling of their frivolity and absurdity. Mass has not been celebrated in all places exactly as Gregory, or his successors have enjoined. On the contrary, before the Reformation, different churches owning the papal supremacy, used missals of their own. Of all these, however, the groundwork was the Roman missal which claims for its original compiler, Gregory the Great. In this service are discernible two principal divisions, answering to the mass of the catechumens, and the mass of the faithful, in the primitive Church. The catechumens were persons under a course of religious instruction previous to baptism[p], and to them the liberty of being present at the holy Communion, even as spectators, was denied. Accordingly, when a Christian congregation had reached that part of the church-service at which the faithful were preparing to communicate, a deacon proclaimed aloud, "Those that are cate-

[o] Hospinian, 244.

[p] Cave's Primitive Christianity, 210.

chumens, go out[q]." It was not until after this order had been obeyed, that the Communion-service, or mass of the faithful, began among the early Christians. In the Roman mass, all that part which reaches to the offertory corresponds to the primitive mass of the catechumens, the rest of the service, to that of the faithful. The first part of the Roman mass is composed of the following members: an invocation of the Trinity: the forty-third Psalm: a general confession of his own sins made by the priest not only to the omniscient God, but also to the archangel Michael, to the Virgin Mary, to St. John the Baptist, to the Apostles, to all the other dead persons indiscriminately, who have been canonised at Rome, and to the congregation present; this the priest concludes by requesting the prayers for himself, of the archangel, of the various persons deceased either named, or generally described as saints, and of the people present: a prayer for the priest's absolution offered by the choir, and a similar one offered by himself for his own pardon, as well as for that of the congregation: some short sentences; a prayer that both priest and people may be pardoned, and may deserve to enter into the holy of holies for Christ's sake[r]: a prayer for the priest's own par-

[q] Ibid. 282.

[r] "Aufer a nobis, Domine, quæsumus, omnes iniquitates nostras: ut sancta sanctorum puris mentibus mereamur introire." Portiforium seu Breviarium ad usum Ecclesiæ Sariburiensis. Lond. 1555.

don; through the merits of the saints [s]: some short devotional sentences in Greek [t]: the angelic hymn [u]: the collect for the day: the epistle for the day: the gradual [x], or responsory [y], consisting of short, devotional sentences: the gospel for the

[s] This prayer, which is to be recited in a low tone of voice, does not appear in the Breviary cited above. That book, however, is said in the title-page to be "castigatum," and therefore, it seems not unlikely, that, having been published in Queen Mary's reign, when men had learnt from King Edward's Reformers to doubt the powers of saintly merit, a prayer so offensive to scriptural Christians was politicly expunged. The following is this omitted piece. "Oramus te, Domine, ut per merita sanctorum tuorum, quorum reliquiæ hic sunt," (some relics are always placed in altars) "et omnium sanctorum, indulgere, digneris mihi omnia peccata mea. Amen." Missale ad SS. Rom. Eccl. us. Paris, 1529. f. 118.

[t] "Lord have mercy upon us," &c.

[u] "Glory to God in the highest," &c. (St. Luke ii. 14.) together with the additions which may be seen, in the hymn thus beginning, towards the close of the English Communion-service. Of this beautiful hymn, "the latter part is, by Hugo de St. Victor, *lib.* 2. said to be composed by St. Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers, but by Rabanus Maurus, who lived two hundred years before the said Hugo, it is ascribed to Telesphorus, about the year of Christ 139. Certain it is, that it was added by the Ecclesiastical doctors, as we are informed by the fourth council of Toledo, celebrated about one thousand years ago." Comber's Companion to the Temple, Lond. 1688. p. 160.

[x] "These prayers are called the Gradual, because it was sung when the deacon went up the steps or stairs of the pulpit for to read, as Rhenanus upon Tertullian saith." Du Moulin's *Mass*, Lond. 1641. p. 250.

[y] "Responsoria ab Italis manasse, eoque *nomine* appellata, quod, uno canente, chorus consona voce *respondeat*, prodidit Isid. lib. 6." Durant. de Rit. Cath. Eccl. 337.

day: and the Nicene creed. With this venerable symbol terminates that division of the service which corresponds with the mass of the catechumens in ecclesiastical antiquity, and the mass of the faithful commences with the Offertory [z]. This consists of five prayers relating to the elements about to be consecrated, and containing language of which the propriety is very questionable [a]. There then follow some sentences of

[z] "Quis tamen offertorium cantare instituerit ignoratur. Traxit nomen Offertorium, a ferta, quod est oblatio quæ in altari offertur, et a pontificibus consecratur." Durandi Rationale, 53. In the primitive Church, it was usual with the people to approach the Lord's table with offerings of bread, wine, oil, and other necessaries of life. Of these things a sufficient quantity was set aside for the approaching Communion; the remainder was applied to the maintenance of the clergy, and to the relief of the poor. (Du Moulin's Mass, 259. Comber, 28.) Traces of this ancient usage are observable in what was done at the mass of the Holy Ghost, solemnised at King Edward's coronation. "There at offering-time his Grace offered at the altar a pound of gold, a loaf of bread, and a chalice of wine." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 203.

[a] The following are the most exceptionable of these prayers, as they stand in Du Moulin's translation. "Holy Father, Eternal and Almighty God, receive this immaculate host, which I, thine unworthy servant, offer unto thee my true and living God, for my innumerable sins and offences, and negligences: and for all them that stand hereabout, but also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead; that it may profit me and them unto salvation, into eternal life. Amen. Then mingling the water with the wine, he saith, O God, who hast wonderfully created the dignity of the human substance, and hast reformed it more marvellously, grant us by the mystery of this wine and water, to be partakers of the divinity of him, who hath vouchsafed to be par-

Scripture, and some short devotional pieces, two among which are calculated to mislead unwary worshippers [b]. The priest is then directed to offer up some prayers in secret, such devotions being understood to correspond with the collects for the day [c]. The next part of the service called

taker of our humanity, Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord, &c. Then taking hold of the chalice, he saith, We offer unto thee, Lord, the chalice of the salutary (*calicem salutaris*, the cup of salvation) beseeching thy clemency that it may ascend with a sweet smell into the presence of thy divine Majesty, for our, and all the world's salvation. Amen." (Mass, 69.) The other two prayers in the offertory would be wholly free from censure, were the frequenters of a modern Romish mass likely to understand the word "sacrifice" inserted in them, in a sense applicable to the Eucharist. There can, however, be no doubt, that the word is here explained by modern Romanists so as to countenance the doctrinal innovations of their Church upon this subject. Bellarmine speaks thus in his 2nd book of the mass. "*These five prayers* (in the offertory) *are not very ancient, and were not said in the Roman Church before five hundred years ago.* And he saith, that Pope Innocent III. who wrote about the year 1212, makes no mention of them." Du Moulin's Mass, 258.

[b] "Receive, Holy Trinity, this oblation which we offer unto thee in remembrance of the passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the honour of the blessed Mary, ever a virgin, and of the blessed John the Baptist, and of the holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of these here, and of all the saints, that it may profit them to honour, and us to salvation, and that those may vouchsafe to intercede for us in heaven, whose remembrance we do celebrate on earth. By the same Christ our Lord. Amen." (Ibid. 73.) "May the Lord receive this sacrifice from thy hands, to the praise and glory of his own name, for our benefit, and that of all his holy Church." Garden of the Soul, 81.

[c] Ibid. 82.

the preface, may be seen, admirably rendered, in the English Communion office[d]. This is succeeded by the canon of the mass, or prayers of consecration, which are of high antiquity. The modern usage is to pronounce the canon in a low tone of voice, so that even if Romanists now spoke Latin they would be unable to derive edification from these words when uttered by the priest, although they believe them to be concerned with the most important part of their religion[e]. The canon is divided by Romish ritualists into different sections, the number of which differs according to the particular views of individuals. It is, however, in fact, certain connected prayers of considerable beauty, which may be thus paraphrased: "We beseech thee, most merciful Father, through thy Son our Lord, to accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy and unspotted sacrifices, which we offer unto thee for the Catholic Church, for the Pope, for our Diocesan, for the King, and for all who keep the Catholic and Apostolic faith.

[d] Beginning at "Lift up your hearts," and ending at "Glory be to thee, O Lord, most high." The English version is not literal, but it presents some beautiful devotional pieces, superior both to the Latin originals, and to the versions of them inserted in the Garden of the Soul.

[e] The canon "is read with a low voice, as well to express the silence of Christ in his passion, and his hiding at that time his glory and his divinity, as to signify the vast importance of that common cause of all mankind, which the priest is then representing as it were in secret to the ear of God; and the reverence and awe with which both priest and people ought to assist at these tremendous mysteries." Garden of the Soul, 83.

Remember, Lord, thy servants whom I name[f], and all thy faithful people here present: on whose behalf, and on that of their near connexions, we offer unto thee this sacrifice of praise, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and health, and as a payment of their vows. Communicating with, and venerating the remembrance of the ever-Virgin, the Apostles, and all the other saints: to whose merits and prayers mayest thou concede, that in all things we may be defended by the aid of thy protection. Therefore, Lord, we beseech thee, that, being appeased, thou wilt receive this oblation of our servitude, wilt order our days in peace, deliver us from eternal damnation, and number us among thine elect. Which oblation vouchsafe to make, O God, blessed, imputed, ratified, reasonable, and acceptable, *that it may be rendered unto us the body and blood of thy most beloved Son*[g]; who on

[f] Here the priest names secretly any persons for the mention of whom in this place he has been previously feed. "Commonly those cause themselves to be named in the *Memento* (as this member of the canon is called from its first word,) that want means to buy particular masses, or that will not spend so much." Du Moulin's Mass. 285.

[g] "If there be any clause in the mass that deserves to be weighed and attentively considered, it is this. For by the providence of God, this prayer hath been preserved for us, such as it was in the time of St. Ambrose, (the latter half of the fourth century,) when transubstantiation was not yet invented. It is extant in the fifth chapter of the fourth book of Sacraments, attributed to St. Ambrose, in these words, *The priest saith, Grant that this oblation be imputed unto us as reasonable, acceptable, which is the* FIGURE *of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus*

the day before his passion, after blessing the bread and cup, and breaking the former, gave them both to his disciples, pronouncing them to be his body and blood, and saying, that such things shall be done hereafter in remembrance of himself. Wherefore, Lord, we thy servants, in remembrance of thy Son our Lord's passion, resurrection, and ascension, do present unto thee

Christ. This prayer still remains in the mass, but with a notable change and alteration. For instead of the words which were in the ancient service, they have put in, *That it may be made unto us the body and blood of thy well beloved Son.*" (Ibid. 299.) This sentence, though less distinct than that in the Ambrosian service, is sufficient for the opponents of transubstantiation. The congregation brought their offerings to the Lord's table; of these offerings the priest was about to consecrate a sufficiency for the Holy Communion, and previous to this consecration, he prays that God would accept and bless the oblation of his faithful servants, rendering it to them the Saviour's body and blood. Of course the framers of this prayer were not believers in transubstantiation, for if they had been, they could not have doubted that all who should receive a portion of the consecrated offerings would necessarily receive the Lord's body and blood. It is, therefore, evident that this blessing was considered as exclusively to be expected by faithful Christians, when this clause was introduced into the canon. In unison with this scriptural and rational view of the Eucharist, is the following passage, cited by Bishop Jeremy Taylor from an hymn of the ancient Latin Church:

Sub duabus speciebus,
Signis tantum, et non rebus,
Latent res eximiæ.

"Excellent things lie under the two species of bread and wine, which are only signs, not the things whereof they are signs." Real Presence, 267.

of thine own boons and gifts, as a pure, holy, and immaculate host, the holy bread of eternal life, the cup of everlasting salvation [h]. Upon which things [i], vouchsafe to look with a countenance propitious and serene, as thou didst upon the gifts of Abel, thy righteous child, upon the sacrifice of Abraham, and upon the immaculate host offered unto thee by thy high priest Melchizedech. We humbly pray thee, Almighty God, command thy holy angel to bear these things to thine altar on high, so that as many of us as have partaken, from this altar, of thy Son's body and blood, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace. Be mindful, Lord, of thy servants who have gone before us with the seal of

[h] It is evident, that the word *hostia* in this passage does not mean the same as *host* in modern Romish language, because it refers to the wine as well as the bread. From these two together, selected from the mass of offerings upon the table, the priest professes to make up a typical sacrifice commemorative of the real one offered upon the cross. Such was the explanation given to this passage in the eleventh century by Ivo of Chartres, who may justly claim the confidence of Romanists on account of his hostility to Berenger. The following are Ivo's words, as cited by Hospinian, 274. "Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, passionis Filii tui, resurrectionis, et ascensionis, offerimus Majestati tuæ, id est, *oblatam commemoramus, per hæc dona tua visibilia, hostiam puram*, &c."

[i] "Supra quæ," the "things" mentioned here are plainly the offerings made by the congregation for Eucharistic and for eleemosynary purposes, and for the subsistence of their ministers. The word *hostia* was probably applied to designate the act of Melchizedech as it seems to have been understood by those who compiled the mass, because the term *sacrificium* had been used immediately before.

faith, and who rest in the sleep of peace. We beseech thee, Lord, that unto them, and unto all such as rest in Christ, thou wilt grant a place of refreshment, of light, and of peace. Unto us sinners also, who trust in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to give some portion and fellowship with thy Apostles, martyrs, and saints, not weighing our merits, but liberally bestowing upon us thy pardon, through Christ our Saviour; through whom thou ever createst, sanctifiest, animatest, blessest, and conferrest upon us all these good things. Through him, with him, and in him, is unto thee O God, the Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory." The canon thus finished is followed by the Lord's Prayer; and this by a supplication for deliverance from all evils past, present, and future, from troubles, and from sin; by means of the intercession of the Virgin, of the Apostles, and of other dead persons; and through Jesus Christ. Some short devotional pieces succeed, well adapted for use before the administration of the elements, with one exception, in which the priest prays that by this sacrament "he may merit to receive the remission of all his sins[k]." The communion of the priest, which follows, is accompanied by some brief prayers, in general unexceptionable. It must, however, be remarked,

[k] "Ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere." (Breviarium Sarisburiense in can. miss.) "O sinful man, wilt thou merit that which is Christ's only gift?" Foxe, 1273.

that upon one occasion, the priest, holding the consecrated wafer, is directed to say of Christ, "whom I unworthy hold in my hands." Afterwards he says to the same object, and to the cup at the same time, "Deliver me, I beseech thee, through this thy holy body and this thy blood, from all my iniquities." It is plain, that these sentences rather savour of transubstantiation. The following prayer, however, which is near the close of the service, is manifestly against that doctrine: "*Grant, O Lord, that we may take with a pure mind that which we have received by the mouth, and of a temporal gift, may it be made unto us a remedy everlasting*[l]." Indeed, upon the whole, the mass, although interpolated, obscurely worded in many places, and originally composed, in several parts, with no sound theological discretion, affords a signal testimony against the innovations of modern Popery[m]. The

[l] "Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus, et de munêre temporali, fiat nobis remedium sempiternum." (Brev. Sarisb.) "Note well these words," says Foxe in the margin of the translation of the canon of the mass, inserted in his Acts and Monuments.

[m] "Though the mass swarms with abuses, and with absurd words, yet I dare say, that after the Holy Scripture, there is no piece stronger against the Roman Church, than the very mass itself; and that whosoever shall comprehend it well, shall have a mighty weapon in hand for to confound Popery. And I hold it for a very certain thing, that if the Pope durst correct the mass, he would change and make great alterations in it. But he dares not undertake any such thing, for fear of shaking the people's belief, whom they persuade that the Roman Church cannot err. Add moreover, that the council of Trent (Sess.

canon, which is the only portion oracularly denounced faultless by the Roman Church, is deci-

xxii. Can. 6.) denounceth *Anathema* to all those who shall say that in the canon of the mass, there is any error." (Du Moulin's Mass. 197.) On the 17th of September, 1562, the Trentine divines decided that "to offer Christ with reverence, the Church hath, for many ages, instituted the Canon, *free from all error*, composed out of the words of our Lord, tradition of the Apostles, and constitutions of Popes." (F. Paul. 573.) The canon of the mass is therefore to be considered as an authenticated formulary speaking the sense of the Roman Church as to the Eucharist and some other things. The rest of the service stands on different grounds. As this document, so important to persons interested in theological enquiries, is not commonly in the hands of Protestants, it has been thought advisable to subjoin it. "Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus, ac petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata, imprimis quæ tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum: una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro et Antistite A. nostro proprio Episcopo B. et Rege nostro C. et omnibus orthodoxis, atque Catholicæ et Apostolicæ fidei cultoribus. Memento, Domine, famulorum, famularumque tuarum N. N. et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nota devotio; pro quibus tibi offerimus, (vel qui tibi offerunt) hoc sacrificium laudis, pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ; tibique reddunt vota sua, æterno Deo, vivo et vero. Communicantes et memoriam venerantes, imprimis gloriosæ, semperque virginis Mariæ genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi: sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum Petri, Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Simonis, et Thaddæi; Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Johannis, et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani, et omnium sanctorum tuorum: quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur

sive against her principal corruptions. If transubstantiation were the belief of Christian Rome

auxilio: per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias, diesque nostras in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari; per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Quam oblationem tu Deus Omnipotens in omnibus quæsumus benedictam, ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris; *ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi:* Qui, pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, et elevatis oculis in cœlum ad te Deum Patrem suum Omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes, Hoc est enim corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc præclarum calicem in sanctas, ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens, benedixit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes. Hic enim est calix sanguinis mei, Novi et Æterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hæc quotienscunque feceritis, in memoriam mei facietis. Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini nostri, tam beatæ passionis, nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ ascensionis, offerimus præclaræ Majestati tuæ, de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et calicem salutis perpetuæ. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu aspicere digneris et accepta habere, sicut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchizedech sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam. Supplices te rogamus, Omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinæ Majestatis tuæ, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur; per

in primitive times, we might reasonably expect to find a plain avowal of it in that very service by means of which, according to modern Romanists, that wonderful change is effected. So far, however, is this reasonable expectation from being realised, that in this service there is not a trace of the carnal presence; but there is a prayer applicable to the spiritual presence, and to that only. If those who composed the canon had believed the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice, they surely would have introduced some allusion to that doctrine. They have, however, introduced none, but they have described the Holy Supper as a commemorative sacrifice of praise. If they had thought of what are called solitary

eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum et famularum tuarum N. N. qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Nobis quoque peccatoribus, famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus: cum Johanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et omnibus sanctis tuis. Intra quorum nos consortium, non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ quæsumus largitor, admitte; per Christum Dominum nostrum: per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et præstas nobis. Per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso, est tibi Deo Omnipotenti, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, omnis honor et gloria, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen." (Brev. Sarisb. Missal. 128.) In Foxe's Acts and Monuments may be seen a complete version of this canon and of all its numerous rubrics.

masses, they would undoubtedly have rendered their composition suitable for such a purpose. It proceeds, however, solely upon the supposition that a congregation is preparing to receive the Holy Communion. If they had believed in the omniscience of saints, they would doubtless have addressed these happy spirits, for it is plain that they appreciated their services to the Christian cause very highly, that they calculated upon their prayers, and that they even hoped for especial benefits from such supplications. The composers of the canon, however, have not ventured upon the folly, probably it should be added, upon the impiety too of making any direct address whatever to these highly venerated spirits. If those to whom we owe the canon had believed in the existence of purgatory, they ought to have mentioned something of that state, for they gave themselves a very good opportunity of so doing. They, however, intimate that such as have died with the mark of faith, are sleeping the sleep of peace, and they merely pray for such disembodied souls, that God would afford them a residence of refreshment, light, and tranquillity. From the composition of this canon the second Nicene council is placed at a considerable distance, and even the fourth council of Lateran belongs to the history of a different æra. As for the councils of Florence, and Trent, they appear, when ranged by the side of this venerable relic of the ancient Latin Church, almost like assemblies of yesterday. Now it is these four councils

chiefly that have taken upon themselves to sanction the peculiarities of Romanism, and it is not a little curious that the last of them, which ratified the doctrinal decisions of its predecessors, should have affirmed the freedom from error of a document more ancient than either of them, and proving that the system compacted together by their joint authority, was no more known to the primitive Christians of Rome, than it was to the inspired authors of the New Testament.

But although the mass is intrinsically far less objectionable than those would imagine who know it only from its public celebration, when a multitude of silly and even detestable ceremonies impress upon it a character which evidently was never contemplated by its original compilers; it is notwithstanding a service imperiously demanding an able and conscientious revisal. Those passages in the introductory and concluding parts of it which speak of human merit, whether in the dead or in the living, contradict the recorded doctrine of Christ and his Apostles. The addresses to departed spirits are absurd at best, because they attribute omniscience to beings possessed in all probability of no such faculty. The words sacrifice and host are used in such a manner as to mislead a congregation educated amidst Romish prejudices, because, although evidently referring to oblations placed upon the communion-table, and to the Eucharistic uses for which a portion of these was designed, yet ignorant or artful commentators, or even such as are merely

blinded by prejudice, might colourably explain these terms so as to countenance that doctrine of the mass, which is the key-stone of modern Popery. A similar objection must also be made to the words used in praying for the dead. There can be no doubt that these words are cited to prove that the purgatory of modern Romanists was maintained in the ancient Latin Church: although the words themselves, if carefully considered, will be found at variance with such an assertion [n]. To rectify, however, in a solid and

[n] In the primitive Church a practice gradually gained ground of praying for the dead, because it was thought that something of human frailty would generally cling to men even at the moment of dissolution, and that consequently, God might be reasonably supplicated to overlook the imperfections with which disembodied souls would enter the invisible world. It was also recollected that the consummation of Christ's victory over sin and death being deferred until the general resurrection, it was reasonable to pray for the whole Christian congregation, whether still in the body, or released from the conflict with carnality, that it should be ranged on the great day at the Saviour's right hand. To these grounds of praying for the dead, others less defensible, were added by the fancies of individuals. Some men entertained a notion that a millenium would arrive, when the faithful would arise as subjects of the kingdom to be possessed by Christ for a thousand years before the final judgment, and that the best men would rise earliest in order to occupy a place under this happy monarchy. Those who were actuated by this opinion accordingly prayed that their own friends might be found among the first to rise for this purpose. Others supposed that disembodied souls are detained in a place of residence appropriated for that end, until the day of judgment, and that there might be some variations in their condition while in this place. There were those also who believed, that at the last day, all human souls,

satisfactory manner these and other defects in the ancient communion-service considerable time was

even that of the blessed Virgin not being excepted, would pass through a fire to the judgment-seat. The holders of these opinions thought themselves justified in praying that their friends might easily escape under these posthumous trials. No Christians however, of any note appear to have believed in primitive times that the human soul, when first released from its mortal encumbrances, is transferred for purification to a temporary fire. (Bingham, I. 758.) This is rendered sufficiently evident by the fact that some of the earliest prayers for the dead of which we have any knowledge include the whole body of departed Christians." It appears from all the ancient liturgies under the names of St. Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazienzen, and Cyril, "that they prayed for all saints, the Virgin Mary herself not excepted." (Of such departed spirits it is not reasonable to suppose that they were thought to be in purgatory.) "And it is remarkable, that in the old Roman missal, they were used to pray for the soul of St. Leo, as Hincmar, a writer of the ninth age, informs us; who says the prayer ran in this form, *Grant, O Lord, that this oblation, may be of advantage to the soul of thy servant Leo, which thou hast appointed to be for the relaxation of the sins of the whole world.* But this was thought so incongruous in the following ages, that in the later sacramentaries, or missals, it was changed into this form: *Grant, O Lord, we beseech thee, that this oblation may be of advantage to us by the intercession of St. Leo,* as Pope Innocent III. assures us it was in his time. And such another alteration was made in Pope Gregory's *Sacramentarium.* For in the old Greek and Latin edition, there is this prayer: *Remember, O Lord, all thy servants, men and women, who have gone before us in the seal of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace. We beseech thee, O Lord, to grant them and all that rest in Christ, a place of refreshment, light, and peace, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord.* But in the new reformed missals, it is altered thus, *Remember, Lord, thy servants and handmaids N. N. that have gone before us, &c.* that they might not seem to pray for saints as well as others that were in purgatory. Which

necessary. But the case admitted of very little delay, as Easter, when men usually approached

makes it very probable, that St. Cyril's catechism has also been tampered with, and a clause put in, which speaks of their praying to God by the intercession of Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs; since the ancient liturgies prayed for them as well as for all others. St. Chrysostom says expressly they offered for the Martyrs. And so it is expressed in his Greek liturgy: *We offer unto thee this reasonable service for the faithful deceased, our forefathers, fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, religious persons, and every spirit perfected in the faith; but especially for our most holy, immaculate, most blessed Lady, the mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary.*" (Ibid. 757.) Bishop Fisher says, that, "in the ancient writers there is almost no mention of purgatory, especially in the Greek writers, and therefore, that by the Grecians it is not believed until this day." (Abp. Usher's Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge, 181.) "The first whom we find directly to have held, that for certain light faults there is a purgatory fire provided before the day of judgment, was Gregory I. about the end of the sixth age after the birth of our Saviour Christ." (Ibid. 186.) Gregory, however, appears not to have held the modern Romish notions of purgatory. (Ibid. 188.) Otto Frisingensis, who wrote in 1146, says, "that there is in hell a place of purgatory, wherein such as are to be saved, are either only troubled with darkness, or decocted with the fire of expiation, *some do affirm.*" (Ibid. 189.) "Nennius and Probus, and all the elder writers of the life of St. Patrick that I have met withal, speak not one word of any such place: (as purgatory:) and Henry, the monk of Saltrey, in the days of King Stephen, is the first in whom I could ever find any mention thereof." (Abp. Usher's Epistle concerning the religion anciently professed by the Irish and Scottish, 16.) If the writings attributed to St. Patrick are genuine, it appears, that, "he was careful to implant in men's minds the belief of heaven and hell, but of purgatory he taught them never a word. And sure I am, that in the book ascribed to him *De tribus habitaculis*, which is to be seen in his Majesty's library, there is no mention

the Lord's table followed within a short interval after the time when the Parliament had separated. It was therefore deemed expedient, under the urgency of the case, merely to prepare as an appendage to the mass, a form in English for the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds, according to the legislative provisions lately enacted. On the 8th of March accordingly, proceeded from Grafton's press a service adapted to this purpose; to which was prefixed a royal proclamation enjoining a ready obedience to the alterations already made, and intimating that farther reforms were in agitation. To the office itself was prefixed a rubric ordering the officiating minister to give notice of his intention to administer the Communion, on the Sunday or holiday next before, or at least on the day before such celebration. The words prescribed for this notice

of any other place after this life, but of these two only." (Ibid. 17.) It is evident from Bede, that in his days, a belief in something like the purgatory of modern Romanism was making its way among the credulous, for he relates some visions reported to have been seen, in which the dreamer was believed to have been admitted to a sight of certain purgatorial inflictions. That, however, it was considered an integral part of the Christian faith, in Bede's time, to admit the existence of a place for the temporary punishment of all human souls, is nowise probable. For even Gregory I., although he gave some encouragement to the expectation of such a place, says, "in the day of his death a just man falls to the south, a sinner to the north; because a just man, by the fervour of the spirit, is carried to joys, and the sinner, in the coldness of his heart, is reprobated by the Apostate angel." Britons and Saxons not converted to Popery, 351.

are not materially different from those which appear in the first annunciatory exhortation to be seen in the present English Communion-service. Excellent as every Christian must allow this exhortation to be, a mind imbued with Romish prejudices would observe with regret that it enjoined an acknowledgement of sins not to man, but to God, that it admonished penitents whom a review of their past conduct filled with more than ordinary perplexity to lay their case, not of necessity before their own parish priest, but before any discreet and learned divine, and that it left auricular confession entirely to the discretion of individuals, recommending that no person should undertake to censure his neighbour for continuing or omitting that practice. At the time of celebration, it was ordered that the ancient mass should be said in the accustomed manner down to the end of the communion of the priest. So that those who considered it desirable to hide under the disguise of a dead language, what are deemed the mysteries of consecration, were gratified in this particular. They were not, indeed, allowed to calculate upon the long continuance of such gratification, for the rubric enjoining that the mass should be celebrated as usual, intimated that it was only to be so "until other order shall be provided." After the priest had communicated, he was directed to turn towards the congregation, and to address them in English with the exhortation still used, for the same purpose, with some alterations, chiefly verbal. This was

to be followed by a recommendation to unrepentant blasphemers, adulterers, malicious or envious persons to abstain for a while from the holy table, lest their participation should give occasion to the devil to enter into them, as he did into Judas. For the sake of rendering this more effective, a short pause was to be made when the priest had concluded, in order that any self-convicted offender might avoid the presumption of challenging, while yet in his sins, a communion with his God, and that the clergyman, by noticing any person's departure, might know where his spiritual aid and counsel was most urgently required. After this followed the short invitation to communicants, the confession, and the absolution, nearly as they yet stand in our service books. The well-selected texts of Scripture yet prescribed in this office, except the second, which was omitted, were next to be read; and after them that beautiful expression of humility with which the officiating minister is to our own times directed to kneel down by the side of the Lord's table. This being ended, the priest was to arise from his knees and administer the consecrated elements in both kinds, first to any clergymen present, and afterwards to the people. With the bread, he was to say, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life:" with the cup, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life." The congregation having communicated, was then to

be dismissed with the blessing. In providing for this sacrament, it was ordered that the small round cakes or wafers[o], which had been usual, should be continued, and that, according to the Romish custom, water should be mingled with the wine. But it was enjoined that each of these wafers should be broken into two or more pieces, and that if the wine first consecrated were not found sufficient, more should be consecrated by repeating those words in the canon of the mass which relate to the cup. There was, however, in this case to be no new elevation[p].

[o] It is obvious, that as the Eucharistic bread anciently was selected from the offerings of the congregation, it must have been of the same description as that prepared for ordinary purposes. Such accordingly, it is known, was the fact, in the primitive Church. (Cave's Primitive Christianity, 443.) The use, however, of small cakes at the Holy Communion appears to be ancient, for they are mentioned, but not with approbation, by Gregory I. towards the close of the sixth century. At the beginning of the thirteenth age these hosts, as they are called, seem to have become general, and Honorius III. who decreed the worship of them, ordered that they should be marked with a cross. (Hospinian, 371.) They are delivered whole to the communicants; an usage which the compilers of King Edward's first Communion-service thought proper to break through, both in compliance with the practice of the primitive Church, and to render them significant emblems of Christ's body broken on the cross. As pieces of these hosts were to be distributed, the following rubric was provided: "Men must not think, less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Christ."

[p] The Alliance of Divine Offices, by Hamon L'Estrange, Esq. Lond. 1699. p. 337.

On the 13th of March a circular letter to the several prelates was agreed upon in the privy council, enjoining them to disperse the new service throughout their respective dioceses, and to take care that it should be generally used at the ensuing Easter. This letter was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor Rich, the Earl of Arundel, the Lords St. John and Russel, Mr. Secretary Petre, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Edward North, and Sir Edward Wotton. In the majority of instances no disposition was evinced to disobey the orders of authority. The bishops, Boner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Voisey of Exeter, and Sampson of Lichfield and Coventry were, however, somewhat backward in their compliance; and many of the parochial clergy expressed their dissatisfaction with the changes which they were required to carry into effect[q]. Among the objections urged against the new service, it was represented by some that the compilers were not contented with restoring the cup to the people without at the same time contriving to make it appear even more important than the bread. In delivering the latter, it was remarked, the priest was directed to say, "May it preserve thy body;" while with the chalice he was to say, "May it preserve thy soul." To suppose that any thing invidious really was intended by this variation, would be to suspect our Reformers of a spirit to

[q] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 59.

which, from the caution and anxiety to conciliate, displayed upon all occasions by them, it is evident that they were superior. In order, however, to guard against any misapprehension of their views as much as possible, this objection was subsequently met by directing, that with each of the consecrated elements, it should be said, "Preserve thy body and soul[r]." But the most important objection to the new office arose from the manner in which confession was treated in it[s]. Ever since the Word of God had been unsealed, and enquiring minds in all conditions had anxiously turned over its pages for the purpose of discovering how far the established religion could be traced to any satisfactory source, a belief had been gaining ground that the whole mass of Romish doctrines connected with the confessional were of human origin, and even of pernicious tendency. It was sufficiently plain that those who compiled the new Communion office entertained one or both of these opinions. For although they had interdicted neither confession to a priest, nor absolution, yet they had left it optional with individuals to make or to decline the accustomed disclosures before Communion. Evidently, therefore, it was not believed by the crown's ecclesiastical advisers, that auricular confession and sacerdotal absolution were sacramental acts. This, however, was a fact highly mortifying to such Romanists as understood the nature of their pe-

[r] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 108.

[s] Ibid. 104.

culiar tenets, and were anxious to see these still professed by the English nation. For not only is the Papal Church decidedly at variance with the Christian world generally, with respect to her penitential doctrines and discipline; but also to these things is she mainly indebted for her hold upon the human mind.

Among the early professors of our holy religion nothing is more remarkable, nothing certainly furnishes a more decisive proof of the comforts experienced by such as have had their hearts softened by the Gospel, than the rigorous penances which offenders underwent. Destitute as was then the Church of civil power, her condemnatory voice was sufficient to impose two, five, fifteen, twenty years, or even a whole life of tears and degradation[1]. Rather than find himself excluded to the end of his mortal course from the pious assemblies which had refreshed his spirits, from the words of eternal life which had solaced and enlightened his mind, from the hallowed sacraments which had curbed his irregular desires and fed his only solid hopes, from the fervent prayers which had raised his soul above the guilt and follies of this lower scene, an unhappy sinner was contented to pass through a long probation of penitentiary suffering. His dress was sackcloth, ashes were sprinkled upon his head, he rigorously abstained from even innocent amusements, intermitted the care of his person.

[1] Bingham, II. 226.

As the first step towards his re-admission into the Christian congregation, he prostrated himself at the church-door bewailing his offence and earnestly supplicating the prayers of those who, not having like himself forfeited their right to enter within the sacred walls, were then proceeding to their public devotions; after a year commonly spent in this kind of humiliation, he was admitted into the church while the Scriptures were read, and the sermon was preached; he was next allowed to remain in the church kneeling while certain prayers were said particularly suited to persons in his unhappy condition; and at length he received leave to stand by, and see the Lord's supper administered to the congregation[u]. It was not until the sinner had passed through all these four stages of humiliation, and had continued in each a time sufficient to mark the enormity of his offence, and to satisfy his fellow Christians as to the sincerity of his repentance, that he was again admitted, after a formal absolution, to claim a share in all the spiritual benefits of his holy profession. These exemplary punishments were usually inflicted in consequence of a lapse into idolatry. Possibly in some cases this grievous sin might be committed from the contagion of an ill example, the fascinations of Paganism, or the persuasions of relatives. But in

[u] In ecclesiastical history, these four orders of penitents are known by the names of *Flentes*, *Audientes*, *Substrati*, and *Consistentes*.

most instances the primitive Christians "denied the Lord who bought them[x]" under a horror of imminent persecution. When the infatuated malice of heathen rulers assailed the peaceful community of Jesus, many timid spirits cowered before the storm. There were such as delivered up their Bibles to destruction. These were called traditors[y]. Others attended the sacrifices, and partook of the sacrificial feasts celebrated in honour of the departed spirits revered by Pagans[z]. Others offered incense before the images of these deceased personages[a]. Many there were also who avoided these open scandals by bribing the magistrates to give them certificates declaring them to be members of the established religion; or to excuse their attendance in the temples, on the sight of a certificate to this effect[b]. It was obviously necessary to restrain by checks of great severity a disposition to elude the persecutor's iron grasp by means of such compliances. Had Christians connived at this want of firmness in each other, it can scarcely be doubted, that during the terrific ordeal through which the Church made her way to the general admiration of

[x] 2 Pet. ii. 1.

[y] *Traditores.* "Diocletian put forth an edict, that Christians should deliver up their Scriptures, and the writings of the Church to be burnt." Cave's Primitive Christianity, 357.

[z] Hence called *Sacrificati*, Bingham, II. 70.

[a] Hence called *Thurificati*, Ibid.

[b] These unhappy dissemblers were styled *Libellatici.* Ibid. 72.

mankind, she would have enclosed within her pale a large proportion of half-reclaimed heathens, unblushing apostates, and cowardly dissemblers; men whom the Master declares he will disown when he comes to claim his genuine disciples [c]. Not only, therefore, in justice to her own character, but also in mercy to her children did the primitive Church enact her rigorous penitential canons. These were also applied to such cases of notorious immorality as occasionally cast a mournful shade over the bright picture of moral excellence presented by the rising community of Christians. Any unhappy sinner who should have thus disgraced his holy calling was rigidly excluded from the appointed means of grace, until by an exemplary submission to the penitence exacted from unworthy believers, he should have made atonement for the scandal arising from his iniquity, and should have given sufficient reason to believe, that a moral taint no longer rendered him incapable of receiving spiritual benefits [d]. While the eyes of men resorting to the house of God met these painful spectacles, of fallen believers condemned for flagrant delinquency to undergo a protracted course of penitential discipline, it struck many Christians of tender consciences, that they had escaped the open shame of their humiliated brethren only because they had never been placed in a situation calculated to bring their lurking depravity to light. Awakened trans-

[c] St. Matt. x. 33.

[d] Bingham, I. 815.

gressors labouring under this distressing conviction eagerly courted the penances to which others were doomed by the voice of ecclesiastical authority. They made a full disclosure of their sin, anxiously desiring that the prayers of the congregation should be offered for their moral recovery as for that of the notorious delinquents, and that like them they should be bound to exhibit publicly their sense of the total discrepancy between an unrighteous life and the Christian religion. As it was not desirable to expose the hidden transgressions which thus augmented the melancholy group of penitents; in many churches a minister of discretion was appointed, under the name of a penitentiary, to hear such confessions as men chose to make, and to impose upon the transgressors such a measure of public penance as their case might seem to require. When this officer was appointed, it became usual to urge upon members of the congregation oppressed by the burthen of iniquity, the propriety and advantage of acquainting him with their moral diseases; in order that they might receive at his hands such advice and discipline as their particular cases should seem to demand. But in this recommendation there was certainly no reference to the notions of sacramental confession and absolution which prevail among the modern Romanists. So far indeed was it from being deemed an essential part of a Christian's duty to make in any man's ear a particular statement of his sins, that towards the close of the fourth century, the office of peni-

tentiary was abolished in the principal church at Constantinople. A lady confessed to that officer an amour in which she had been engaged with a deacon, of course with a view to do public penance for it. The disclosure of such a tale was evidently calculated to inflict a serious injury upon the Church now that her disciples comprised all the elements of human society, and therefore, in order to prevent the recurrence of unnecessary scandals, it was deemed advisable to discontinue the confessional as unsuited to the existing posture of Christian affairs. Most of the provincial bishops imitated this example set in the metropolis, and thus at the conclusion of the fourth age the Church was so far from inculcating sacramental confession that she withdrew, in the majority of instances, those facilities for a particular declaration of iniquities which she had been used during a considerable period to supply [e]. Moreover at this time some of her most illustrious divines, in pieces yet extant, maintained the sufficiency of confession made to God only. Basil says that he made not confession with his lips, for that the groans of his heart were enough, and that he sent up these to the throne of grace. Hilary tells us that we may learn from the Psalmist David to see the necessity of confessing our sins to God alone. Ambrose declares that tears poured out before God are sufficient to obtain the pardon of iniquity without any confession made to man.

[e] Bingham, I. 815.

Chrysostom, exhorting men to repentance, says, "I bid thee not to bring thyself upon the stage, nor to accuse thyself unto others. But I counsel thee to observe the prophet's direction, and reveal thy ways unto the Lord. Confess thy sins before God. It is not necessary that thou shouldest reveal thine iniquities before witnesses; let an enquiry into them be made in thine own thoughts; let judgment be passed upon them when thou art in solitude; let God alone see thee at confession, I desire not to bring thee before thy fellow-servants. Unfold thy conscience before God; shew Him thy wounds, and ask of him their cure. Why shouldest thou blush to display thy transgressions? It is only needful to do so in the sight of thy God; who already knows them, and who only waits until thou hast earnestly deplored them, to heal thy wounds and alleviate thy grief[f]." These testimonies are alone sufficient to shew, that the primitive Church was unacquainted with the Romish sacrament of penance. There are, however, besides them many similar passages[g]; hence it is manifested in this, as in other instances, that Romanists, in believing themselves followers of

[f] Ibid. II. 216.

[g] Perhaps it may be worth while to cite one of these passages, and to introduce it in the words of Du Pin. "Venons enfin à Saint Augustin, *ce pere si respecté dans l'Eglise d'Occident.*" (II. 391.) "Augustinus lib. 10. Confess. cap. 3. *Quid, inquit, mihi ergo est cum hominibus, ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi sanaturi sunt omnes languores meos? Curiosum genus ad cognoscendam vitam alienam; desidiosum ad corrigendam suam.*" Hospinian, 366.

the ancient system, are rashly taking for granted an important matter of which there is no solid proof.

But although sacramental confession was unknown among Christians during the first thousand years of their history, they were constantly taught the necessity of confessing their sins to God, and the propriety of confessing them in all difficult or aggravated cases, to men of holiness and discretion. Such were the principles which prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons. Individuals labouring under the burthen of iniquity, were invited to lay their case before any minister of religion in whom they felt a confidence, in order to receive at his hands such advice as might appear necessary for their future governance, and such penitential directions as were thought likely to eradicate the lurking depravity of their nature. It was not, however, pretended that clergymen acted with penitents otherwise than merely as physicians of the soul; nor was it maintained that confession to God was imperfect unless it had previously passed through the ears of a priest. On the contrary, repentance and amendment of life were alone insisted upon as indispensable for the spiritual renovation of sinners[h]. When, however, Dunstan attained the

[h] Whelock, in his notes upon Bede (p. 216.) has furnished some curious corrections bestowed upon an MS. copy of the Saxon homilies in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, by some reader who preferred the modern Romish notions of penance, to the sound scriptural doctrine of his Saxon ancestors.

zenith of his power, he appears to have determined upon overawing the spirit of licentiousness by prescribing rigorous penances for glaring offences, according to the practice of the primitive Church [i]. The next individual of high note who filled the see of Canterbury, was the celebrated Lanfranc, and he too was anxious to perfect the penitential discipline of the Church. Still his object was chiefly, if not entirely to ameliorate the national morals and religion. The notion of sacramental confession appears never to have entered his head [k]. It was reserved for

The homilist says, "Let no grievous sinner dare to taste the Eucharist *until after he shall have amended.*" *Until he shall have confessed to his proper penitentiary:* writes somebody in the margin. Again the homilist says, "He who shall have refused to bewail his sins in life, (*to his penitentiary*, adds the marginal critic,) shall obtain no remission hereafter." In another place the homilist says, "If a man be sick, let him be willing to turn to God, and to confess his sins with real groaning; *to his penitentiary*," is again read in the margin.

[i] Collier, I. 187. It is worthy of remark, that in the form of confession prescribed to the penitent by Dunstan's authority at this time, men are directed to confess their sins to God and their confessor. Of saints there is no mention, unless in a petition to God that the repentant offender may be admitted into their society hereafter. The antichristian stupidity which now distinguishes that member of the Roman mass, known as the *Confiteor*, appears therefore not to have then found its way into England. Nor although the penitent in some cases is enjoined to repeat the *Pater Noster* sixty times in one day, is any mention made of the *Ave Maria;* "which is an argument, that the modern applications to the blessed Virgin were unpractised by the Church in that age." Ibid. 188.

[k] "Sin nec in ordinibus ecclesiasticis cui confitearis invenis,

the schoolmen of the ensuing age to introduce this pernicious novelty into theology. These subtle divines espied in every proposition the materials for an animated discussion, and hence in turning over the Bible they found innumerable passages offering facilities for the agitation of intricate questions[1]. Among the scholars who addicted themselves to this mischievous kind of

vir mundus ubicunque sit requiratur." (Lanfranc. de Celanda Confessione. Op. 381.) Dacherius appears to have been rather embarrassed by this passage, which by admitting that confession might allowably be made to a respectable layman, cuts up by the roots the sacramental character attributed by modern Romanists to that act. Accordingly the learned editor has inserted the following note upon these remarkable words in his argument to the piece in which they occur. "Non quod illa confessio, ut proferam hac in re theologorum sententiam, gratiam ex opere operato conferat, neque enim sacramentalis est, sed ex opere operantis." Archbishop Lanfranc it should be added (p. 379.) makes the sacraments four in number, *viz.* Faith, Baptism, the Eucharist, and the Remission of Sins. This, however, will not serve the modern Romanists as to their sacrament of penance. From the insertion of Faith in this enumeration, it is evident, that the prelate meant by the word sacrament, any sacred thing which serves as the means of grace.

1 "Les anciens peres dans leurs commentaires sur les livres sacrés expliquoient le texte ou literallement ou allegoriquement par rapport a l'instruction des fideles; et les auteurs du huitieme et du neuvieme siecle qui avoient fait des commentaires sur la Bible, n'avoient fait que compiler et recüeillir divers commentaires des peres, dont ils avoient fait des chaînes ou des commentaires: quelques-uns avoient aussi introduit alors l'usage des gloses pour l'explication de la lettre; mais dans le douziéme siecle on commença à expliquer l'Ecriture sainte d'une maniere à peu prés semblable à celle dont on traitoit la theologie, c'est à dire par les principes de la dialectique, en agitant diverses ques-

learning, were Hugh de St. Victor, and his disciple Richard [m]: both of whom chose to argue upon the necessity of confessing to a priest before receiving the Communion. The master decided the question by boldly affirming, that unless a communicant had previously received sacerdotal absolution, he would eat and drink his own damnation, even although he might have earnestly repented of his sins. The disciple asserted the same thing; and a body of divinity then in vogue teaches, that grief for the past was not sufficient to qualify a man for the holy table: he must come thither after a lawful confession, or he would commit a mortal sin [n]. Peter Lombard arrives at length at the same conclusion [o]. He states at first, that many persons considered confession to God alone as sufficient, and that some authorities countenanced this opinion, while others invalidated it, or even maintained the con-

tions subtiles touchant les dogmes, et en rapportant quantité de lieux communs." Du Pin, III. 276.

[m] Ibid.

[n] "Hugo in libro de Ecclesiastica potestate ligandi et solvendi sic scripsit: *Audacter dico, si ante sacerdotis absolutionem ad Communionem corporis et sanguinis Domini quis accesserit, pro certo sibi manducat et bibit judicium, etiamsi eum multum pœniteat et vehementer doleat et ingemiscat.* Hæc certe Hugo audacter dixit, nisi falsum doceat nos Verbum Dei. Floruit autem circa annos Christi 1130. Idem etiam Richardus de S. Victore asseruit. Et summa angelica sic habet: *Quantumcunque doleret aliquis de peccato commisso, non sufficeret ut digne sumat, sed oportet eum legitime confiteri, aliter peccat mortaliter.*" Hospinian, 386.

[o] Circa an. 1150. Ibid.

trary[p]. His own determination, however, is, that indubitably a man must first confess to God, then to a priest, and that, if any one, having an opportunity of thus confessing, shall neglect it, he will not be permitted to enter paradise. Again, the Master of the Sentences lays it down as certain, that confession to God alone is not sufficient, and that no man is truly humble and penitent who does not seek the judgment of a priest[q]. Gratian, the father of papal canonists[r], takes much the same ground as Lombard, but he avoids the rashness of that schoolman's decision. He states that wise and religious men differed as to the necessity of sacerdotal confession, and that therefore, he should leave the question to the judgment of his readers[s]. This prudent reserve, however, is not maintained by the commentator

[p] Abp. Usher's Answ. to a Jesuit's Challenge. 108.

[q] "Petrus Lombardus, lib. 4. Sentent. dis. 17. et 18. ex patribus primo indicat, sufficere confessionem peccatorum soli Deo factam. Deinde alia subjicit testimonia contrarium docentia. Postremo sua etiam interposita sententia sic concludit: *Ex his indubitanter ostenditur, oportere Deo primum, et deinde sacerdoti offerre confessionem, nec aliter posse perveniri ad ingressum paradysi, si adsit facultas.* Rursus; *Certificatum est, quod non sufficit confiteri Deo sine sacerdoti; nec est vere humilis et pœnitens, si non desiderat et requirit sacerdote judicium.*" Hospinian, 366.

[r] A. D. 1150. Abp. Usher's Answ. to a Jesuit's Challenge. 109.

[s] "*Quibus authoritatibus vel rationibus utraque sententia confessionis et satisfactionis innitatur, in medium breviter exposuimus. Cui enim horum potius adhærendum sit, lectoris judicio reservatur. Utraque enim fautores habet sapientes et religiosos viros.* Hæc Gratianus in fine dist. 1. de pœnitentia." Hospinian, 366.

upon Gratian. His gloss asserts that, sacerdotal confession, though not satisfactorily traceable to any scriptural authority, is obligatory upon Christians in the West, because imposed by a tradition of the Universal Church: in the East, it is admitted, this usage may be safely omitted, because the tradition did not reach thither[t]. At length, in the year 1215, Innocent III. undertook to set all these questions at rest; and by one of the boldest strokes of his usurped authority, to impose the yoke of auricular confession upon all who were so unhappy, by the circumstances of their birth, the force of their prejudices, or the presumed interests of their rulers, as to be placed within the grasp of his despotic intolerance. At the famous fourth council of Lateran, in which the lordly Pontiff oracularly promulged his personal views to an immense assemblage of acquiescent auditors, it was proposed to compel every person, whether male or female, who had arrived to years of discretion, to make a faithful private confession of all his sins, to his own priest, at least once in every year; to receive the Eucharist at least every Easter, unless advised to abstain by his own priest; and to perform to the best of his power, such penance as that ecclesias-

[t] "Verba hæc sunt; *Melius dicitur eam institutam esse a quadam universalis Ecclesiæ traditione potius quam ex Novi vel Veteris Testamenti authoritate. Et traditio Ecclesiæ obligatoria est ut præceptum. Ergo necessaria est confessio in mortalibus apud nos; apud Græcos non, quia non emanavit ad illos talis traditio.*" Ibid.

tic should impose upon him. Such as refused to comply with these injunctions were to be excluded from the church in life, and to be denied Christian burial after death[u]. This canon was allowed to give the law to Occidental Europe, and thus no longer were men at liberty to content themselves with that confession to God, which is enjoined in Scripture, or when labouring under the burthen of iniquity to select as their confidant, some minister of religion who might appear best qualified for affording them the desired relief. Every person of all ages, after infancy, and of all conditions, was driven to the necessity of exposing privately and periodically, to a particular individual, however qualified for such a confidence, all the moral obliquities which might have disgraced his carriage, or polluted his imagination, since he last made a similar disclosure. A more palpable departure from the ancient penitential discipline of the Church can hardly be conceived. Instead of public confession and penance being exacted from gross and notorious offenders alone, and a course of public humiliation being prescribed to such considerable, though

[u] "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia solus sua peccata confiteatur fideliter saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi pœnitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, nisi forte de consilio proprii sacerdotis, ob aliquam rationabilem causam ad tempus ab ejus perceptione duxerit abstinendum: alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiæ arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura." Ibid. 367.

more concealed transgressors, as were impelled by the force of conscience to come forward and accuse themselves; every obscure ecclesiastic was now employed in raking amidst the vices and the frailties of his whole congregation; apportioning to every feature in the pitiable and disgusting picture, such a measure of private penance as he might consider necessary or expedient. A thoroughly enlightened and honourable mind can hardly have imposed upon it a task more revolting. Nor is there any thing more likely to confirm an existing moral taint[x], or to render inveterate a greediness for petty scandal, and an itch for interference in the affairs of others, than the habitual witnessing of these disgusting exposures. Were the confessional only used, as in the primitive Church, for voluntary penitents, it is obvious that clergymen ought to be selected for it with eminent caution and discrimination. But when the whole mass of young and old, of rich and poor, is thus compelled to strip morally naked at stated intervals before the eyes of a fellow

[x] Bp. Jeremy Taylor observes of confession, that "it not only pollutes the priest's ears, but his tongue too, for lest any circumstance, or any sin be concealed, he thinks himself obliged to interrogate, and proceed to particular questions in the basest things." (Dissuasive from Popery. Polem. Works. 488.) The injuriousness of this practice upon the morals of vicious ecclesiastics is shewn by the following fact. "There are two bulls, one of Pius IV. to the Bishop of Seville, A. D. 1561, April 16: the other of Gregory XV. 1622, August 30, which bulls take notice of, and severely prohibit the confessors to tempt the women to undecencies, when they come to confession." Ibid.

mortal, the difficulty of finding a man eligible for such an employment must be of the most serious kind. Obviously no young man, no man who has not gained a very complete mastery over his own corruption, no meddling, prying busy-body, no novice in spiritual things, no one who has not acquired a profound knowledge of human nature, no one who is not possessed of a sound judgement, and of a practised discretion, is fitted for a confessor. It may be added, that even could a sufficient number of individuals properly qualified for such an employment be found, their occupation as the indiscriminate hearers of confessions would be any thing rather than advantageous to public morals. For the disclosure of hidden obliquities, in all cases, tends to blunt the edge of shame; and in many, it gives a substance to frailties which would otherwise have gradually died away under the discipline insensibly learnt by persons of tender consciences, from religion and the force of circumstances[y]. Nor can it be

[y] If any one doubt the justice of this, let him consult Challoner's Garden of the Soul, pp. 213, 14, 15. Mr. Butler has lately said by way of apology for putting this scandalous trash into the hands of young people, that we put the Bible, which contains matters not adapted for their perusal, into such hands. But the cases are not parallel. For the parts of Scripture which one would not wish to meet the eyes of youth, are few and very far from obvious; and it may be presumed no one was ever formally examined as to his acquaintance with them. The instructions, however, for confession in Romish books of devotion are numerous, and are intended as guides for a periodical examination. Unhappily there is very little hope to be entertained that

doubted that absolutions and penances exert a most injurious influence over ordinary minds[z]. The periodical recurrence of these moral anodynes is very likely to render men insensible to the need of real holiness, and to persuade them that God looks with complacency upon a life of sin, if only its general tenor be broken by short intervals of ostentatious mortification.

Such considerations, however, were little likely to have much weight with Innocent, a pontiff, whose only aim appears to have been the aggrandisement of his see. This object was obviously likely to be promoted in a most effectual manner by subjecting the whole Romish mind to clerical scrutiny, since the monkish orders every where, were the mere tools of the Papacy, and the secular priesthood found its account in upholding that power. Regardless, therefore, of the objections attaching to the confessional, ecclesiastics, throughout the papal reign took effectual mea-

the indecencies contained in these instructions will escape the eyes and the thoughts of many juvenile aspirants for absolution.

[z] "The discipline generally used in ancient times was, that the penance should first be performed, and when long and good proof had been given by that means of the truth of the party's repentance, they wished the priest to impart unto him the benefit of absolution. Whereas by the new device of sacramental penance, the matter is now far more easily transacted: by virtue of the keys, the sinner is instantly of attrite, made contrite, and thereupon, as soon as he hath made his confession, he presently receiveth his absolution: after this, some sorry penance is imposed, which, upon better consideration, may be converted into pence, and so a quick end is made of many a foul business." Abp. Usher's Anc. Rel. of the Irish and Scottish. 39.

sures for compelling an universal submission to its discipline. Stephen Langton, Innocent's Archbishop of Canterbury, busied himself, accordingly, in forcing his master's theology, or more properly policy, upon England. For the accomplishment of this undertaking, it was obviously necessary that the clergy should give to their lay brethren no reason to doubt their own belief in the doctrine now promulged at Rome. Many ecclesiastics, however, never came to confession, and some who did, retained the ancient system of revealing their moral diseases to individuals of their own choice, who perhaps were not such as the papal canons assigned for that purpose. For these acts of disobedience to Roman tyranny two reasons appear to have been alleged: one that there might be afforded to a clergyman no facilities for confessing in the manner prescribed by Innocent; the other arising as it was presumed [a], from the natural reluctance of men, not reared from infancy in this degrading and disgusting discipline, to lay all their frailties open before the

[a] "Quoniam nonnunquam ob defectum confessorum, et quod quidam decani rurales et personæ erubescerent *forte* confiteri suo prælato, certum imminet periculum animarum: volentes huic morbo mederi statuimus ut certi confessores et prudentes et discreti ab episcopo loci per archidiaconum statuantur qui confessiones audiant ruralium decanorum, personarum, et presbyterorum." (Const. Prov. Steph. Cant. Archiep. 122.) The manner in which "*forte*" is here introduced gives ground to suppose that other objections to the yoke of confession were known to exist in the minds of the English clergy, besides those recited in the body of this canon.

eyes of a neighbour, and of one, it might be, their junior in age, and their inferior in regularity, candour, or discretion. But whatever might be their reasons for abstaining from confession, or for continuing the ancient manner of it, nothing is more obvious, than that while clergymen continued thus to act, there was no hope of inducing a general belief in the soundness of Innocent's penitential doctrine. It was therefore enacted under Archbishop Langton, at a provincial council, that in each rural deanery two clergymen of approved discretion should be appointed to hear the confessions of their brethren within their district. This arrangement, however, appears not to have fully succeeded: for Langton's canon was repeated among the legatine constitutions promulged by Cardinal Otho, in 1237. That distinguished Italian ecclesiastic informed the English clergy, upon the same occasion, that the principal sacraments were seven in number: a piece of knowledge which he caused to be inserted in his second canon[b]. The number seven, had indeed

[b] "Sacramenta quoque *principalia* quæ sunt et quot propter simpliciores duximus statuenda." (Const. Othon. 7.) These *principal* sacraments are Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, the Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Matrimony, and Holy Orders. Of these, it was said, the first five are to be received by all mankind, the sixth, by such as are less perfect, the seventh, by the perfect. (Lindwood, 31.) The epithet "principal," was applied to these sacraments on account of the loose manner in which the term "sacrament" had been hitherto used. Washing the feet has been accounted a sacrament, and it has been disputed whether this appellation ought not to be bestowed upon thirteen different

been a good deal of a favourite all over the world perhaps from the period occupied by the creation, from its frequent recurrence under the Jewish dispensation, from its prominence in the Apocalypse, and from the hebdomadal division of time; but it appears not to have been generally suspected among English priests in the early part of the thirteenth century, that the sacraments amounted exactly to this mystical number. It being, however, intended to communicate the decision lately made among the continental schoolmen as to this matter, to the whole of our insular population, Otho ordered, that clergymen should be examined as to the number of the sacraments upon institution to a benefice, and that archdeacons should take especial care at their visitations, to instruct the assembled divines in this newly-modelled branch of theology: But since after all, it

things. (Hey's Lectures in Divinity, Camb. 1798. IV. 198.) It is thought that the number seven was assigned by the schoolmen to the sacraments, because we read among the mysterious language of St. John (Revel. iii. 1.) of the seven spirits of God. From this it was imagined, that the operations of the Spirit are sevenfold. The first writer who reckons seven sacraments is Peter Lombard, but his contemporary Hugh de St. Victor is considered to have made the same enumeration before him. Eugenius IV. proposed this doctrine of the sacraments to the Oriental Christians in 1439, with the approbation of the council of Florence, and at the council of Trent it was finally determined that the Florentine enumeration was correct. The Trentine fathers, in debating this question laid great stress upon the unanimity of the schoolmen, from Peter Lombard downwards, as to the septenary division of the sacraments. F. Paul, 234.

might be found that the elder ecclesiastics would not readily assent to such an innovation, the Cardinal enjoined that candidates for orders should be examined upon the seven sacraments with eminent strictness [c]. Penance being thus elevated to the dignity of a sacrament, a form of absolution more authoritative than any known in ancient times was introduced into general use. It had been the practice of the primitive Church to absolve penitents by solemnly restoring them to the privilege of Communion, by laying hands upon them, and by praying over them that God would pardon their sins [d]. Probably this precatory form of absolution was used in all cases of those private confessions which were commonly, but voluntarily made before scholastic divinity was established in the West. It is at least certain that this form of absolution is the only one to be found in the most ancient service books of the Latin Church [e]. In the twelfth or thirteenth century, however, the indicative form of absolution [f] prescribed by the modern Roman Church, and retained with an important qualification for particular cases in the English office for the visitation of the sick, came

[c] "Statuimus ut in susceptione curæ animarum et ordinis sacerdotii examinentur de his, præcipue ordinandi." Const. Othon. ut supra.

[d] Bingham, II. 245. [e] Ibid. 247.

[f] "Morinus has fully proved that there was no use of it till the twelfth or thirteenth century, not long before the time of Thomas Aquinas, who was one of the first that wrote in defence of it." Ibid.

into use. This was considered as the proper form for sacramental absolution [g], and Cardinal Othobon, at the legatine council holden under him in London, in 1268, enjoined the English clergy to adopt it [h]. But notwithstanding these repeated endeavours to force the Romish doctrine as to penance upon England, our national ecclesiastics appear to have admitted it slowly and with reluctance. The canon for the appointment of confessors to pry into the frailties or vices of the country clergy was neglected, being found generally distasteful to that body [i], and in consequence clerical duties were usually performed under such circumstances, indeed, as were familiar to Englishmen, but such as the Pope's creatures pronounced an abomination. In order to overcome this national pertinacity in maintaining ancient religious opinions, John Peckham, the Franciscan friar, intruded by papal boldness into the see of Canterbury, re-enacted at a provincial council convened at Lambeth, in 1281, the regulations formerly made as to confessors for the rural clergy [k].

[g] "Hæc est sacramentalis absolutio." Annot. in Const. Othobon. 64.

[h] "Confitentes absolvant, verba subscripta specialiter exprimentes: *Ego te a peccatis tuis auctoritate qua fungor absolvo.*" Const. Othobon. Ibid.

[i] "Hoc tum hactenus non cleri fuit moribus approbatum: non sine multis Dei injuriis in sacramentorum ministrationibus ac missarum celebrationibus, quæ execrationes potius dicerentur." Const. Prov. Joh. Cant. Archiep. 127.

[k] Ibid. The canon next in order to this is deserving of notice because it affords an insight into the religious opinions of

At length all opposition to the tyrannical yoke of confession was overcome. Death gradually re-

the age. It directs, that the clergy shall plainly instruct their parishioners in the main principles of Christianity once in every quarter. These instructions were to embrace the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the two evangelical precepts of charity, the seven works of mercy, the seven mortal sins with such iniquities as proceed from them, the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace. Of the fourteen articles of faith, seven are referred to the Trinity, the remainder to Christ's humanity. The first septenary is thus distributed. 1. The unity of the Godhead. 2. That the Father is unbegotten. 3. That the Son is God, and the only begotten of God. 4. That the Holy Ghost is God, but neither begotten nor unbegotten, though proceeding equally from the Father and the Son. 5. That the whole creation, visible and invisible, is the work of the whole and undivided Trinity. 6. The sanctification of the Church by the Holy Ghost, and that without the Church there is no salvation. 7. The consummation of the Church at the general resurrection. The second septenary contains the following articles. 1. The incarnation of Christ by the operation of the Holy Ghost. 2. That Christ was truly born of the immaculate Virgin. 3. The passion of Christ under the tyranny of Pilate. 4. The descent of Christ's spirit into hell in order to complete his victory over the infernal powers. ("*Ad spoliationem tartari.*") 5. His resurrection. 6. His ascension. 7. His coming to judgment. After these two septenaries follows the Decalogue; which is thus explained. 1. All idolatry, or worship of strange gods is forbidden, and by implication, all fortune-telling, charms, and superstitions. 2. It is forbidden to take God's name in vain, and this includes a prohibition of heresy, blasphemy, and perjury. 3. Sundays and holidays are to be duly kept, not however according to the Jewish system, but according to the canonical institutions. 4. Parents are to be honoured, and by implication, spiritual fathers, as Bishops. 5. Murder is forbidden, and by implication, whatever injures others. 6. Forbids

moved the race of clergymen who had resisted the disgusting innovation, and there can be no doubt that care was taken to supply their places

adultery, and at the same time all sins of a similar description. 7. Forbids all stealing, and at the same time all modes of acquiring property by fraud, violence, or usury. 8. Forbids all false witness, and herein all falsehood, especially with any sinister intent. 9. Forbids the coveting of another man's goods; which may be chiefly understood as prohibiting the desire of any Catholic's real estate. (" *In quo mandato implicite inhibetur cupiditas possessionis immobilis Catholici cujuscunque præcipue.*" Innocent III. it may be recollected, had, in his famous fourth Lateran council, devoted to spoliation the properties of such as were pronounced heretics at Rome.) 10. Forbids the coveting of another man's wife, or of any personal property belonging to him. The two Evangelical precepts of charity are the love of God, and that of our neighbour. Under the latter head it is taught, that we are bound to care for our neighbour's salvation more than for our own temporal life. The seven works of mercy are: 1. Feed the hungry. 2. Give drink to the thirsty. 3. Entertain the stranger. 4. Clothe the naked. 5. Visit the sick. 6. Comfort the prisoners. 7. Bury the dead. Of these, the first six are mentioned in St. Matthew, this last in Tobit. The seven mortal sins, are Pride, Envy, Anger, Hatred, Irreligion, (" *Accidia: est tædium boni spiritualis, ex qua homo nec in Deo, nec in divinis laudibus delectatur; ex qua sequuntur ignorantia, pusillanimitas, desperatio, et similia.*") Avarice, and Intemperance. The seven cardinal virtues are Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Temperance, Justice, Fortitude. The seven sacraments have been already mentioned. Of these, it is ordered, that Extreme Unction shall be used to persons no longer possessed of reason, provided that they discovered any care of their salvation while yet in a state of consciousness: it having been found that even one labouring under phrensy, being a son of predestination, (" *si tum sit prædestinationis filius*") has either obtained a lucid interval, or some spiritual benefit, from that unction.

with individuals attached to the new Romish theology. The clergy were also in this, as in other instances, artfully bribed by considerations of interest to support the papal system. Among the matters which men were expected to confess, few were placed in a more heinous light than the invasion of clerical immunities, or the withholding of tythes, and other ecclesiastical dues[1]. It is, however, probable, that nothing tended more effectually to overpower objections against the confessional, than the rapid extension of monkery. England became over-run by begging-friars, who were indefatigable in disparaging the parochial clergy, and who would certainly not fail to represent any member of that body in the most unfavourable light, if he were known to officiate without having

[1] "Sacramentum pœnitentiæ naufragantibus remedium singulare per quorundam simplicium insipientiam sacerdotum debito caret effectu, et qui credunt a fluctibus se eruere, perniciosius in damnationis pelagus demerguntur: dum de facto absolvunt plures quos de jure absolvere nequeunt, vivificantes, ut ait Propheta, propter pugillum ordei, et fragmentum panis, animas quæ non vivunt, utpote absolventes de facto excommunicatos a jure, et præcipue ab Oxoniensi concilio, propter lesionem seu perturbationem ecclesiasticæ libertatis, vel propter consimilia scelera, in eodem concilio simili pœna damnata: seu decimas vel alia jura ecclesiastica detinentes." (Const. Prov. Joh. Peckham, 127.) "Item de furto, rapina, et fraude, *et maxime de decimarum detentione, seu subtractione alicujus juris ecclesiastici diligenter sibi caveant sacerdotes ne aliquibus injungant pœnam nisi cum satisfactione et restitutione facienda injuriam vel damnum passis;* cum non dimittatur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum." (Lindwood, 239.) This constitution was enacted under Walter Reynolds, who was raised to the see of Canterbury in 1313.

submitted to confession[m], or if he connived at any neglect of this newly-discovered sacrament among those who remained satisfied with his ministrations. Sacramental confession when established in England gave rise to the following regulations. In exercising this branch of their duty, clergymen were to station themselves in some place open to observation, especially when receiving the confessions of women; they were to urge the necessity of a full disclosure[n], to ask questions as to the more usual sins, to enquire the particulars of such offences as were revealed to them[o], but not the names of other individuals who might be implicated, with the penitent before them[p]. No parochial minister was to hear confessions from such as did not live in his parish, unless by permission of their own clergyman, or of the bishop. In prescribing penance, priests were to take all the circumstances of the case into consideration; and they were to be careful that no penance should be imposed upon married persons likely to make one

[m] "Nullus in peccato mortali non confessus celebret." Const. Gual. Reynolds ap. Lindwood, 240.

[n] "Aliter enim vera non est confessio." Const. Prov. S. Edmund. Archiep. Cantuar. 144. Edmund was elected to the see of Canterbury in 1234.

[o] This seems at variance with Archbishop Lanfranc's opinion. That prelate says, "Sunt et alii qui studiosissime in confessione facta perquirunt aliorum, quod vitiosissimum nobis videtur esse, quia secundum Papam Gregorium, magnum curiositatis est vitium." Op. 381.

[p] Const. Prov. S. Edm. ut supra.

party suspect the other of some enormous offence[q]. It was recommended that confessions should be made at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, if not oftener, and that the Eucharist should be received at those three seasons. At all events it was enjoined as indispensable, that these two religious observances should be performed at Easter in every year[r].

According to Romish divines, penance consists of four parts, contrition, confession, absolution, and satisfaction. Of these, the two first and the last were pronounced at Trent, to be, as it were, the matter of the sacrament, and absolution its form[s]. In order to prove the necessity of this alleged sacrament, it is very truly declared, that the remedy for sin is to be found alone in the passion of Christ; and it is added, that the virtue of this passion is impressed upon the sacraments. Hence without sacramental acts duly performed if possible, and desired when impracticable, there is no remission of sin[t]. Of such acts it is considered, that Baptism was instituted as the beginning of a Christian life, Penance for its recovery, and the Eucharist for its nourishment[u]. That the Sacrament of penance is an integral part of the new dispensation is inferred from the Baptist's mode of preparing the way for our Lord.

[q] Const. Prov. Simon. Mepham. Archiep. Cantuar. 145. Simon Mepham was elected to the see of Canterbury in 1327.

[r] Lindwood, 248.

[s] F. Paul. 346.

[t] Lindwood, 236.

[u] Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, B. vi. Lond. 1648. p. 19.

"Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand [x]," was the tenour of that holy precursor's preaching. The first word in this text is translated by Romanists, "Do penance," it being asserted by them, that tradition authorises this violent departure from the original language [y]. For the various members of their sacrament of penance Romanists allege the following Scriptural authorities. For contrition, the words of Joel, "Rend your heart [z];" for confession, St. James's direction, "Confess your faults one to another [a];" for satisfaction, the Baptist's rebuke to the Pharisees and Sadducees, "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance [b];" or for "penance," as they understand the word. The power of granting sacramental absolution is supposed to flow from our Lord's address to St. Peter, in which it was said to that Apostle, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven [c]." Contrition is a feeling of grief and shame on a review of offences past, giving birth

[x] St Matt. iii. 2.

[y] "In the Rhenish Testament, which is the English version used by Romanists in this country, this translation is accompanied by the following note on the word penance. *Which word according to the use of the Scriptures, and the holy fathers, does not only signify repentance and amendment of life, but also punishing past sins, by fasting, and such like penitential exercises.*" Bp. Marsh's Comp. View, 31.

[z] Joel ii. 13.

[a] St. James v. 16.

[b] St. Matt. iii. 8.

[c] St. Matt. xvi. 19.

to a steadfast purpose of amendment, and arising in the heart softened by the love of God, and by an humiliating conviction of man's frailty and corruption. Under this feeling, when deep and genuine. it is revealed in Scripture, God may be confidently approached by fallen man. Nor do Romish divines deny, that such is, indeed, the doctrine of God's recorded Word [d]. As, however, in making this admission they are far from intending to invalidate their doctrine of sacramental penance, they clog it by absurdly and gratuitously assuming, that every Christian truly contrite desires to receive absolution from the Church, although by some accident he may chance to miss this satisfaction [e]. But this is so palpable an evasion, that the necessity of their sacrament of penance is maintained upon different grounds. It is alleged, that genuine contrition is probably very rare, and that hence God is disposed mercifully to accept an inferior feeling allied in some manner to it. Attrition is the technical name of this substitute, and by that word is understood such a grief for sin as flows not from the love of God, but from the fear of eternal punishment [f].

[d] "Contrition perfected with charity doth at all times itself reconcile offenders to God, before they come to receive actually the sacrament of penance." Decree of the council of Trent cited by Hooker, *ut supra*, 107.

[e] "Legitima contritio votum sacramenti pro suo tempore debet inducere, atque ideo in virtute futuri sacramenti peccata remittit." Soto ap. Hooker, 110.

[f] "Attritio solum dicit dolorem propter pœnas inferni; dum

Individuals labouring under this feeling, and adopting the courses prescribed by the Roman Church are pronounced entitled to the benefits of scriptural repentance. Of these courses, the first in order is sacramental confession, or the unreserved disclosure to a priest, of every sin, termed mortal by Romanists, even the most secret, which the penitent has committed; and this not so much for the purpose of receiving the advice or consolation of such priest, as for the sake of enabling him to decide judicially upon the degree of punishment which the offences revealed may seem to require [g]. The mind being thus unburthened, absolution follows: this, however, is not considered as declaratory, still less unless an indulgence intervene, as a release from canonical penance. It is understood to be no other than an actual conveyance to the penitent of pardon from the pains of eternal death [h]. But this is all. The sinner is taught, that, although his fears as to final salvation may cease, he has yet to apprehend tem-

quis accedit attritus, per gratiam sacramentalem fit contritus." Id. ap eund. 109.

[g] The council of Trent anathematised in 1551 all who should maintain, "that sacramental absolution is not a judicial act, but a ministry to declare the remission of sins to the believer." F. Paul, 348.

[h] "Thomas dicit quod si ante absolutionem sacerdotalem aliquis non fuisset perfecte dispositus ad gratiam suscipiendam, in ipsa confessione et absolutione sacramentali gratiam consequeretur, si obicem non poneret. Et idem dicit Petrus, qui addit, quod sufficienter contrito datur ibi augmentum gratiæ." Lindwood, 243.

poral punishments as a satisfaction to the outraged justice of God. He is then invited to take an anxious glance at that Utopian region known as purgatory, in which, he is told, all his sins, not duly punished upon earth, are likely to be most abundantly requited. In the hope of escaping from a portion of the horrors which await him, as he believes, in this destined abode of suffering, he is induced to undertake such works as his confessor enjoins under the name of satisfactions. Among these is placed reparation for injuries inflicted upon others; and this is at least a Christian's duty. The same may be said of alms-giving. Nor is fasting without its use in spiritualising the mind of man. When, however, any of these things are enjoined as satisfactions for sin they are calculated to inspire erroneous views of our holy religion. Others of these pretended satisfactions are in themselves entitled only to pity and contempt. Some ridiculous pilgrimage, petty privation, or revolting austerity, offerings made to graven images, a wearisome succession of Latin prayers and addresses to the Virgin repeated by the tale, or other such miserable devices of a grovelling superstition, are not unfrequently prescribed in confession as means of satisfying the justice of God [1]. Painful or irksome, however, as his penance may be found, the tractable Romanist has at last the mortification to discover, that in all probability his temporal sufferings have

[1] Hooker, *ut supra*, 94.

not fully satisfied the justice of offended heaven. The account must be squared in purgatory. Happily for his fears the Pope claims an unlimited authority over this posthumous abode of misery, and that elevated ecclesiastic is inclined to interpose in favour of the tortured ghosts, upon very numerous considerations, some of which are within the reach of almost every man. To the saying of particular prayers is assigned an indulgence for a given number of days [k]. The same privilege is conferred upon all who may visit Rome at the jubilee, and to the observants of numerous other matters patronised by his Holiness. At intervals, also, these preservatives against the fear of purgatory are openly sold [l], and any one of moderate

[k] In an ancient edition of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, several of these grants of indulgences are recorded. We are told, that Celestinus, the Pope, granted three hundred days of pardon to all who should say a subjoined address to the Virgin, in Latin rhyme. In another place we are told that Innocent IV. granted an indulgence to all who should say a particular prayer "at the elevacyon of our Lorde in the masse." Many similar instances follow. From Challoner's "Garden of the Soul," it appears, that English Romanists have regularly the prospect of papal indulgences offered to them at eight different periods in every year. For the attainment of these comforts they are required, in one case, to confess, to receive the Eucharist, to give alms, if they can afford it, and to pray for the Catholic Church and for national prosperity. In another case, they are required to confess, to communicate, to go to mass, and pray for the Church, and to be in readiness of mind to give alms, frequent catechisms and sermons, and afford aid to the sick. In a third case they are required, to confess, communicate, and pray for the propagation of Romanism, vii.

[l] "They have a wonderful pretty example to persuade this

substance who may have neglected during life to secure the Pope's personal interest, has at last the consolation of knowing, that masses, which may be sung at no great expense after his decease, are quite as likely to afford him relief as the direct interference of him who passes for St. Peter's successor, and for the heir to all those exalted privileges assigned to that Apostle by a tradition which many rich, noble, and learned men have pronounced infallible during several centuries. Upon the whole therefore, the doctrine of sacramental penance is a comfortable one for the contemplation of sinful man. He who acknowledges Scripture only as the fountain of religious knowledge, is constrained to feel that until the love and fear of God, impelling him to abhor and forsake his sins, are firmly seated in his heart, the issue of his earthly course can never be regarded without dismay. But the traditionist has much to lull his apprehensions both as to the continuance of his sinful habits, and as to the final condition of his immortal part. He has indeed, to bronze his forehead for a periodical exposure of all that is weak and wicked in his character, to one of like passions and infirmities with himself. To this degrading task, however, he has been trained from infancy, and he finds it so effectual in blunting the stings

thing, of a certain married woman, which, when her husband was in purgatory, *in that fiery furnace, that hath burned away so many of our pence,* paid her husband's ransom, and so of duty claimed him to be set at liberty." Latimer's Sermons. I, 34.

of conscience, that he willingly acquiesces in the practice of it. A fellow-mortal is thus interposed between him and an offended God. It is true, this intermediate-judge admonishes him that it is necessary to forsake iniquity, and to begin a life of goodness; but at the same time, he assures him that his former sins, though confessed merely from habit backed by the fear of eternal misery, are completely blotted out, and that there only remains some temporary suffering still to be undergone. Of this, a portion is imposed upon the spot, and although neither that may be duly performed, and the seeming penitent's whole life may be one long series of periodical confessions and neglected penances slightly chequering a steady career of iniquity, yet he fears no evil. At length, when stretched upon the bed of death, he makes his last confession, attrition, or the fear of everlasting torments having then really disquieted his mind, the priest hears his parting avowal of an irreligious life, absolves and anoints him, puts a consecrated wafer into his mouth, and he dies contented. He does, indeed, believe that purgatory lies before him, but he has not passed all his life, most probably, without gabbling over *Aves* and *Pater-nosters*, by so many scores at a time; he has sometimes eaten fish, or it may be, he has taken only bread and water, when he might have dined much more to his taste; possibly he may have trudged on foot to some celebrated image, and lighted up candles before it, or even provided it with a satin mantle;

he might have embraced an opportunity of travelling to Rome at the jubilee; at all events, it is not likely that he has lost all the opportunities of obtaining a purgatorial furlough which the Pope showers with such liberality on every side[m]; he therefore may fairly calculate, that he will arrive in the region of horrors provided with certificates, entitling him to be released considerably before the time assigned in the regular way to men who have lived as he has. Nor even supposing the Romanist to reach the verge of eternity, under a conviction of having neglected all the various modes prescribed for abridging a residence in purgatory, need he despond, especially if possessed of any property. Posthumous masses, and these are always upon sale, are represented as very effectual for the relief of such as are detained in the Pope's purgatorial territories. Thus it appears, that of all the devices for captivating the heart of worldly men, one has rarely been invented more likely to reach its end than the Romish sacrament of penance. The Pope,

[m] "All is in lieu or exchange with God, whose justice, notwithstanding our pardon, yet oweth us still some temporal punishment, either in this life, or in the life to come, except we quit it ourselves here with works of the former kind, and continued till the balance of God's most strict severity shall find the pains we have taken equivalent with the plagues which we should endure, or else the mercy of the Pope relieve us. And at this postern-gate cometh in the whole mart of papal indulgences so infinitely strewed, that the pardon of sin, which heretofore was obtained hardly and by much suit, is with them become now almost impossible to be escaped." Hooker, p. 94. B. VI.

as absolute monarch of the Utopian kingdom, which upholds the dignity of this sacrament, is enabled to exert a direct influence over the minds of his disciples, and upon favourable occasions, to extract considerable sums out of their pockets. The clergy are enabled to overawe their congregations by constantly prying into the follies, frailties, vices, and private affairs of every individual, by awarding a measure of punishment to his offences, and by holding over his head the terrors of an unseen abode of misery which is represented as placed in a great measure under clerical controul. The apprehensions also of this place which they carefully instil into men's minds, give them great facilities for filling their own purses. All men, likewise, whether clerical or lay, who believe in this Romish sacrament, are more than ordinarily exposed to the temptation of assuming that something very far short of real holiness both in heart and life may safely characterise the Christian. The obvious tendency of this system is to encourage a reliance upon periodical humiliations, ostentatious austerities, frivolous observances, imaginary privileges, and the judgments of fallible fellow-creatures; rather than upon complete moral renovation, fervent but unassuming piety, and an undeviating regard to the declarations of God's undoubted Word.

There have been, however, during every period in the history of papal Rome, individuals attached to her communion, of enlightened minds, and truly Christian principles. It may be asked

why did not these excellent persons come forward, when compulsory confession was no longer imposed upon Englishmen, and express their objections to the system, if indeed it was objectionable? Genuine worth it should be recollected, usually recoils from unnecessary publicity, and prejudices planted during infancy in an honest mind, to which they have rendered no perceptible disservice, are not easily abandoned. The worthy Romanist also might have felt the periodical exposure of his frailties, as a check upon their growth, and never having fairly tried the state in which an Omniscient God is man's only confessor, he might suppose that a penitentiary priest was needed to diminish the sum of human delinquency. Such a man could hardly fail to anticipate, that when clerical influence, hitherto maintained by means of the confessional, over the popular mind, should be extinguished, intolerable licentiousness would be the melancholy consequence. Nor is it even doubtful, that men warped by a Romish education would be liable to suspect the irremissible nature of sin unless through the channel of priestly absolution. Another hold of the confessional upon an enlightened Romanist, is derived from the nature of his public worship, and from many peculiarities in the management of his Church. The clergy of that Church are unfrequent preachers, and the words uttered in their off-recurring ministrations are unintelligible to the great majority of men. Hence if they did not exercise habitually private

means of working upon their congregations, not all the pageantry and melody which commonly mark their public appearance could shield their office from the contempt of every manly mind. Their authentic formularies too are encumbered with a mass of legendary trash, trifling ceremonial, and positions of dubious character at best, calculated to disquiet a serious and enquiring Christian. The private ministrations of an intelligent Romish priest, allow him an opportunity of finding some remedy for these difficulties. The inferior members of his congregation, to whom otherwise he would have been chiefly known as an exhibitant in ceremonies above their comprehension, are thus made to feel the influence of his character. To the more discerning members of his flock, he is thus enabled to supply plausible apologies for existing usages, and specious explanations of their meaning. The confessional, therefore, independently of its tendency to enslave the heart of man, is admirably calculated to support such a system as that of Romanism. It furnishes constant facilities for the supply of an esoteric doctrine to those who are likely to feel staggered and disgusted by the numerous subjects of embarrassment which lie upon the surface of their peculiar system.

It is obvious that the Church of England is above the want of such aids. Her public services are composed in the vernacular tongue, her ceremonies are few and simple, no fictions, or absurdities, or doctrines of dubious origin, and im-

port, embarrass the admirers of her formularies, and her ministers are frequent preachers. But notwithstanding the possession of these advantages, it is imagined by some observers, that she has in fact sanctioned a penitential system very nearly identical with that of papal Rome. This opinion rests upon the fact, that the indicative form of absolution used by the Romish Church, is retained, with some modification in the English office for the visitation of the sick[n]. Now among the Romanists this form is professedly considered as sacramental, and that term too in their Church is of wider import than among Protestants. The sacraments are material significant representations of some spiritual benefit. Thus, as the nature of water is to cleanse substances from external impurity, it is used in the initiation of Christians into their holy profession, as an emblem of God's operation in cleansing from the stain of sin those who at the font faithfully dedicate their future lives to his service. As bread and wine are the ordinary modes of sustaining human life in many regions of the world, these things are used symbolically in that sacrament which was instituted to nourish a Christian's faith, in such a way as to remind him significantly that its virtue is wholly derived from his blessed Master's passion. Technically these substances thus used are called the

[n] "The words, *Who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him*, were inserted by our Reformers. The rest of the form they copied with little variation from the Roman Ritual." Shepherd's Elucidation of the Common Prayer. Lond. 1798. I. 369. Note.

matter of their respective sacraments, and it is a theological canon, that every sacrament must have its appropriate matter. This appellation, accordingly, in the Romish sacrament of confirmation is bestowed upon the chrism with which the bishop makes the sign of a cross upon the foreheads of those presented to him [o]. In matrimony, the ring, in extreme unction, the oil is esteemed the matter. In orders, certain things obtain this name which are delivered into the hands of the persons ordained. Thus, to an ostiary or door-keeper, are delivered the keys of the church; to a reader, the book of lections [p]; to an exorcist, the book of exorcisms, or in its place, a pontifical or missal; to an acolythe; an extinguished candle with its candlestick, and an empty ewer [q]; to a

[o] Addressing the confirmee by his Christian name, he says, "Signo te signo crucis, et confirmo te chrismate salutis. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti: ut replearis eodem Spiritu Sancto, et habeas vitam æternam." A preceding prayer in this service, which is admirably rendered in our own Liturgy, unfolds the sevenfold operation assigned to the Spirit. It is this: "Omnipotens et sempiterne Deus, qui regenerare dignatus es hos famulos tuos ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto; quique dedisti eis remissionem omnium peccatorum: emitte in eos septiforme Spiritum tuum Sanctum, Paracletum de cœlis. Amen. Spiritum sapientiæ et intellectus: spiritum consilii et fortitudinis: spiritum scientiæ et pietatis. Adimple eos spiritu timoris tui." Pontificale. Romæ. 1497. f. 1.

[p] "Lectorem siquidem oportet legere ea quæ prædicat, et lectiones cantare, et benedicere panem, et omnes fructus novos." Ibid. 7.

[q] In common English this kind of minister was called a *colet*. His office was to look after the candles, and to supply the sacra-

subdeacon, an empty chalice with a patin placed upon it, ewers containing wine and water, a bason with a napkin, and a book of the Epistles[r]; to a deacon, a book of the Gospels[s]; to a priest, the chalice containing wine mingled with water, and the patin containing a wafer. Together with the transit of these material objects from the officiating minister to the recipient is conveyed, according to Romish divines, the particular grace appertaining to the sacrament under administration,

mental cup. "Acolitum etenim oportet ceroferarium ferre, luminaria ecclesiæ accendere, vinum et aquam ad Eucharistiam, seu ad mysterium sanguinis Christi ministrare." Ibid 8.

[r] The order of subdeacons is the lowest of the greater orders in the Romish ministry. It is together with the two superior orders of deacons and priests, deemed sacred. No person is to be ordained to the subdiaconate until his eighteenth year, to the diaconate until his twentieth, to the priesthood until his twenty-fifth. The minor orders are not to be conferred before the seventh year. The subdeacon's office is to supply the officiating ministers with such things as are required at mass, and to keep these things clean. "Subdiaconum enim oportet aquam ad ministerium altaris præparare, diacono ministrare, pallas altaris et corporalia abluere, calicem et patenam in usum sacrificii eidem offerre." (Ibid. 11.) The subdeacons appear also to have the office of reading the Epistle publicly conferred upon them, for the bishop, at their ordination delivers the book of Epistles into their hands, with these words, "Accipite librum Epistolarum, et habete potestatem legendi eas in ecclesia sancta Dei, tam pro vivis, quam pro defunctis." Ibid. 12.

[s] A deacon is to baptize, preach, and wait at the altar. "Diaconum enim oportet ministrare ad altare, baptizare, et prædicare." (Ibid. 13.) He is also to read the Gospel, as appears from an address to him at ordination, similar to that used in conferring the subdiaconate.

unless the recipient should voluntarily place some obstacle in its way[t]. In defining the sacramental character of penance, considerable difficulty was found, because the case admits of no transit of any material object from the administrator to the recipient. The only thing resembling it are the words of absolution. But these were wanted for another purpose in order to make the definition of a sacrament complete. For besides the matter, divines require a certain form to distinguish every sacrament. This could alone be found in the words of absolution, and accordingly these have been pronounced at Trent, as they had been by elder divines, the formal part of penance. There being then nothing else remaining, that celebrated council was enforced to declare as the schoolmen had already done, that contrition, confession, and satisfaction constituted, *in a manner*, the matter of their sacrament[u]. Than

[t] A character, it is said, is by means of these sacramental matters imprinted upon the soul, and therefore it is directed in the rubric respecting ordination, that the bishop should admonish the candidates to touch the particular matter when presented to them, and that he should take especial care to see them do so. "Adviset ordinandos, et respiciat quod instrumenta *in quibus character imprimitur*, tangant: neque confidat in ministris, sed et ipse attendat, præcipue circa ordinem sacerdotii, quod in calice sit vinum cum aqua, et super patenam hostia." (Ibid. 3.)

[u] The following are the words of the Trentine decree, as cited by Hooker, (B. vi. p. 21.) "Docet sancta synodus sacramenti pœnitentiæ *formam* in qua præcipue ipsius vis sita est, in illis ministri verbis positam esse, *Ego te absolvo:* Sunt autem *quasi materia* hujus sacramenti ipsius pœnitentis actus, nempe Contritio, Confessio, et Satisfactio."

this decision nothing evidently is less in keeping with the ordinary canons of theology. For here is no appearance even of a material transit from the minister to the individual coming for spiritual aid. Contrition indeed, as well as its allowed substitute attrition, is a mere act of the mind. But it is not for the purpose of exposing its technical inaccuracies, that the Trentine decree demands consideration; it is on account of its developing the doctrine of Romanism as to the remission of sins. It follows then from this decree, that confession is a material, absolution the formal part of that sacrament which is said to have been instituted by Christ for the remission of sins committed after baptism. Grace, it is asserted, is conferred ordinarily only through the sacraments. If therefore, a man have an opportunity of performing sacramental acts, which he neglects, he deprives himself of the particular spiritual benefits appended to these sacraments respectively [x]. If, however, he come to the performance of these acts only willing to receive the benefit of them, though it may be, otherwise unpre-

[x] "Ad hanc (pœnitentiam sc.) *sacramentaliter* subeundam tenetur homo ex necessitate. Omnis enim peccati sive originalis, sive actualis, est remedium passio Christi. Illius autem passionis virtus in sacramentis Ecclesiæ impressa est. *Unde non possumus a peccato sive actuali sive originali sanari sine sacramentorum susceptione; vel in re, quando habetur opportunitas suscipiendi, vel in proposito, cum articulus necessitatis excludit sacramentum*, et non contemptus religionis. Confessio vero pertinet ad sacramentum institutum contra morbum peccati mortalis. *Ideo tenemur confiteri.*" Lindwood, 236.

pared, he will not miss the object which the Church is engaged in dispensing. It follows, therefore, that an individual attending the confessional, though only from the force of habit and the fear of eternal torments, being at the same time desirous of thus having his sins remitted, will not fail of obtaining that benefit; and that a man, voluntarily staying away from confession, although truly repentant, must not expect the pardon of his iniquities because he has omitted the use of that sacramental matter, and turned his back upon that sacramental form to which conjointly Christ has committed the virtue of reconciling sinners to God.

In considering the penitential doctrine of the English Reformers, it is manifest at once, that they differed from the Romanists in a most important point, the necessity of auricular confession. The new Communion-service left a disclosure of sin to their minister, optional with individuals. Nor again is it at all probable, that they considered penance as a sacrament[y]. Nor did

[y] "Our Lord Jesus Christ hath knit together a company of new people, with sacraments most few in number, most easy to be kept, most excellent in signification, as is Baptism and the Lord's Supper." (King Edward's Articles. Collier. Records, II. 77.) This article contains no disclaimer of the five Romish sacraments, as does that framed under Queen Elizabeth, and yet forming an integral part of the doctrinal formularies of the English Church. But the mention of two sacraments only is tolerably conclusive as to the opinion of those who framed the article, upon this subject. All appearance, however, of doubt upon the subject, is avoided by the article as afterwards ar-

their opinions of sacramental benefits coincide with those entertained by Romanists. For our Reformers maintained, that with the transit of the particular matter no grace is received, unless the recipient be worthy [z]. Nor did they admit the virtue of attrition in reconciling offenders to God [a]; or the need of any other satisfaction than

ranged. In that, it is said of the five Romish sacraments, that, "they have not the like nature of sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper; for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God."

[z] "In such only as worthily receive the same, they (the sacraments) have a wholesome effect and operation, and yet not that of the work wrought (*ex opere operato*) as some men speak; which word as it is strange and unknown to Holy Scripture, so it engendereth no godly, but a very superstitious sense." (King Edward's Articles, *ut supra.*) This sentence stands thus in Queen Elizabeth's articles: "In such only who worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect, or operation."

[a] This is sufficiently shewn by the religious formularies of King Henry's reign, in which the parts most completely Protestant may fairly be assigned to Archbishop Cranmer. Now in both the *Ten Articles*, and the *Institution*, the same words occur speaking of contrition alone as the first part of penance. It may, however, be doubted perhaps whether the language used in these cases will not also apply to attrition. But in the *Necessary Doctrine*, all ambiguity upon this subject is precluded by the following passage. "Contrition is an inward sorrow and grief for sin, which every true penitent, called by God's grace, hath by knowledge of the Word of God, whereupon, remembering his own sinful and vicious living, whereby he hath provoked the high indignation and wrath of God; and on the other side, considering the dignity and purity of that state whereunto he was called in Baptism, and his promise made there to God, *the manifold benefits also daily received of God: hereupon the said penitent, moved and stirred with the great love and goodness of God,*

an amended life [b]. The Church of England, then, teaches, that, men need only confess their offences

shewed before towards him on the one party, and his own ingratitude or unkindness towards God on the other party, conceiveth an earnest sorrow for that he hath relinquished so loving a Lord, and an hateful displeasure, that he hath followed sin, and thereby so grievously offended God, of whom he was before called to be in the state of a son, and inheritor with our Saviour Jesus Christ." Formularies of Faith in the reign of King Henry VIII. Oxf. 1825. p. 258.

[b] All the formularies of the late reign are clear upon this subject, and the war successfully waged against the delusive and contemptible satisfactions of Popery, from the first beginnings of the Reformation in England was a great point gained by the friends of Scriptural Christianity. Cranmer, indeed, had brought from the society which he kept in Germany a thorough detestation of these miserable superstitions. It is well observed in the Confession of Augsburg: "Satisfactiones vero obscuraverunt beneficium Christi, quia etiam docti fingunt per eas compensari æternam mortem; indocti putabant his operibus emi remissionem culpæ. Quid quod plerumque fuerint cultus non mandati a Deo, *βαττολογίαι* precum, invocationes sanctorum, peregrinationes, et hoc genus alia?" (Sylloge Confess. 164.) It is afterwards said: (167.) "Nos igitur non oneramus conscientias satisfactionibus, sed illud docemus, fructus pœnitentiæ necessarios esse, obedientiam, timorem Dei, fidem, dilectionem, castitatem, et universam novitatem spiritus debere in nobis crescere." In condemning the satisfactory operation attributed to the mass, the confession uses the following language, (156.) which is worthy of notice, because it developes the peculiarities of the system. "Opinio est sparsa in Ecclesiam, quod cœna Domini sit opus, quod celebratum a sacerdote mereatur remissionem peccatorum, culpæ et pœnæ, facienti et aliis, idque ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis. Item, quod applicatum pro mortuis, sit satisfactorium, hoc est, mereatur eis remissionem pœnarum purgatorii." These words, it should be recollected, were addressed by scholars educated in Romanism to those who still entertained

to God; that, for their reconciliation to him, after alienation by means of iniquity, no particular sacrament has been instituted; that confession, if made, is not the matter, nor absolution, if received, the form of any sacrament; that no sacrament is profitable to those who are not blessed with a true faith; that, if men would escape the punishment of sin, they must shun it from an anxiety to please a God whom they love, not merely be willing to undergo certain penalties in order to disarm the wrath of a God whom they

that persuasion. In both the *Ten Articles* and the *Institution*, penance is said to consist of contrition, confession, and an amended life. In the *Necessary Doctrine*, the term satisfaction is used for the third part of penance; it is, however, thus explained: "To satisfy, as here is meant by satisfaction, is to please God with an humble, lowly heart, ready to bring forth the fruits of penance, and to bring them forth in deed, as in alms, prayer, and fasting, with all such means as may serve for the cutting away of the occasion of sin, as the minister shall think good, according to the Word of God, and with such weeping, lamenting, and wailing, as do burst out of the heart, with a full purpose to lead a new life, and therewith to forgive all men their trespasses, to restore to all men that he hath unjustly taken or retained from them, to recompense all hurts and injuries done by him, according to his ability and power, and as he may; not only to will, but also to do thus to his neighbour, indeed, wherein the neighbour ought to be satisfied." (Formularies of Faith, 260.) The *Ten Articles* and the *Institution* handle this subject in a manner much more clear and decisive. Indeed, the *Necessary Doctrine*, betrays in this, as in some other particulars, evident marks of Romish influence. It does not, however, allow any doubt to be entertained as to the opinion respecting satisfaction which Cranmer held; for he was unquestionably the most active as well as powerful adherent of the scriptural party concerned in the compilation.

fear; and that, he who is reconciled to God needs to attest his altered state only by repairing to the best of his power any injury that he may have done to others, and by leading a life of piety and virtue. On the other hand, the Church of Rome teaches, that confession to a priest, if attainable, is necessary to salvation; that it is the matter, and absolution the form of a divinely-instituted sacrament; that this, like other sacraments, confers grace upon unresisting recipients; that, accordingly, an individual partaking of this sacrament, though only desiring so to do for the sake of escaping eternal perdition, attains that benefit which appears, upon the face of Scripture, to attend genuine contrition alone; and that, after all, besides amending their lives, men must undergo as a punishment for past offences, canonical penances in this world, and purgatorial miseries after death, in proportion to the sins which they have committed, the austerities or the irksome frivolities which they have declined, the papal indulgences which they missed, and the masses which they or their friends may have wanted the means or the inclination to purchase [c].

[c] "They (the Romanists) imply in the name of repentance much more than we do; we stand chiefly upon the due inward conversion of the heart, they more upon works of external shew: we teach above all things that repentance, which is one and the same thing from the beginning to the world's end; they a sacramental penance of their own devising and shaping: we labour to instruct men in such sort, that every soul which is wounded with sin may learn the way how to cure itself, they clean con-

The pivot, in fact, upon which the Romish doctrine turns is, that, without sacerdotal absolution, there is little or no hope for the remission of sins. That such could not be the opinion of our Reformers, is evident from their general neglect of direct absolution. In the daily service a public confession prescribed to the congregation is followed by a declaration that Christian ministers are empowered and enjoined to pronounce an assurance of pardon in cases where true repentance exists. The absolution, however, is represented as God's work, and, in consequence, a prayer is offered up to him for his grace upon the congregation, in order that they may be placed in a condition to receive this mercy. In the Communion service a general confession is succeeded by a precatory form, in which the Divine pardon is merely implored for the assembled communicants. In the order for the visitation of the sick, the minister, after instructing and admonishing him whom he is attending, and diligently examining his faith, is directed to pray for the acceptance of his contrition, and the consequent pardon of his sins. It is, indeed, true that before this prayer, stands a piece allied to the Romish form of absolution. But it is certain, that this, modified as it is, was intended only for occasional use, at the minister's discretion. If a penitent feel his conscience oppressed by any sin of importance, the

trary would make all sores seem incurable, unless the priests have a hand in them." Hooker, B. VI. 82.

clergyman is to say, "Reveal your grief to me." If after such confession, an individual, educated amidst Romish prejudices, should earnestly desire the customary absolution of that Church, his spiritual adviser is authorised in allowing him some such satisfaction, in case he should see him discovering the marks of true contrition. The indicative absolution, therefore, is never to be used by a clergyman of the English Church, unless he should meet with an individual labouring under the pangs of concealed iniquity, unless such person should anxiously require the use of this form, and unless it should be manifest that he is in a state to warrant its use[d]. It is obvious that these three particulars would not concur in all cases even in King Edward's days, when the whole nation was bred up in an anxiety for sacerdotal absolution. Among a people nurtured in scriptural principles, the three requisites which authorise the use of this absolution are most unlikely to concur unless very rarely; and it may be safely presumed, that fifty cases do not occur in all England during the whole year which would warrant a clergyman in pronouncing this form. It was retained, in fact, by our Reformers, not because they held the Romish doctrines respecting the reconciling of penitents, but because their labours

[d] "Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, *if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter.* After which confession, the priest shall absolve him, *if he humbly and heartily desire it.*" Rubric in the office for the visitation of the sick.

were first to take effect among a population which had been imbued from the cradle with such doctrines, and of whom many individuals would encounter their mortal agony in an unsatisfied state of mind, if they had found themselves unable to hear, at the approach of death, that assurance of pardon from the lips of an authorised minister which had calmed the dying moments of their fathers. This period of spiritual blindness has happily passed over as to England, but this indicative form of absolution is, notwithstanding, wisely allowed to hold its accustomed place in the formularies of her Church. Because, although Romanism has long received her mortal wound, she still rears her head erect, and makes vigorous struggles to escape her inevitable fate. Hence, until the period when the Catholic Church shall have wholly ceased to feel her pernicious influence, it is wise to retain a form which may prove essential to the comfort of individuals escaped recently and imperfectly from her insidious toils. But in making this kind provision for the peace of a converted Romanist, the Church of England has taken especial care to guard him from the delusions of that sacramental doctrine in which his prejudices have been formed. She allows him, indeed, to hear the words of absolution positively pronounced by God's accredited agent. These words, however, are introduced by a declaration, that ministers have no power to dispense any such comfort unless to those who truly repent, and believe in the Saviour. Thus is every ap-

pearance of claiming the privilege of converting attrition into contrition, by the Romish operation of a sacramental act, expressly avoided; and the sick man is admonished, that without genuine repentance and faith, his spiritual adviser has no power whatever to pronounce the pardon of his iniquities. Plainly, therefore, the indicative form of absolution, as used in the English Church, is virtually declarative, and nothing more. It is merely intended to assure those, in an authoritative way, who long for such assurance, and whose case, well considered, appears to warrant it, that God is pledged to pardon all true penitents. Than this, nothing can be more decidedly at variance with the Romish doctrine, which represents auricular confession and priestly absolution as integral parts of a sacrament capable by its ordinary operation to procure the pardon of such sinners as must otherwise necessarily be lost [e].

[e] Cranmer early rose superior to his Romish prejudices upon the subject of sacramental penance. Among the replies to various queries upon the sacraments, drawn up in the year 1540, and preserved among the Stillingfleet MSS., which are now at Lambeth, is the following decisive judgment from the Archbishop's pen:—"A man is not bound by the authority of this Scripture, *quorum remiseritis*, and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest; although he may have him." (Burnet Records, I. 344. Collier, Records, II. 52.) Evidently from this passage Cranmer's mind was made up as to denying that the sacerdotal binding and loosing of Scripture has any thing to do with the conversion of attrition into contrition. Unless, however, this be believed, the Romish sacrament of penance falls to the ground. For who would submit to the disgust and degrada-

Whatever satisfaction might be felt by pious minds acquainted with God's recorded word on

tion of exposing all his moral wounds to the prying eyes of another man, perhaps very little worthy of his confidence, unless he considered that man's intervention necessary to procure the pardon of his iniquities? The martyr Tyndale entertained an opinion respecting sacerdotal absolution similar to that of Archbishop Cranmer, as appears from the following passage in his *Obedience of a Christian Man*:—"St. Hierom saith, as the priest of the old law made the lepers clean or unclean, so bindeth and unbindeth the priest of the new law. The priest there made no man a leper, neither cleansed any man; but God: and the priests only judged by Moses's law who was clean and who was unclean, when they were brought unto him. So have we the law of God to judge what is sin and what is not, and who is bound and who is not. Moreover, if any man have sinned, yet if he repent and believe the promise, we are sure by God's word, that he is loosed and forgiven in Christ. Other auctority then this wise to preach have the priests not. Christ's Apostles themselves had no other, as appeareth thorow all the New Testament. Therefore, it is manifest that they have not." From the saving clause inserted in the absolution allowed to sick penitents, it is evident, that our Reformers held opinions upon this subject in unison with those of Tyndale. Bishop Jewell defines the power of the keys to be nothing more than the knowledge of Scripture, and the privilege of awarding ecclesiastical censures. "Claves autem quibus aut claudere regnum cœlorum, aut aperire possint, ut Chrysostomus ait, dicimus esse scientiam Scripturarum: ut Tertullianus, esse interpretationem legis: ut Eusebius, esse verbum Dei." (Apolog. Eccl. Angl, Oxon. 1639, p. 52.) Clergymen, then, are said to hold the keys of God's kingdom, because in them is vested of right the power to exclude from the public means of grace notorious offenders, and to re-admit such, upon sufficient satisfaction, into the bosom of the Church: also because it is their duty to study with diligence, and with daily prayers for God's blessing, the terms upon which sinful man may be reconciled to his Maker. It is by faithfully communicating

the appearance of the new Communion-office, it was soon alloyed by a sense of mortification. That appetency, which is the incurable disease of sordid and vulgar minds, eagerly marked out, as lawful plunder, costly articles hitherto used in religious worship, but now thought likely to be no longer needed for such a purpose. Accordingly, bells, chalices, silver crosses, and other objects of a similar description, began rapidly to disappear from the repositories to which they had been consigned. In order to stop this disgraceful rapacity, a letter was sent on the last

this divine knowledge to their congregations, that the ministers of Christ's Church unlock the gates that open into the heavenly city; not by raking amidst men's deeds, words, and thoughts of shame, in order to make them believe, that certain words spoken by a priest, certain austerities, or stupidities accomplished by themselves, and certain privileges to be obtained from an Italian bishop, will infallibly wash away the stain of iniquity. Before this subject is dismissed, it may be desirable to cite one authority more, that of the learned and excellent Hooker. He says, "As for the ministerial sentence of private absolution, it can be no more than a declaration of what God hath done: it hath but the force of the Prophet Nathan's absolution, *God hath taken away thy sin.*" (Eccl. Pol. B. VI. 99.) See also Latimer's Sermons, II. 228.

For the length of this digression concerning confession and absolution, some apology is due to the reader. It is, however, hoped that this matter may not be without its use. The subject itself is important, from its prominence in the Romish system, and it is useful to know the sentiments of our reformed Church upon it, because she has been represented as holding, in this respect, principles in unison with those which she found established in England. A representation more utterly groundless was never made.

day of April, from the Protector and the Council, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, commanding him to apprise all persons entrusted with the care and control of churches, that any embezzlements or unauthorised alienations of the property provided for divine service, would be visited by the King's highest displeasure[f]. Another gross indecency called, about this time, for the interference of the government. Romish places of worship are usually left open, for the purpose of allowing men to offer up their prayers within a few paces of the pix, which, as ever containing consecrated wafers, is thought to enclose an incarnation of the Deity. In a coarse and unruly age, it may readily be supposed, that even before the sanctity of these diminutive cakes was ordinarily called in question, the open churches would occasionally become the scenes of wanton folly or brutal outrage. But when an opinion was generally spread abroad, that the high and mighty God "dwelt not in the temples made with hands[g]," and that the Holy One who was to see no corruption[h] could not reside in a petty preparation of baked meal which would be mouldy in a month; those who, from levity, or ill-regulated zeal, were prone to unseemly acts, hastened to insult the places for which reverence had been claimed upon grounds so palpably untenable. In London, especially, which, from its size, contained a numerous unruly

[f] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 252.
[g] Acts vii. 48.
[h] Ibid. ii. 27.

populace, and of which the inhabitants, being better informed than the rustics, were more alive to the corruptions of Popery than they, shameful outrages took place in churches. They became the scenes of quarrelling, riot, and even bloodshed, horses and mules were led into them, guns were discharged within their walls, and a hideous spirit of profanation began to stalk among the unthinking multitude. For the sake of removing from the Reformation the stain of such glaring scandals, a royal proclamation forbade all irreverent acts in edifices assigned to public worship, under pain of his Majesty's indignation, and of imprisonment[1].

But much more than by these sallies of rude licentiousness, were individuals of sound religious principles now disquieted by the growth of pestilent opinions engendered from the unwonted liberty of conscience so freely conceded to all men. When the sensible austerities of Romanism were held up to merited contempt, spiritual pride was driven into another direction. That seductive species of fanaticism, which leads men to value themselves upon imaginary religious privileges, sprung up in spirits fitted for its nurture.

[1] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 251. "It is observed in the Register-book of the parish of Petworth, that many at this time affirmed the sacrament of the altar to be of little regard, that in many places it was cast out of the church, and many other great enormities committed; which they seconded by oppugning the established ceremonies; as holy water, holy bread, and other usages of the seven sacraments." Heylin, Hist. Ref. 63.

Men were found to arise from the perusal of Scripture, not impressed with an humble conviction, that eminent spiritual advantages impose the duty of more than ordinary circumspection, but with crude notions of extraordinary privileges conferred upon God's elect; a designation which readers of that cast never fail of applying to themselves. It was also taught by some ill-informed or ill-judging preachers and writers, that the elect did not, and could not sin; that the regenerate never fall from godly love; and that the elect have a right to take so much of this world's goods as will supply their necessities. Doctrines like these which nourish spiritual pride, and an indifference to moral restraints, which encourage idleness by asserting the right of certain favoured individuals to the rewards of industry, though shunning honest endeavours to obtain them, will never want converts so long as the world contains supercilious enthusiasts, and idle hypocrites. It is, however, the duty of those who form the moral and intellectual strength of a country to stand forward as the opponents of such pestilent assumptions; and it is the duty of such as guide the national affairs to restrain by means of penalties, if necessary, the dissemination of principles injurious to the peace of society. Such restraint was now imperiously demanded. Not only was the Reformation exposed to unmerited obloquy from the conflicting or the pernicious tenets advanced by persons who had turned their backs upon Romanism, but the excited passions of the

populace afforded a specious colour to those who were ever misrepresenting the religious changes in agitation, or actually effected. The contempt heaped upon Romish doctrines had even afforded a pretence to youthful petulance, and vulgar insolence, to insult the clergy as they walked along the streets of London. Wanton apprentices and servants, on meeting men in clerical or scholastic habits, jostled them, knocked their caps from off their heads, and tore their tippets from their shoulders. It had been found necessary to repress this disposition to daring outrage by a royal proclamation, issued in the last November [k]. But, as must be inferred from the manner in which churches were now profaned, the grosser elements of society were still in a most unsettled and unsatisfactory state respecting their religious principles. It was, therefore, deemed desirable to repress the dissemination of wild and heterodox opinions, by allowing none to preach unless they were notoriously guided by a sound discretion. All clergymen, accordingly, were inhibited from the delivery of sermons without being licensed for that purpose by the Protector, or the Archbishop of Canterbury [l]. The royal proclamation, imposing this restraint upon the pulpit, also commanded the bishops to punish by ecclesiastical

[k] Extracts from the Proceedings of Privy Council, from the year 1545 to the year 1558, by H. Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. From the Archæologia. Lond. 1815. p. 9.

[l] "By proclamation, bearing date the 24th of April." Heylin, Hist. Ref. 60.

law an offence unhappily now beginning to disgrace the kingdom in consequence of that uncertainty respecting religion which generally prevailed. Hypocritical sensualists, or ignorant enthusiasts, were found to maintain, that the existing laws prohibiting divorce and polygamy were mere devices of papal tyranny, unsanctioned by Scripture, and hence upon the point of being justly disclaimed by the English legislature. Some profligate or silly persons acted upon this monstrous assumption, and the Reformation was exposed to the infamy of being cited as an authority for their proceedings, by men who took upon themselves to dismiss their wives, or to invest a mistress with the conjugal character [m].

From an attention to these excesses so injurious to the credit of their principles and labours, the leading Reformers were in some measure called off by political affairs. On the 6th of May an order of council was transmitted to the several prelates [n] enjoining them to circulate among their clergy a prayer for peace and victory; which was to be used instead of one of the collects, on every Sunday and holiday during the continuance of hostilities. These appeared far from likely to be soon concluded, as the French party had gained a complete ascendancy in the councils of Scotland. The clergy of that country naturally dreaded and detested their innovating southern neighbours,

[m] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 142.
[n] Ibid. II. 166. Mem. Cranm. 253.

the Queen-dowager still fondly clung to a close alliance with her native land, and even those among the nobles who would have been glad to see peace re-established between the two British nations were not unaffected by that cruel policy of England which was ever threatening devastation to the northern kingdom. Advantage was taken of this general hatred and irritation to propose that the infant Queen should be sent to France for education and protection. A measure so decisive was, however, at first by no means generally approved. It was represented, that the hostilities of England having no other ostensible object than the union of the whole island by a marriage between its two young sovereigns, it would be wretched policy to render that union utterly hopeless, and thus provoke such an invasion as Scotland might prove unequal to resist. On the other hand it was urged, that so long as Mary remained at home the English would never cease to harass their northern neighbours with attempts to gain possession of her person, or at all events to overrule her people's policy; but that, if the French alliance were once irreversibly adopted, the court of London would desist from wasting the resources committed to its management upon mere projects of subjugation. To this view of the case a majority of the leading Scots inclined, being enflamed by national rivalry, and corrupted by French gold. The infant Mary, accordingly, left her native land, and after encountering some dangers at sea, reached the shores

of France. Soon after her arrival upon the continent, she was betrothed to the Dauphin, and the politics of her father-in-law were efficiently supported in her hereditary kingdom by a formidable band of French auxiliaries commanded by an officer of reputation named d'Essé. Somerset, who was pressed on all sides by domestic difficulties, would have gladly concluded a truce of ten years with the northern nation, but his proposal was rejected, because he refused to surrender the Scottish fortresses occupied by England. The Earl of Shrewsbury then crossed the border at the head of about fifteen thousand men; three thousand of whom were Protestant German mercenaries. A series of military operations followed, of which, as was generally the case in the wars between England and Scotland, the sole results were enflaming national animosity, and causing individual misery. When the campaign closed, it was found, that nothing decisive had been accomplished [o].

During the course of these events, dissensions among the people, arising from the unsettled state of religion, kept the English government in a constant state of uneasiness. Ecclesiastics attached to the principles in which they had been bred had become generally apprehensive of some important change, and hence were much upon the alert to strengthen Romish principles among their congregations. As usual the confessional

[o] Hume. Hayward, 291. Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 137.

was pressed into this service, and such as chose to disburthen their consciences by its means commonly retired from it with an increased antipathy against farther alterations in the Church[p]. This spirit naturally became an object of anxious ob-

[p] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 141. "In this earshrift (auricular confession) are wrought their malicious mysteries. In it the poor simple creatures are taught to delight in ignorance, and to beware of the reading or hearing of the Scripture in the English tongue, contrary to Christ. John v. In this secret school are they confirmed in the hope of the Pope's pardons to be set abroad, again contrary to Christ in Matt. xxiv. Here are they instructed to believe, that your masses and diriges are meritorious both for the quick and dead, contrary to the ix. and x. chapters of St. Paul to the Hebrews. Here are they commanded to multiply prayers, and to repeat our Lady's Psalter upon their beads. Or if they dare not occupy beads, to number their prayers upon their fingers, contrary to Christ, Matt. vi. Here learn they to put difference between day and day, and meat and meat, contrary to Paul, in the second chapter to the Colossians. Here are they taught to worship God in images, the making and having whereof is not only forbidden, but also accursed of God himself in the xiv. chapter of the Book of Wisdom, and in the xxvii. of Deuteronomy. In this hell-house are the simple people taught to earn heaven by their will-works: as by building and enriching of abbeys, by founding of chantries and anniversaries, by painting and gilding of posts, and by giving of bell, book, chalice, and other ornaments, as you (Shaxton) call them, to your Turkish temples, contrary to the Lord's express commandment, Deut. chap. v. Here are they taught to think themselves well enough, and their consciences clean discharged of all sin whereof they have made relation to the priests, though they never felt any part of true repentance, but do incontinent (immediately) return to their old vice, as the sow to the puddle, and the dog to his vomit, contrary to Peter in the second chapter of his second epistle." Crowley's Confutation of Shaxton's Articles. Lond. 1548.

servation with the ministry, and the movements of Bishop Gardiner in particular were narrowly watched. That influential prelate, when relieved from restraint at the close of winter, had retired to Winchester, and rumour charged him with assuming there a very dangerous character. He was said to have taken measures secretly for arming his household, as if in expectation of some commotion[q]; to have used the prohibited superstitions of passion-week; to have spoken injuriously of the royal chaplains who were sent to preach in his cathedral; and to have kept alive in the pulpit the popular ferment engendered by the Eucharistic question. In consequence of these reports, he received orders to present himself immediately before the council. He replied, that his health would not then allow him to travel on horseback, and upon this representation he was permitted to postpone his journey for a time. His conduct, however, still, appears to have been considered unsatisfactory, and his plea of ill-health exaggerated, if not fictitious. Accordingly, three days before Whitsuntide, was transmitted to him another order to attend the council; which he obeyed without delay; travelling to London in a horse-litter. When arrived in the council-chamber, the members of the board received him courteously, and upon a footing of perfect equality, conversing with him individually before the busi-

[q] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 109. Of this charge, however, no notice is taken in Bishop Gardiner's own account.

ness for which they had come together was entered upon. This in due time was explained by Somerset from a paper. Gardiner, in vindication of himself, asserted, that he had not borne palms, or crept to the cross, during the last passion-week; and that as for preparing a sepulchre, with some other kindred ceremonies, he had only acted as he considered himself bound by his Majesty's proclamation. Of his attack upon the King's chaplains he gave some explanation, which is lost. He was then charged with having uttered in the pulpit contemptuous insinuations against the council, saying that, "the Apostles went from the presence of the council, the council, the council." This he flatly denied, adding, that such iterations were never used by him in his sermons. It was next objected to him, that he had preached upon the Eucharist, and declared that the body of Christ was really present in that sacrament; the word *really* not being so applied in Scripture. "This," he answered, "is not the fact. I never used that word, but I allow myself to have taught the same doctrine that my Lord of Canterbury maintained at the trial of Lambert." He concluded his defence by protesting himself to be actuated by an habitual desire to obey the ruling powers, and by a declaration, that he had taught the people of his diocese to suffer patiently the pleasure of those who were in authority, as being an important part of a Christian's duty. But however the Bishop might represent his instructions to the people under his guidance, it is evident, that the

council looked upon them in no very favourable light: for Somerset said to him, "Ye must tarry in town, my Lord." At this order Gardiner demurred, because, he said, it looked as if he were considered an offender; but he expressed his willingness to take up his abode within a short distance of London, if a house could be found for his accommodation. The Protector said, that if he had any such house himself, it should be at his Lordship's service, but as there seemed no chance of thus promoting his convenience, he must retire to his ordinary town-residence in Southwark, and there write a statement of his opinion respecting ceremonies. Gardiner then withdrew, apparently disposed to acquiesce in such arrangements as should be prescribed by the constituted authorities; a disposition then of great importance, as the popular mind generally was in a state of violent agitation, and as he was looked up to by the whole Romish party. For the purpose of silencing the clamours of that party, it was then thought desirable to exhibit their able champion, publicly in the pulpit, as a pattern of that loyal obedience which he professed. Accordingly Cecil, then secretary to the Protector, and afterwards so advantageously known as prime minister to Queen Elizabeth, waited upon the Bishop, and proposed him, by Somerset's desire, that he should preach a written sermon before the King according to the tenour of two papers which were produced. Gardiner expressed his readiness to preach, and also to comment upon most of the subjects re-

commended to him, but he refused to write his sermon and hand it over for previous inspection, or even to use in the pulpit the matter offered to him. The subjects of which he was required to treat, were a vindication of King Henry's ecclesiastical proceedings, a censure of the silly ceremonies and legendary trash of Popery, a declaration that a minor sovereign's government ought to be obeyed no less implicitly than that of an adult, an admission that auricular confession was a matter of indifference, and an argument to prove that the common prayer ought to be in English. It appears, that he declined to pledge himself as he was desired, and in consequence he was afterwards called to another interview with Somerset. He was then treated with great civility, and certain legal opinions were shewn to him as to the bounds between royal and episcopal privileges; but he seems to have had some reason given to him for believing that he would not be suffered to return home until he should be more explicit as to the matter of his intended sermon. After some reflexion upon his situation, he was again admitted to an audience of the Protector, when he undertook, probably in a general manner, to discourse upon the points prescribed to him, with the exception of such ceremonies and other absurdities as had been named. These he affected to treat as children's toys, and he said, that if he should inveigh against them in the pulpit, his enemies would not fail to observe of him; "This man's head runs upon nothing so much as cere-

monies. "When there was a plenty of such things, he constantly preached about them; and now they are gone, he babbles about them still." Having thus accounted for his intended silence upon a subject which no wise man would willingly undertake to defend in public, and which no skilful Romish partizan would venture openly to attack; because he would thereby shock the superstitious multitude; the wary prelate took his leave. He had chosen for the delivery of his sermon the twenty-ninth of June, being the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul[r]. The Gospel for that day, he said,

[r] Although St. Paul's name is joined with St. Peter's in the designation of this festival, the service chiefly relates to the latter Apostle, whose importance is so excessive in the eyes of a Romanist. St. Peter also furnishes the papal Church with a holiday on the first of August, known in her calendar as the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*, and celebrated, probably in remembrance of St. Peter's miraculous deliverance from the *chains* to which he was consigned by Herod. (Acts xii.) The Breviary, however, tells us, that some people say this festival was instituted in honour of a cure wrought upon a young Roman lady, named Balbina. This damsel being afflicted by a *goitre*, went often to the prison and kissed the chains of Alexander, Bishop of Rome, who was then in confinement there, *for the sake of recovering her health*, ("*scilicet ob gratiam recuperandæ sanitatis.*") Alexander told her, that she had better seek St. Peter's chains. She did so, and having found them, she kissed them, and immediately got rid of the *goitre*. ("*Quas deosculans, puella præfata illico integram recepit sanitatem.*") The Gospel for both St. Peter's days is taken from the 16th chap. of St. Matt. 13, *et seq.* and the whole service is intermingled with sentences respecting the power of binding and loosing conferred upon that Apostle. The manner in which Romanists explain these privileges, and the dignitary to whom they now assign them, are sufficiently well known.

was well adapted for suggesting such topics as he would have to handle. Before the time arrived Cecil came to him again, and reminding him, that he had said in a former conversation, "A sovereign at one year old, is as much a king as at a hundred," suggested the propriety of introducing some such matter in his sermon. Gardiner, however, said, that such instruction was superfluous since every body knew the fact. On another day Cecil brought to the Bishop some notes in Edward's hand, from which appeared that young Prince's uncommon attention to what he heard, especially if it related to royalty. "I am, therefore," added the Secretary, "commissioned to desire, that if your Lordship should inculcate the duty of obeying the King, you will add to the mention of his name, that of his council." To this Gardiner made no reply, but shifted the conversation to some other subject; because, according to his own account, he had to prove the kingly power from Scripture, and he was unable to define from the same authority, how far that power might be delegated to a council. On the Wednesday afternoon, preceding the Friday on which he was to preach, Cecil paid another visit to the Bishop, and particularly advised him, in Somerset's name, to say nothing about the mass: a recommendation, indeed, already made to him in those written instructions for his sermon which were tendered to him at first. On hearing this counsel verbally repeated, Gardiner looked displeased, and as if he did not thoroughly understand what

the speaker meant. "My object is to keep your Lordship from agitating any doubtful matters," said Cecil. "What doubtful matters can you be thinking of?" asked the Bishop. "Why, transubstantiation:" was the reply. "Oh, as for that, Mr. Cecil," rejoined Gardiner, "you do not rightly understand what transubstantiation means. I shall preach the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the Sacrament. This is no doubtful matter, nor controverted of any except of a few ignorant men who say they know not what. I must also speak of the mass, upon which, I think it important, that his Majesty should know my sincere opinion. This opinion, therefore, I should certainly utter, even if I knew, that I must be hanged for my honest zeal immediately after leaving the pulpit[*]. The mass, indeed, is the chief foundation of our religion. Without it we cannot know, that Christ is our sacrifice, and it is now the subject of so much conversation, that if I were to pass it over in silence, I know what people would think of me. I shall, however, speak the truth, and have no fear as to giving general satisfaction. But I cannot take my leave of you, Mr. Cecil, without expressing my concern to see my Lord Protector meddle with these matters of religion. They should be left to us bishops, so that if any blame be incurred by what is done in them, it should be wholly thrown upon our shoulders." By Cecil's relation of this

[*] Bp. Gardiner's relation. Foxe, 1231.

conference, the Protector appears to have been much disquieted; and accordingly on the following afternoon he wrote to Gardiner, enjoining him in the King's name, to say nothing of the mass, as being a subject then keenly debated among the people, and necessarily reserved for a public consultation. As for his own interference in religious affairs, Somerset desired the Bishop to understand, that he considered it no small part of his charge to bring the people from ignorance to knowledge, and from superstition to true religion. "To determine articles of faith," he added, "I presume not, but when bishops and learned men have decided upon the truth, I will not suffer you, and a few others, from wilful headiness to withstand it[t]." On the following morning, the dignified and eloquent champion of Romanism ascended the pulpit. His text was St. Peter's confession[u]. In his sermon[x] he said, that the papal supremacy was justly abolished, monasteries and chantries properly suppressed; that the King's proceedings hitherto were unexceptionable; that images, with proper caution, might have been retained, but that, all things considered, they were as well removed; that masses satisfactory, having become so very numerous, were better put down; that

[t] The Protector to Bp. Gardiner. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 212.

[u] "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," St. Matt. xvi. 16.

[x] "Of which I have seen large notes." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 112.

the new Communion-service was worthy of commendation; and that the admission of the laity to the sacramental cup was a proper measure. Of so many concessions, however, he spoiled the effect by maintaining transubstantiation at considerable length. He thus excited violently the passions of his auditory, and among both the Reformers and the Romanists present there were found individuals who revealed the particular bias of their sentiments by open demonstrations of feeling. As to the authority vested in the council of a minor king, the sermon was silent. This omission gave great offence, and, it may be, caused some embarrassment to those in authority; for it was now commonly said by the Romanists, that the royal supremacy admitted not of delegation while the king was under age, and that consequently, a council of Regency was competent only to provide for the continuance of such ecclesiastical arrangements as it found established[y]. It is hardly to be supposed, that a prelate of Bishop Gardiner's discernment had espoused an opinion so absurd, but at the same time, he was not the man to stand forth and contradict an impression calculated to promote his own objects. It was, probably, unwise to impose upon him such a task. The time, however, was eminently critical. The Bishop of Winchester was considered as the head of a party discontented, suspicious, and irritated, which constituted a great majority of the nation.

[y] Ibid. 113.

His name was bandied about in ballads, plays, and poems, as the main-stay of English Romanism[2]. The council, therefore, seems to have thought, that the least he could do by way of counterbalancing the mischievous opinions circulated, as it was presumed, with his approbation, was to declare publicly his dislike of such delusions. He chose, however, to give them encouragement by wholly omitting to mention them; and at the same time to enflame the popular mind by committing himself decidedly upon the much agitated question of transubstantiation. Pressed as was the government on all sides at that time, it was not thought advisable to pass over this conduct without notice. Accordingly on the afternoon of the day following that signalised by the delivery of Bishop Gardiner's sermon, Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Sir Ralph Sadler, attended by a detachment of the guard, made their appearance at Winchester-House. The gentlemen were ushered into the distinguished owner's study, where they found him. "My Lord," said Sadler, "ye preached yesterday about obedience, but ye forbore to obey yourself." "Wherein, Sir Ralph?" asked the Bishop. "Touching my Lord of Somerset's letter:" was the reply. "Master Sadler," rejoined Gardiner, "pray you tell his Grace, I could wish, as a friend, that he would make no mention of that letter. I was minded, on receiving it, to have written in reply; and here you may see how

[2] Bp. Gardiner's relation. Foxe, 1231.

I began." A conversation followed which has not been preserved, but its drift evidently was to obtain some concession from the Bishop; which he appears to have parried in his usual way by evasive protestations. At last he said, "I will not spend many words with you, for I cannot alter this determination. And yet, in good faith, my manner to you, and this declaration, may have this effect, that I be gently handled in the prison. For that purpose, I pray you, make suit on my behalf." Sir Anthony Wingfield then stepped forward, and laying his hand on Gardiner's shoulder, arrested him in the King's name, on a charge of disobedience. "Whither must I go?" asked the Bishop. "To the Tower, my Lord:" was the reply. "Well, be it so," rejoined the prisoner; "but I hope, that I shall shortly be admitted to a hearing, and thus allowed an opportunity of urging what I have to say in my defence. Pray you, Sirs, be my suitors for this grace." The knights undertook to render him this service, and he was immediately conveyed to his gloomy prison[a]. This transaction bears upon its face an

[a] Ibid. 1232. Bp. Godwin seems to have considered, that the ostensible cause of Gardiner's committal was, principally, if not entirely, his agitation of the Eucharistic question. "Cum disertis verbis ei interdictum est, ne de Eucharistia verba faceret, gnarus ille nihil adhuc ea de re legibus definitum, Christi in Sacramento præsentiam corporalem et realem, (Papisticam inquam illam, ne dicam Capernaiticam,) adeo laboriose astruxit, ut plurimorum animos ac senatorum præsertim regiorum gravissime offenderit. Ob hoc delictum conjectus est in carcerem." (Annal. 90.) Somerset's letter, which is highly creditable to him,

appearance of inexcusable harshness and illegality. But it should be recollected, that in those days the crown assumed a degree of arbitrary power which happily it no longer claims, and that hence men were expected to receive the mandates of their sovereign with an implicit deference now only paid to existing laws. It must also be observed, that we probably possess very imperfect means of judging as to Bishop Gardiner's case. The most full and authentic particulars of it are those which he drew up himself, but such a document is certain to contain no hint of suspicious circumstances incapable of legal proof, or of dangerous acts so contrived as to elude a prosecution. Yet the government might be acquainted with such things, and might be well aware, that its stability was hopeless, or at all

relates to little more than the Eucharistic question, and Gardiner's own account states that his disobedience to this letter was alleged as the reason of his imprisonment. The Protector desires him to abstain from treating of "the Sacrament of the altar, and the mass; as well that his private argument and determination thereof might offend the people naturally expecting decisions of litigious causes, and thereby discord and tumult arise; the occasions whereof we must necessarily prevent and take away; as also for that the questions and controversies rest at this present in consultation, and with the pleasure of God, shall be, in small time, by public doctrine and authority, quietly and truly determined." Afterwards he desires the preacher "only to bestow his speech in the expert explication of the articles prescribed to him, and in other wholesome matter of obedience to the people, and good conversation and living; the same matters being both large enough for a long sermon, *and not unnecessary for the time.*"

events, that its actual policy must be abandoned, unless the Bishop of Winchester would openly discourage the discontented party; or unless he should be wholly removed from observation, and prevented from communicating with those who looked up to him as the regulator of their religious and political conduct.

In the course of this summer, Archbishop Cranmer visited his diocese, and from his articles of enquiry an additional evidence is supplied of the heats then generally prevailing upon the subject of religion. Of the clergy it was enquired, among other matters, whether they preached four times in every year against the Pope's supremacy, and in support of the King's; whether they used the collects praying for his Majesty, or omitted to mention him by name; whether they had removed from their churches, and destroyed all images, shrines, and monuments of feigned miracles, idolatry, and superstition; whether they preached, at least once in every quarter, upon the necessity of such good works as are enjoined in Scripture, and upon the folly of praying upon beads, with other such will-worship devised by the fancies of men; whether they had recited in English, immediately after the Gospel, when there was no sermon, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments; whether they had taught the people, that the observance of Lent, and of other fast-days, was a mere positive law; whether they had exhorted their parishioners to pray rather in English, than in an unknown tongue; and whether they

had expunged from the service-books all mention of the Pope, and of Becket, together with all rubrics promising pardons and indulgences[b]. Concerning the laity it was enquired, whether any hindered the reading or preaching of God's Word in English; whether any left the Church when the English service began; whether bells were rung during its celebration; whether beds were sprinkled with holy water, or holy bread was carried about; whether private holidays were kept by tradesmen[c]; whether such as understand no Latin said their prayers in English, according to the directions in the Primer; whether there were any talking and jangling in churches when homilies or English prayers were read, or when sermons were preached; whether any contemned their parish Church, and went elsewhere; whether any refused the sacraments at the hands of married priests; and whether any kept in their own houses undefaced, images, pictures, or monuments of feigned miracles[d]? From these enquiries, therefore, it must be inferred, that there were individuals who staid in church to hear the old Latin mass, and left it at the commencement of the new English service; and that there were

[b] A collection of these indulgences, made from the Romish service-books anciently used in England, may be seen in Bp. Burnet's Records, Hist. Ref. II. 205.

[c] In honour, probably, of him who was esteemed the patron-saint of their particular occupation. Such holidays, it may be recollected, had been abolished in the last reign.

[d] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 259.

others who remained in it only to interrupt and insult this office by holding conversations, jangling bells, and committing similar indecencies. For wanton follies of this latter kind, numbers of unruly youths, and ill-judging men are, indeed, ever ripe, be the pretence what it may. Nor commonly do they fail of receiving some encouragement to their outrages, from indiscreet and intemperate partizans who stand apparently aloof. But such caution is rarely found sufficient to shield a cause from the infamy brought upon it by unworthy auxiliaries. The priest or gentleman known to regard with secret exultation the indecent interruption of a service which he notoriously detested, would not fail of being represented by disingenuous adversaries as a fair sample of the character engendered by Romish principles.

While, however, some of the more bigoted Romanists adhered pertinaciously to the forms amidst which their minds had attained maturity; there were, on the other hand, ecclesiastics whose reforming zeal outran the cautious movements of the government. Already was it enjoined, that the creed, the Lord's Prayer, the ten commandments, the litany, and the office for administering the Eucharist, should be read in English. But these concessions fell greatly short of many clergymen's desires, and in their eagerness to edify their congregations by such devotions as might affect the understanding, individuals ventured, upon their own responsibility, to dispense entirely

with the accustomed services, and to supply its place by public devotions of their own contrivance [e]. These liberties were condemned by the government as unauthorised innovations; but since so many of the opposite party were found always upon the watch for expedients to evade every measure of reform; it was not thought reasonable to deal severely with indiscreet Protestants. As the most effectual means of terminating the dissentions and irregularities which prevailed, it was determined, that a new service-book should be compiled with as little delay as possible, and that an obedience to its provisions should be rigidly exacted from all, under authority of Parliament. The divines charged with this important labour assembled in May [f], and they appear to have spent the summer in enquiry and consultation. On the first of September, having probably made the arrangements necessary for completing their task, they were introduced into the royal presence, and enjoined by Edward, to prepare orders for daily prayers, for administering the sacraments, and for all the other public offices of religion [g]. It is believed, that the individuals charged with this new commission, were the same prelates and divines that had been employed in preparing the English Communion-service recently published [h]. If such, however, be the fact, it seems probable, that several of the parties appointed eventually refused to co-operate in the

[e] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 134.
[f] Ibid. 133.
[g] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 64.
[h] Ibid.

work. The Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Durham, and some others of the episcopal order, named in the former commission, have never been thought to have taken any share in compiling the new Liturgy. Of the six other bishops[i] usually considered to have lent their aid in this compilation, three protested against the bill for receiving it. Six inferior divines[k] are also reported to have been employed in this affair, but of these, two are thought to have disapproved what was produced. In the statute for authorising the new Liturgy, the Archbishop of Canterbury alone is expressly mentioned. His assistants are merely designated as "most learned and discreet bishops, and other learned men of the realm[l]." That the prelates so characterised, were Ridley, Goodrich, and Holbeach, is highly probable, both because they have been long placed among our illustrious liturgic compilers, and because they professed principles purely scriptural[m]. Nor, for the same reasons, can it

[i] Day, Goodrich, Skip, Holbeach, Ridley, and Thirlby. (Fuller, 386.) The protesting bishops were Thirlby, Skip, and Day. (Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 134.)

[k] May, Taylor, Heynes, Robertson, Redmayn, Cox. (Fuller, *ut supra*.) The Doctors Robertson and Redmayn, are however thought to have disapproved the book. Strype, *ut supra*.

[l] Introd. to Shepherd's Elucidation, xxxvi. Note.

[m] Of Bishop Ridley, let both his life and his death testify. Goodrich was a constant, though a moderate friend to the Reformation. He died under the disfavour of Queen Mary's government in 1554. Holbeach was esteemed highly by the venerable Latimer. He died in 1551. Downes's Lives prefixed to Bp. Sparrow's Rationale. c. cii.

seem unlikely that May, Taylor, Heynes, and Cox, were among the "learned men," referred to in the statute [n]. It might appear, that before

[n] Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's, was a great favourite with Bishop Goodrich, and was a firm opponent of all the Romish innovations. For this enlightened and conscientious conduct, he was stripped of his preferments in the first year of Queen Mary's reign. In the beginning of that auspicious period which succeeded, under the guidance of the illustrious Elizabeth, Dr. May was intended for the see of York, but his untimely death, in 1560, prevented him from serving God and his country in that distinguished appointment. Dr. Taylor unfortunately preached the sermon upon transubstantiation which led to the martyrdom of Barnes in King Henry's reign. He soon afterwards, however, found himself obliged to abandon that unscriptural and absurd, though artful doctrine. He rose at length completely superior to the prejudices in which he had been educated, and was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, in 1552. Of this preferment, he was deprived by Queen Mary. Heynes early saw the propriety of relying implicitly on God's recorded word in preference to man's traditions, and in the late reign he was imprisoned in the Fleet for a sermon that he preached against lustral water and other such contemptible superstitions. While Vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, his zeal for scriptural truth exposed him to the insults of some bigots who clung to their inveterate prejudices, and during the Windsor persecution, Dr. Heynes was in some danger. He died dean of Exeter, and prebendary of Westminster, in 1552. Cox, eventually Bishop of Ely, was the friend of Cranmer and Goodrich, tutor to King Edward, a sufferer for those truths which God has mercifully caused to appear upon record for the instruction of mankind, during Queen Mary's reign, and altogether an ornament to his country and profession. Of the other two divines mentioned in Fuller's list, Redmayn justly enjoyed the highest reputation for learning and virtue. Originally he was a staunch abettor of Romanism, and he had determined at one time to write in support of transubstantiation, but the enquiries

the commissioners brought their labours to a close, such of them as dissented from those who possessed most influence, withdrew, and allowed the rest to complete the task: for the new Liturgy, when finished, was asserted to have been produced "by one uniform agreement*." Supposing, however, that none remained to the end, excepting Cranmer, Goodrich, Holbeach, Ridley, May, Taylor, Heynes, and Cox; those who look for important names may well be satisfied. Eight men of greater ability, learning, industry, and integrity conjoined, could not easily have been brought together in England, or in any other country. Of the eminent persons, indeed, thought

which he made with a view to that object brought him over to the opinion of those whom he had intended to confute. At last he preached from the University-pulpit against the corporal presence, and against the practice of carrying the consecrated wafer in procession. He died in 1551, prebendary of Westminster, and master of Trinity College, in Cambridge. If it be true, that Dr. Redmayn did not cordially approve the new Liturgy, that circumstance is to be regretted; for his age could boast of few men more erudite and honest. Robertson was among the best grammarians of his day, and attained a very high degree of reputation; probably, however, he was always to a considerable extent under the bondage of his early prejudices; for in Queen Mary's reign he was appointed to the deanery of Durham. This preferment he necessarily lost, under the next sovereign, because he superseded Horne, who had been ejected for his scriptural principles. That dignitary was, however, soon afterwards appointed to the see of Winchester, and then Dr. Robertson might have returned to Durham; but he had become firmly riveted in Romish errors, and therefore, he would not accept any thing by which they might be compromised. Ibid.

* Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 150.

to have been included in this commission, but not to have acted, at least not to the end, the aggregate of intellectual eminence was without question decidedly below that of the eight, who most probably assisted in compiling the whole of that which was produced. Tunstall and Heath, though excellent men, and able scholars, were not comparable as divines to Cranmer and Ridley. The other prelates named, have attained no professional celebrity. Redmayn was probably fully a match in theological knowledge to any one of the six doctors. But it is not likely, that if he disagreed at all from his brother-commissioners, his dissent related to matters of much importance. As for Robertson, though unquestionably highly learned and honourable, he seems to have been a man either of wavering judgment, or of moderate information in matters strictly professional. It appears, at least, not unreasonable to think thus of a leading divine, who was admitted to the confidence of King Edward's Reformers, and who afterwards obtained a valuable preferment from the bigoted administration of Queen Mary.

It seems to have been a leading principle laid down for their guidance by the illustrious compilers of our Liturgy, that they should make no unnecessary alteration whatever. This course was most likely to satisfy candid and moderate men of all parties. Such clergymen, probably, as had undertaken to frame public devotions according to their own taste, would have liked to

retain this liberty; but no thought of indulging them ever seems to have been entertained by our great Reformers. As, indeed, the wants of men continue always nearly the same, there is no solid reason why their more solemn supplications should be ever upon the change. Nor, in fact, are ministers, obliged to rack their inventions constantly to say the same things in different words, after all able to produce any considerable variety in their professional addresses to the throne of grace. There is, accordingly, a mannerism generally observable in extemporaneous prayers, which strikes every attentive ear accustomed to the ministrations of a particular individual. Such devotions also render congregations absolutely dependent upon their pastors for every part of the public service. This, from the intel lectual inequalities of men, from eclipses which occasionally obscure even the brightest parts, from those domestic uneasinesses and constitutional defects, which at intervals unnerve the strongest minds, is an evil of considerable magnitude. As might, therefore, be expected, the use of prescribed forms in public worship is of the highest antiquity and authority. Aaron and his sons, were enjoined by God to bless the people in words revealed from heaven[p]. Moses supplied his countrymen, exulting over the miraculous extinction of their Egyptian task-masters, with a hymn of praise[q]. This splendid effusion

[p] Numb. vi. 22, *et sequ.*

[q] Exod. xv. 1, *et sequ.*

of pious gratitude was regularly admitted in after times, among the public devotions of the ancient Israelitish Church[r], in conjunction with other pieces emanating progressively from the inspired lips of prophets. When Ezra remodelled that most venerable of religious communities, it is believed, not without reason that he prescribed for its use, liturgic forms. Eighteen prayers, unquestionably of remote antiquity, are usually referred to his dictation. That these, and other fixed devotional pieces were used in the synagogues dignified by our blessed Saviour's august presence, there is no reason to doubt[s]. We read not, however, that in this, Jesus reproved his erring countrymen. But we know, that when his disciples requested him to "teach them how to pray," he at once supplied them with a form[t]. Among the primitive Christians every Bishop was allowed to frame a liturgy for the use of his particular Church[u]. It is however probable, that such parts of these ancient liturgies as did not appear in Scripture, were committed to memory only. For when the unhappy traditors, under Diocletian's persecution, betrayed to heathen rage their Bibles, and the utensils of their worship, there is no mention of ritual books thus surrendered[x]. At

[r] Hooker's Eccles. Pol. B. v. p. 240.

[s] Prideaux, Connex. I. 296. [t] St. Luke, vi. 1.

[u] Bingham, I. 85.

[x] Nor of images: a sufficient reason for believing, that no such unlearned men's books were then used by Christians. Ibid. 588.

a subsequent period, diocesan prelates agreed to adopt the liturgy of their metropolitical Church, and this regulation was ultimately enforced by several decrees of councils[y]. Liturgies having thus become of extensive importance, were necessarily committed to writing, and some very ancient ones have descended to our own age. There are, indeed, those which have been attributed to St. Peter, St. Matthew, and St. Mark, but their genuineness is now maintained by no man. The liturgy, however, passing under the name of St. James, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, is more fortunate in this respect; it being assigned to that venerable authority by the Greek Church. Another ancient liturgy still extant, is that of the Roman Clement, which Proclus asserted, was dictated to that father by the Apostles. All these pieces are evidently interpolated, and the day for giving implicit credence to what has been said of their antiquity is past. They are, however, evidences establishing the fact, that Christians have used prescribed forms of prayer from a very early period of their history. The liturgies adopted by the Greek Church are ancient, being those of St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom. The former serves for the Sundays in Lent, except that immediately before Easter, and some other particular times; the latter for the rest of the year. In the western Church, besides the Roman missal, Italy boasted of a service-book

[y] Ibid. 587.

from the pen of Ambrose, the celebrated bishop of Milan. Spain also had an ancient service called the Mozarabic, of higher antiquity, as it is supposed, than this, and like it, differing from the Roman missal, is that which was used by the ancient Gallican Church [z]. This appears to have been introduced into Britain in the fifth century, by Germanus and Lupus [a], two Gallic bishops of high character, who were selected by their countrymen to pass over into our island, for the purpose of impeding there by their influence and authority, the progress of Pelagianism. The native prelates had requested this foreign aid, finding themselves unequal to oppose effectually the art and industry of their heretical adversaries [b]. It is not to be doubted, that Bertha, Queen of Kent, brought over this liturgy from her native land, and that, accordingly, Augustine on landing in our island, found the Gallican course esta-

[z] Collier, II. 252.

[a] Usser, Brit. Eccl. Antiqu. 185. From a MS. of high antiquity in the Cottonian library. The two foreign prelates are in this, said to have brought over "*Ordinem cursus Gallorum*;" or the Gallic liturgy, as Archbishop Usher explains that phrase. "*Cursus* in the ecclesiastical use of the word is the same with *Officium Divinum*, thence *Cursum celebrare* is, to perform Divine offices. And so the word *Cursus* is often used in Fortunatus's life of St. German, Bishop of Paris, and in our Saxon writers: but this *Cursus Gallorum* is there distinguished from the *Cursus Orientalis*, and the *Cursus Ambrosii*, and the *Cursus Benedicti*, which little differs, he saith, from the *Cursus Romanus*." Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ. Lond. 1685. p. 216.

[b] Bed. 60.

blished not only among the British Christians, but also in the private chapel of his illustrious patroness. Having been despatched upon his mission by Gregory, an industrious ritualist, the Kentish apostle appears to have felt some desire to gratify that celebrated pontiff by introducing into Britain the Roman office. But Gregory's good sense rejected this compliment. He suggested to Augustine the propriety of making no violent innovations, and of selecting from the services of different churches such things as might appear best suited to the people among whom he was labouring to establish himself[c]. This national

[c] "Mihi (Gregorio sc.) placet, ut sive in Romana, sive in Galliarum, seu in qualibet ecclesia, aliquid invenisti quod plus Omnipotenti Deo possit placere, solicite eligas, et in Anglorum Ecclesia, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione præcipua, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas." (Ibid. 81.) Perhaps there might be something of worldly policy in this. It was hardly to be expected, that a ritualist should recommend any service but his own, or that a bishop eagerly upon the watch against the claims to universal episcopacy preferred by a rival bishop, should not have anxiously desired the extension of that office which his own church had adopted. But then he longed to intrude his pretensions to supremacy upon his brethren in Britain, who wished for nothing less than to be troubled with the arrogant interference of a distant Italian. It was, therefore, necessary to proceed with the utmost caution, lest the whole scheme should miscarry, and the Kentish mission end in a junction of converted Saxons with aboriginal Christians, forming together an independent national Church. In order to prevent this consummation so advantageous to Britain, and so mortifying to Rome, it was essential to awaken jealousy as little as possible. Hence Gregory had too much tact to advise, that his own service-book should be imposed upon Britain; at the same time,

liturgy, however, was probably never formed. Augustine failed of evangelising the great majority of Englishmen. That important labour chiefly fell into the hands of zealous natives, and they scorned the insidious interference of Roman emissaries. After no long interval, however, political events gave an ascendancy to the Italian party, and there was no longer laid upon them any necessity to temporise. The Roman missal now became the basis of English service-books; but this importation did not produce an absolute uniformity. The northern province used a missal of its own. The extensive diocese of Lincoln had also its peculiar liturgy. South Wales followed the use of Hereford, the northern countries of the Principality, that of Bangor[d]. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the cathedral of St. Paul in London used a peculiar service, but then, that church, in common with the whole South of England, adopted the use of Sarum[e]. Osmund, Bishop of that see, who died possessed of a blameless reputation in 1099[f], and who was

he would not give an express sanction to that of any other country. He recommended, accordingly, that a liturgy should be composed expressly for Britain. By this devise, an impolitic appearance of dependence upon Rome might have been avoided; the establishment of such a dependence in reality, Gregory knew might be safely entrusted to his creatures, if they could only manage so as to acquire a primacy over the insular prelacy.

[d] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 115.

This alteration took place at St. Paul's in 1414. Dugdale's St. Paul's.

[f] Godwin, de Præsul. 337.

eventually canonised, is considered as the compiler of this service-book. His work, however, was not allowed to reach posterity as he left it. Interpolations were made in it to suit the taste of succeeding times [g].

It was not the sole object with those excellent men to whom England owes her liturgy, to reject the errors and absurdities which had gradually crept into the service-books during the dark ages. Their intention also was to enable men to pray not with the lips only but with the understanding too. A serious European would look with pity and concern upon an Asiatic kneeling before an image of Boodh or Brahma,

[g] "Before Osmund's time, as Harpsfield (the Romish ecclesiastical historian) observes, almost every diocese had a different liturgy. Osmund collected his matter out of the Holy Scriptures, and other valuable church-records, and digested it in so commodious a method, that it was generally approved, and made the standard of public devotion almost every where in England, Ireland, and Wales. But after his death, as this historian continues, there were several interpolations thrown in, which were not altogether defensible; the bishops, it seems, conniving at this alteration." (Collier, I. 277.) From a missal given to his cathedral by Leofric, who died Bishop of Exeter in 1073, it appears, that direct addresses to angels, or to departed spirits were then unknown in England. Their prayers and intercession are, indeed, made a ground of the suppliant's hope, but it does not seem to have been taken for granted, that they could hear the voice of mortals. In another instance, however, this missal is represented as utterly indefensible. "God is addressed to restore the *Energumeni* (persons of unquiet mind, thought to be under demoniacal influence) for the merits of the angels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, virgins, &c. But here the blessed Virgin is not particularly mentioned." Ibid. 245.

and muttering words in a language unintelligible to him, while his fingers were employed in counting a string of beads or pebbles, equal in number to the prayers which, parrot-like, his lips repeated. But because habit, or flimsy apologies, or want of thought, has reconciled the eye to such humiliating spectacles among Christians, they pass by some unheeded, and by others they are considered merely as the harmless folly of a priest-ridden sect. Our Reformers, however, knew from God's infallible word[h], that they were not justified in allowing the public devotions of those who looked up to them for spiritual food, to retain this character of superstition and absurdity. Nor could they forget, that the actual state into which the verbal forms of Romanism had fallen, was an evil which had reached its height at no very remote period, and which flowed from the criminal negligence of the hierarchy. At the time when every bishop framed a liturgy for his own church, no man will suppose that he put together words unintelligible to his people. When, at length, liturgies of extensive use appeared, the Orienal Churches acquired them in their vernacular tongues, the Western Christians in Latin; then common to the great majority of men in Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. Centuries rolled away after that language was alloyed by Gothic and Arabic admixtures, before it ceased to be spoken by persons in superior life, and to be intelligible

[h] 1 Cor. xiv.

ordinarily in the humbler classes. Even when it seldom met the general ear, books being rarely seen in any other idiom, literary and professional men were still familiar with it, and down to the Reformation many persons spoke the dialect of ancient Rome habitually. At that period, however, the vulgar languages of Europe had attained consistency. Already authors of ability had written in the tongues which they lisped in infancy, and those who sought books for amusement, or for superficial information, needed to resort no longer to a dead language. Latin became unintelligible to the populace, even of Italy; to the man bred in any other country its sounds scarcely conveyed a hint of their proper meaning, unless he had accomplished a peculiar course of study. An important change having thus arrived, never contemplated by the ancient Latin liturgists, it was obviously the duty of existing ecclesiastics, high in their profession, to remedy the evil. The Trentine council overlooked that duty, and thus permanently rendered to unlettered Romanists, even unexceptionable portions of their worship, an irrational superstition[1]. Innocent III., though

[1] Mr. Gother tells us, that the Romanist "is commanded to assist at the church-service, and to hear mass; and in this he is instructed, not so much to understand the words, as to know what is done. For the mass being a sacrifice, wherein is daily commemorated the death and passion of Christ, by an oblation made by the priest, of the body and blood of the immaculate Lamb, under the symbols of bread and wine, according to his own institution; it is not so much the business of the congrega-

sufficiently noted for encroachments upon civil and religious liberty, kept clear of this reproach. He commanded that ministers be found to celebrate Divine service in a language understood of those who waited upon their ministrations [k]. In modern times attempts are made to palliate the monstrous abuse of inviting people to hear words which they do not understand, by printing liturgical books with translations parallel to the originals. This, however, to the unlettered worshipper, is obviously a mere mockery, and, as even persons of some education are often little disposed to exercise their minds, especially upon serious subjects, it cannot be doubted, that many will miss a benefit attainable only by reading,

tion present, to employ their ears in attending to the words, as their hearts, in contemplation of the divine mysteries, by raising up fervent affections of love, thanksgiving, sorrow for sins, resolutions of amendment, &c." (Papist Misrepresented, 54.) A future editor of this tract might advantageously exercise his ingenuity in devising reasons why the ancient Latin ritualists composed in the vernacular tongue, and why passages now spoken secretly were formerly spoken openly. Mr. Gother afterwards furnishes a passage which appears eminently well fitted to defend the silent meetings of that highly-respectable society, the Quakers. "Does any one think," asks the author, "that those holy women, who followed our Lord, and were witnesses of his sufferings, wanted holy affections in their souls because he spoke not? Were they scandalized at his silence?" As for other prayers besides the mass, we are told, it is "*an undeniable thing, that to say prayers well and devoutly, it is not necessary to have attention on the words, or on the sense of the prayers, but rather purely on God.*" Ibid. 58.

[k] Bp. Jer. Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, 304.

which they would have enjoyed if communicated by the ear. Evidently too, on another account, there was little hope of extensive utility from translations inserted in service-books, when our Reformers laboured; reading was not then the accomplishment of almost every man, nor did the frugal habits of the age allow the general purchase of books. Scripture, ecclesiastical antiquity, and expediency, therefore concurred in admonishing the ritualists of England not only to reject the impieties, absurdities, and superstitions which had long debased the church-service, but also to produce a compilation in the vernacular tongue. Thus pious minds, in every rank, might at once acquire comfort and information from an attendance upon public worship. While even inattentive ears might gradually convey the seeds of pure and rational devotion.

The compilers of our liturgy began their task by a diligent examination of existing service-books. Those of England naturally claimed their earliest attention, and as these were Romish, a reproach has been often cast upon the Common Prayer on account of the stigma justly cleaving to its presumed progenitor. But it should be remembered, that the papal liturgies are not deserving of indiscriminate censure. At an early period in the Christian history, our holy faith was professed no where in greater purity, than in the mighty metropolis of civilisation. Unhappily the Roman bishops, overcome by the worldly temptations of their position, adopted gradually

such features of exploded Paganism as were best suited to captivate the multitude; but though at last their whole system was overlaid with this vile tinsel, they never ventured to discard the solid gold. Romish formularies, accordingly, though shamefully patched with ridiculous and idolatrous rubrics, appeals to the dead, the mention of human merit, and lying legends, are mainly derived from the purer ages of ecclesiastical antiquity. To refuse a form redolent of an uncorrupted period, and of a holy mind, because interested or misjudging men had subsequently combined it with unauthorised fancies of their own, was a weakness to which our Reformers were superior. They appear, accordingly, to have aimed at little more, than a selection from the established liturgy of such parts as would bear to be confronted with Scripture, and with the genuine remains of the primitive Church. They were, indeed, evidently anxious that their work should prove as inoffensive to Romish prejudices as possible. It must not, however, be supposed, that the result of these labours was a mere Romish book in the vernacular tongue. In fact, every thing, properly denominated Romish, in the established liturgies, was unsparingly retrenched; and to the new work were transferred those features only of its immediate predecessor which are among the venerable remains of the ancient Latin Church [1]. This enlightened policy

[1] "Here you have an order for prayer, and for the reading

proved the means of introducing to the nation a service remarkably resembling that established in Britain at a remote period [m]. Indeed, upon the

of the Holy Scripture, much more agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old fathers, and a great deal more profitable and commodious than that which of late was used." Preface to the Common Prayer.

m It appears that the ancient Gallican liturgy, brought into Britain in the fifth century, prescribed for the morning service, Scripture lessons, psalms, and hymns, each concluding with the *Gloria Patri*, an interval of silence, during which the people were to offer up in secret their particular prayers, and a collect, or general prayer. (Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. 223.) The silent prayers of ancient times were retained at our Reformation, by means of the *bidding*, or enumeration of persons and things to be prayed for, enjoined before sermon, and still used in the Universities, and other places. The other parts mentioned, still make up nearly the whole of the ordinary service in our churches, und they are managed so as to edify the congregation. Under the Roman usurpation little edification could have been derived from the service, even if it had been generally intelligible. Especially did the Scripture lessons suffer by the treatment to which they were subjected. After the reading of a few verses, short anthems, called *responds*, were sung, and thus the whole chapter was disjointed. Many of the Romish hymns, too, are despicable, being compositions in monkish rhyme, originating in the darkest periods of ecclesiastical history. The rejection of all this trash, and of much that is even more indefensible, together with the giving of a prominent and edifying position to Scripture, were most important restorations of ancient usages adopted by our Reformers. In the ancient Gallican office was also a general confession made to God: but of confession to saints and angels, not a word. An examination of the whole matter leads Bishop Stillingfleet to this conclusion:—"Our Church of England hath omitted none of those offices wherein all the ancient churches agreed; and where the British or Gallican,

whole, nothing could be more judicious than the conduct of those entrusted with this delicate commission; for although the first service-book contained some concessions to Romish prejudices, afterwards properly denied, yet these were sanctioned by early usage among Christians, and it justly seemed expedient to deal cautiously with popular prepossessions. The candour and discretion of the liturgical committee were fully equalled by the literary execution of its task. The translations produced are among the happiest extant.

The morning service was still denominated matins, and began with the Lord's prayer. After this came the responses, which yet follow it in the Liturgy [n]. *Allelujah* was then to be sung from Easter to Whit-Sunday [o]. Then came, as it does still, the ninety-fifth Psalm [p], then the

and Roman differed, our Church hath not followed the Roman, but the other." Ibid. 287.

[n] Taken from Ps. li. 15; xl. 13; together with the Doxology, which is founded on 1 St. John, v. 7, and which appears to have been used by Christians in the year 190. (Comber. 71.) This responsive mode of devotion is of such antiquity, that Eusebius infers the Christianity of the Essenes, from the fact of their singing alternately. (Ibid. 69.)

[o] "The fifty days between Easter and Whitsunday were days of excessive joy in the primitive Church, in honour of our Saviour's resurrection, and were in some particulars observed with equal solemnity to the Lord's day, as in not fasting, not kneeling, and chanting this angelical allelujah on these days." L'Estrange, 77.

[p] This Psalm, which appears to have been composed for the public service of ancient Judaism, and which is expressly re-

Psalms as now used, and this identity continued to the end of the collects, which concluded the service. It should, however, be noticed, that after the second lesson, the hymn of Zachary[q] alone was appointed[r]. For the great festivals of Easter and Christmas there are two collects, epistles, and gospels. A holiday is appointed to be kept in commemoration of St. Mary Magdalen, and there are some variations from the present order in several of the epistles and gospels. The Communion-service is begun by an *Introite,* or Psalm, to be sung by the choir while the priest is proceeding to the Lord's table. A different Psalm for this purpose is appropriated to every Sunday and festival. The collect for the day is appointed to be read before that for the King, and this is to be followed by the epistle and gospel. Before the latter is begun, the sentence usually repeated still at that time, though now without authority, is assigned to the people[s]. The gospel being concluded, the priest is directed to repeat the first five words of the Nicene creed; the clerks are to sing the rest. The sermon, or homily, is

ferred to the Christian Church, in the New Testament, (Heb. iii. 7.) is introduced into some of the earliest liturgies extant. The sixth verse of it is called the Invitatory, among Romanists, and is used several times in their service. Shepherd, I. 111.

[q] St. Luke i. 67. [r] L'Estrange.

[s] "The custom of saying, *Glory be to thee, O Lord,* when the minister was about to read the holy Gospel, and of singing *Hallelujah,* or saying, *Thanks be to God for his Holy Gospel,* when he had concluded it, is as old as St. Chrysostom: but we have no authority for it in our present Liturgy." Wheatley, 271.

to follow; then the exhortations, sentences, versicles, and prefaces, nearly in the words which stand at present. These are succeeded by a long prayer, answering to the canon of the mass, and chiefly composed of the prayer for "the whole state of Christ's Church," combined with the consecration-prayer, and that after communion, of our service-books. This portion of the service was to be said or sung, "plainly and distinctly," according to ancient usage, but contrary to the practice of modern Romanists. The priest, however, was to turn to the altar. The whole piece is little more than a paraphrase of the ancient canon, in which the obscurities and other defects of the original are judiciously avoided. In it, prayers are offered for the King alone by name, and of the worthies of the Christian Church who are commemorated, the blessed Virgin alone is particularly specified. Nothing, however, is said respecting the merits, or even the prayers of these happy spirits. Nor, although the departed spirits of the faithful are commended to God's mercy, is any trace allowed to remain of the rhetorical language found in the Romish prayer, after this general commendation. Upon the whole, this devotional piece differs from its prototype, in being free from ambiguous, superfluous, and figurative language, from pompous lists of names, and from any mention of the illustrious dead, except as examples to the living. It also differs, in asserting plainly, what those who framed the canon most probably

never imagined would be doubted in the Christian world, namely, that Christ's sacrifice was once offered, and was sufficient to atone for all the iniquities of men; as well as in designating the Eucharistic sacrifice as a commemorative one of praise and thanksgiving; and in declaring that Christ is man's only mediator and advocate. The English prayer, therefore, exceeds its original in being worded with more chasteness and accuracy; and it varies from it in omitting some things, perhaps interpolated, certainly inconsistent with Scripture, and in expressing plainly some doctrines which had become ordinarily misunderstood [t]. It was also disencumbered of the nu-

[t] The following is this prayer. "Almighty and everliving God, which, by thy holy Apostle, hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men, we humbly beseech thee to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the Universal Church, with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord; and grant, that all they that do confess thy holy name, may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity and godly love. Specially we beseech thee to save and defend thy servant Edward, our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed. And grant unto his whole council, and to all that be put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of God's true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all bishops, pastors, and curates, that they may, both by their life and doctrine, set forth thy true and lively Word, and duly administer thy holy Sacraments. And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy Word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the

merous silly rubrics which disgrace the Latin canon: the only acts prescribed, being a plain

days of their life. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them, which, in this transitory life, be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity: And especially we commend unto thy merciful goodness this congregation, which is here assembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son. And here we do give thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints from the beginning of the world, and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of thy Son Jesu Christ, our Lord and God, and in thy holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, whose examples, O Lord, and steadfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow. We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only mediator and advocate. O God, heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesu Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, who made there, by his one oblation, once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy Gospel, command us to celebrate a perpetual memory of that his precious death until his coming again; hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee, and with thy Holy Spirit and Word, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesu Christ, who, in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had

and distinct enunciation, turning to the altar, a cross to be made twice upon the elements, and

blessed, and given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper, he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for remission of sins: do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me. Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesu Christ we thy humble servants do celebrate, and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving: most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son, Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church, may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, our self, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee, humbly beseeching thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son, Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with thy Son Jesu Christ, that He may dwell in them, and they in Him. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy holy angels, to be brought up into thy holy tabernacle before the sight of thy divine Majesty, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Christ, our Lord, by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost,

the taking of the bread and chalice into the priest's hands. That infamous innovation of the thirteenth century, by which a Christian congregation was called upon to fall down upon their knees before a wafer-cake and a goblet of wine was expressly prohibited; it being wisely provided, that there should be no "elevation, or shewing the Sacrament to the people." To this portion of the service, necessarily so important in the eyes of those to whom it was first submitted, the Lord's Prayer succeeds. Then come some short pieces, of which one is not in our present books, the invitation to communion and public confession, the confession, the absolution, and the texts of Scripture yet used. These concluded, the priest was to "turn him to God's board," kneel down, and repeat the pathetic admission of unworthiness seen in our modern books. In delivering the elements to communicants, it was to be said with each, "preserve thy body and soul." After the Communion, some short devotional pieces, texts of Scripture, an appropriate prayer, and the blessing are enjoined. Of these a considerable part has ceased to appear in our Liturgy. The Eucharistic office is followed by the Litany, which differs not from its present form except in praying for deliverance "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities." In Baptism, a cross was to be made upon the child's

all honour and glory, be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen." Collier, Records, II. 68.

forehead and breast, the devil was to be exorcised to leave him [u], he was to be thrice dipped, if able to bear it, he was then to be anointed [x], and a chrysom, or white robe, was to be put upon him [y]. The catechism is that now used so far as the division relating to the sacraments, which is of later date. In confirmation, the bishop was to accost each person coming to that rite by his Christian name, make the sign of a cross upon his forehead, and address certain words to him [z],

[u] "This custom of exorcising children, how singular soever it may look to some people now, was the practice of the ancient Church. For this, the testimony of St. Austin, to cite no more authority, is sufficient proof. *Si diabolus*, says this father, *non dominatur infantibus, quid respondebunt Pelagiani quod illi exorcizantur?*" Ibid. 256.

[x] "That anointing the person baptised was likewise an ancient custom appears from Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and the Apostolical constitutions." Ibid.

[y] "This was a relic of the ancient custom: *Thou hast taken thy white vestments, as a sign that thou hast put off the old rags of thy sins, and hast put on the chaste robes of innocency.* (Ambrose) These robes they anciently wore for the space of eight days inclusive, beginning their account from Easter Eve, the term of their investiture, and continuing to the ensuing Saturday, or Sabbath, when they were to leave them off. As for the name *Chrysom*, it is but of late invention, and so called, because it was employed to stay the defluxion of the *Chrism*, or confirming ointment, from flowing away at first." L'Estrange, 237.

[z] "N. I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and lay mine hand upon thee. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." It is not directed, that according to ancient usage, this signing should be made with chrism: which is the more remarkable, because the bishop was to precede it by praying, that the individuals presented for confirmation should "be con-

which since, together with these ceremonies, have been omitted. In the matrimonial office, the man is directed, together with the ring, to lay upon the book for transfer by the priest's means to the woman, some gold or silver, as "tokens of spousage;" and in blessing the couple, the clergyman was to make a sign of the cross[a]. On coming professionally into a sick person's presence, clergymen were to repeat the 143d Psalm. If the individual visited desired it, and appeared fit for it, the indicative form of absolution, judiciously interpolated as it now stands, and thereby rendered merely declarative, was to be pronounced. A rubric enjoined, that this form should be used in all private confessions. These, however, are not recommended; the absolution is merely prescribed when they occur. It must hence, and from the late Communion office, be inferred, that our Reformers conceded the discretionary use of auricular confession only with the kind and liberal view of easing the consciences of such as would have been disquieted if unable to obtain this customary re-

firmed and strengthened with the inward unction of the Holy Ghost." L'Estrange, 248.

[a] "The sign of the cross is likewise a very ancient usage. Tertullian observes, that in his time it was a general custom for Christians to make a cross upon their foreheads upon every the least remarkable occasion." (Collier, *ut supra.*) In the prayer which follows the use of the ring is the following reference to the other articles of value produced: "That as Isaac and Rebecca, *after bracelets and jewels of gold given of the one to the other for tokens of their matrimony*, lived faithfully together," &c. L'Estrange, 275.

lief. Nor can this indulgence be justly deemed exceptionable by those who recollect, that the permitted absolution plainly declares the sacerdotal voice ineffective unless true repentance and faith characterise him to whom it is addressed. The conciliatory spirit which allowed confession, also yielded extreme unction to those who might desire it. But it was enjoined, that this unction be confined to the forehead or breast only; the ordinary practice having been to anoint various parts of the body as a conveyance of forgiveness for the venial sins committed by means of the different members [b]. In case of administering the

[b] Bucer said of extreme unction, "It is clear, this rite is neither ancient, nor commended to the Church's practice by any, either precept of God, or example of the primitive fathers." (L'Estrange, 299.) Bishop Burnet says, "it was not used about the sick, from the Apostles' time, till about the tenth century." (Hist. Ref. II. 129.) The following is from Collier, "Anointing the sick with oil *in order to his recovery* was another ancient custom, and for this, to mention nothing farther, we have the authority of St. Chrysostom, who cites the fifth of St. James v. 14, for this purpose." (Eccl. Hist. II. 257.) But this proves nothing in favour of extreme unction as used among Romanists. There is no question, that sick persons were anointed, for temporal purposes chiefly, in the Apostolic age, and probably for some time afterwards. The only matter of inquiry is whether when recovery was found not to flow from this unction, it was continued for spiritual objects alone, and even commonly when the party anointed was at the point of death. Upon the whole it appears, that in this concession our Reformers had early usage less unquestionably as their warrant, than in their other concessions. The following is the prayer which they provided for this ceremony. "As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed; so our heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of his

Eucharist to the sick, it was enjoined, that if there were a Communion on that day at church, so much of the consecrated elements should be reserved as would suffice for the sick person and his friends. If this domestic Communion were celebrated in more houses than one, upon a day in which that Sacrament was not administered at Church, the consecration was to take place in the forenoon, in some one of these houses, and so much of the consecrated elements was to be reserved as would suffice for the communicants in the other house, or houses [c]. In thus providing for the reservation of the Eucharist on behalf of the sick, our Reformers trode in the footsteps of ecclesiastcal

infinite goodness, that thy soul inwardly may be anointed with the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of all strength, comfort, relief, and gladness. And vouchsafe for his great mercy, if it be his blessed will, to restore unto thee thy bodily health and strength to serve him: and send thee release from all thy pains, troubles, and diseases, both in body and mind. And howsoever his goodness, by his Divine and unsearchable Providence, shall dispose of thee, we his unworthy ministers and servants humbly beseech the eternal Majesty, to do with thee according to the multitude of his innumerable mercies, and to pardon thee all thy sins and offences committed by all thy bodily senses, passions, and carnal affections; who also vouchsafe mercifully to grant unto thee ghostly strength by his Holy Spirit to withstand and overcome all temptations and assaults of thine adversary, that in no wise he prevail against thee, but that thou mayest have perfect victory, and triumph against the devil, sin and death, through Christ our Lord, who by his death hath overcome the prince of death, and with the Father and the Holy Ghost evermore liveth and reigneth, God, world without end. Amen." L'Estrange, 282.

[c] Ibid. 283, 4.

antiquity; avoiding at the same time the intolerable evils which had flowed from this practice among Romanists. Evidently the Eucharist was to be reserved, according to the new service-book, only for one day, and that provision arose from no superstitious veneration for the consecrated elements, but merely from a desire of enabling those who were detained at home by sickness to communicate with the congregation to which they belonged [d]. The burial service differs but little from that now in use. The deceased person's spirit is, indeed, commended to God's mercy, but then the minister is directed to say in another place, "We trust, thou hast brought his soul, which he committed into thy holy hands, into sure consolation and rest [e]." Such language applied to one recently dead, is a plain denial of purgatory; and this pernicious innovation being disclaimed, prayers for the dead are defensible from the example of primitive times [f]. At the

[d] Wheatley, 469. [e] L'Estrange, 286.

[f] The origin of such prayers must be sought in the supplications offered by friends for the happy transit, and final felicity of a soul on the point of departure. These supplications were commonly repeated at interment, it being thought uncertain whether the disembodied spirit might reach immediately its ultimate destination. Superstition at length caused them to be repeated at considerable intervals from the time of decease, but such prayers did not cease to present the appearance, of being offered for dying persons. "This is ingenuously confessed by Bellarmine himself. (De Purg. l. 2. c. 5.) Ecclesia ita pro defunctis orat, ac si tum morerentur. *The Church prayeth so for the dead, as if they were but then dying.*" (Ibid. 303.) It is obvious, that

close of the burial service is a form for the administration of the Lord's Supper at funerals. Romanists are used to celebrate a mass upon these occasions; in deference, therefore, to popular prejudice, and in imitation of antiquity, the Eucharistic sacrifice was still allowed to accompany the last solemn rites of interment. But our Reformers endeavoured to guard this indulgence from abuse. The mourners were not as heretofore mere gazers upon the priest while receiving the Sacramental elements, but were themselves to join him in offering their own hearts as a commemorative oblation of praise and thanksgiving to God[g].

this idea of praying for the dead actuated the framer of the 67th canon. It is there ordered, "When any is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, and the minister shall not then slack to do his last duty. And after the party's death, if it so fall out, there shall be rung no more but one short peal."

[g] "In the primitive Church the fashion was to receive the Communion at the end of the burial, unless it happened to be in the afternoon. Saith the council of Carthage, *If there happen to be a burial in the afternoon, whether of a bishop, or any other, let it be only despatched with prayers, without the Eucharist, if they which are present have dined before.* Innocent was this rite whilst it preserved its first intention, but degenerating from its original purity by masses and dirges, sung for the souls of the dead, wisely was it done by our second Reformers, to remove not only the evils themselves of such heterodox opinions, but even the occasions of them also, *viz.* the Communion used at burials. Which being so evident as to matter of fact, it may seem a wonder, why in the liturgy established in Parliament, and translated into Latin 2 Eliz. and this done by regal authority, this Communion order is postliminated into that burial office. It could not certainly be done by mischance, nor yet by

When it was known upon the continent, that England was no longer to be mocked and disgraced by the old Latin service, enlightened minds intent upon emancipating Christendom from Papal thraldom were highly gratified. Especially did the celebrated John Calvin hear the news of a movement so decisive among our insular Reformers with lively interest. That able, learned, zealous, but somewhat intemperate assertor of man's right and duty to believe the Bible rather than the Pope, was born at Noyon, in Picardy, on the 10th of July, in the year 1509. He studied at Paris, and being intended for the Church, his friends obtained for him several

clandestine practice, for the proclamation itself taketh notice of it. *Some things peculiar at funerals and burial of Christians, we have added and commanded to be used. The act of uniformity set forth in the first year of our reign to the contrary notwithstanding.* So that some other reason must be assigned, which I take to be this: the office itself consisteth but of four parts, the Introite (the 42nd Psalm) Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, three whereof are Canonical Scriptures, and the other, the Collect, is so inoffensive, that it bears a part of our reformed Liturgy. (O merciful God, the Father, &c.) So that the materials being so harmless, nothing could be faulted but the framing them into an office: and not this neither but by accident, in reference to the Popish abuse. The error for whose sake it was first expunged, was imbibed by few but the vulgar, ready to interpret actions according to their former habits. As for societies of literature, the two Universities and colleges to which this translation was directed, they being men of more discerning spirits, better might they be trusted with this office, which it was expected they would consider in its true principles, separated from the foggy medium of ignorance and superstition." L'Estrange, 303.

benefices, although he was not in holy orders [h]. Having applied himself to the reading of Scripture, he found, that it was vain to look for the Romish religion there, and being above the weakness of caring for interested assertions about tradition, in the face of a Divine Record, he gave up all thoughts of the ecclesiastical profession, and applied himself to the law. In this new line of study, he rapidly made an uncommon progress, but his theological enquiries had already given an irresistible impulse to his mind, and he reverted to his original destination. He did not, however, it may be supposed, think any more of his lost preferments; on the contrary, the whole force of his mighty talents was directed to the revival of scriptural Christianity. His assiduity, so worthy of one called to dispense God's Word and Sacraments, exposed him to the rage of those who directed his country's affairs, and he found himself obliged to take refuge in Switzerland [i]. When Cranmer was abroad, Calvin had just attained manhood, and his name was probably unknown to the German Reformers. But when the liturgical committee was appointed, the great Apostle of Geneva was in the zenith of his reputation, and he made an offer of his assistance to Cranmer. This however, the Archbishop declined, being apprehensive, it is thought, that his illustrious, but overbearing correspondent would not easily be restrained within those bounds which

[h] Du Pin, IV. 83.
[i] Mosheim, IV. 89.

the English divines had judiciously proposed to themselves [k]. In the next year Calvin wrote to the Protector [l], expressing his decided approbation of a prescribed liturgy [m], because it obviates inconveniences arising from clerical insufficiency, or from a desultory love of innovation, while it preserves a character of unity to the Catholic Church [n]. But he found fault with prayers for the dead, the use of chrism, and the allowance of extreme unction, as being destitute of Scriptural warrant. Political expediency, he said, was no valid apology for such concessions; being a principle which those engaged in religious matters are not justified in regarding. He expressed himself concerned to hear of the indiscreet zeal displayed by some preachers, and of the languid indifference characterising many others; and more still to learn, that vice and profaneness were very rife in England. For these various evils, he exhorted Somerset to provide an early remedy, regardless of the difficulties by which he might be assailed from the untoward aspect of political events [o].

[k] "The Archbishop knew the man, and refused the offer." Heylin, Hist. Ref. 65.

[l] Collier, II. 283.

[m] "Formulam precum, et rituum ecclesiasticorum *valde probo*, ut certa illa extet." Fuller, 426.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Collier, *ut supra*.

CHAPTER IV.

Proceedings in Parliament—Attainder and Execution of Lord Seymour—Unpopularity of the Protector—Prosecutions for heresy.—A Royal Visitation—The Lady Mary refuses to use the English Liturgy—Uneasiness of the peasantry—The Western insurrection—Kett's insurrection—A national fast proclaimed—Archbishop Cranmer's answer to the articles of the rebels—Deprivation of Bishop Boner—Disgrace and imprisonment of the Protector.

Those fundamental principles, admitted by all parties in the late reign, that to independent states belongs the right of regulating completely their own ecclesiastical affairs, and that in matters of faith a record alone could be safely followed; by the new Liturgy were called into full operation. England thus acquired a faith resting upon intelligible grounds, while foreign Romanists found themselves professing a religion of which the authority, in many parts, was generally esteemed doubtful. Upon appeals to Scripture, it was now known the Romish polemic could often place very little reliance. Much, therefore, which he undertook to defend, could only be traced to some council, pope, or schoolman, and it had never been decided how far Christians were bound to respect such authorities. In fact, the papal system had grown up gradually, and had never, as a

whole, received the sanction of any undisputed authority [a]. To provide a remedy for this defect, was the object of the Trentine council, which was charged, on the Pope's part, with examining the points in controversy between his adherents, and those of the Reformers, and with deciding upon the various matters submitted to its cognizance. Its real business was not, however, so much a diligent enquiry into the grounds of Popery, as the affording of an authentic confirmation to doctrines and usages already established; so that such as dissented from the constituted ecclesiastical authorities should no longer be enabled to plead the uncertainty of propositions to which they were required to yield assent. While divines assembled by means of the Emperor and the Pope, the latter of whom was anciently

[a] "We do not hold that Rome was built in a day, or that the great dunghill of errors, which we now see in it, was raised in an age." (Abp. Usher's Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge, 1.) Because Romanism cannot, like Mahometanism, be referred for its origin to one particular century, or traced to a single impostor, therefore its adherents artfully maintain, that it is coeval with Christianity. On the other hand, they insinuate, that the doctrines of Scripture were invented in Saxony three centuries ago; hence they confidently ask of ignorant Protestants, "Where was your religion before Luther?" To this it is sufficient to reply, "In the Bible; where yours never was." Those, however, who have studied Romanism may venture to ask its admirers, where was your peculiar system before the council of Trent? and such students have besides the satisfaction of knowing not only that Popery will be vainly sought in the Bible, but also that it is at variance with the earliest monuments of the Roman, and of every other ancient Church.

no more than principal ecclesiastic in the dominions of the former, were investigating at Trent the claims of that religion in which they had been bred, other divines, commissioned for that very purpose by the government of their own country, were similarly engaged in England. These clergymen were like the Trentine deliberators, bred Romanists, they were among the best scholars of their age; they possessed unimpeached [b],

[b] The most prominent objections levelled by Romanists against the Reformation, are founded upon the characters of its principal promoters; but they are futile, resolving themselves into the facts, that most of the reforming clergymen married, and that many of the laymen answered political or interested ends by the part which they took. These absurd charges run through all the Romish attacks upon the revival of Scriptural Christianity, and they are embodied in a small tract, entitled, "A Short History of the Origin and Progress of the Protestant Religion, extracted from the best Protestant Writers, by way of question and answer: by the Ven. and R. R. Dr. R. Challoner, V. A. Lond. 1813." The "best Protestant Writers," who have furnished this array, are chiefly Heylin and Collier, two authors of great learning and industry, who have exposed the innovations of Popery in many important particulars; but these great men lived during the time when Presbyterianism triumphed over the Established Church, and being keen political partizans, the former of Charles I., the latter of James II., they were willing to go all lengths in support of regal and sacerdotal privileges. This bias caused them to speak severely of the clergy who carried the Reformation through, because these were generally moderate in their views of the priestly character; and of the laity thus employed, as having been concerned in pillaging the Church. This pillage is undoubtedly a stain upon the Reformation, because it was carried too far; but had it stopped time enough to leave a sufficient maintenance to all the bishops, and the impropriate tythes to the parochial clergy, little objection could be made to

and unimpeachable characters, they were remarkably free from rashness or enthusiasm, and they plainly shewed their original attachment to their early principles by the slowness and caution with which they admitted such articles of faith as were new to them. The English divines, however, came to conclusions widely different from those of their Trentine contemporaries; and the reasons were, because they could not admit the Pope to be a judge in his own cause, nor allow uncertain traditions to weigh against the genuine record of God's word. To the correctness of their judgment several successive generations of intelligent and learned enquirers have borne a grateful testimony. Their contem-

it. Few men would desire to see the whole body of English dignitaries possessed of that enormous landed property which was in their hands three centuries ago. Many of those, however, who shared the plunder, were no doubt sincere converts to the religion of Holy Scripture, and it is obvious, that such share could have fallen to the lot of very few among those thus converted. As for the marriage of reforming clergymen, even if no motives for it but the most unseemly ones, will content Romish polemics, it is undeniable, that these ecclesiastics resorted to an expedient far more honourable than their infamous contemporaries, the Popes, and other such ecclesiastical grandees, who notoriously lived in lewd concubinage. It should besides be observed, that several of our leading English Reformers never married, as the Bishops Ridley, Taylor, and others. Nor did any of them display those violent political feelings which disgraced some of the low-church party abroad. It may, therefore, be truly said of those divines who planned and executed the English Reformation, that their characters were such as their enemies have never been able successfully to impeach.

poraries, however, were far from being so decided and unanimous. Many, indeed, of the most able and zealous religionists in England looked on with admiration, while the leading Reformers were engaged in their important labours, but the great majority of men in every rank and station were riveted in their early prejudices, and hated the prospect of surrendering that seductive religious system in which their fathers had lived and died [c].

It is hence obvious, that if Somerset had consulted political expediency alone, he would have allowed the continuance of the mitigated Romanism established under King Henry. His determination to overthrow that system completely, must, therefore, have arisen from an imperious sense of duty. At that period religious toleration was unknown. Dissenters, indeed, from the Established Church had existed during the whole course of the papal usurpation, but these were branded as heretics, and had been usually treated as capital criminals. The only notions, therefore, entertained by European legislators as to their ecclesiastical duties, were, that one religion was to be protected, and all men subjected to their

[c] "The use of the old religion is forbidden by a law, and the use of the new is not yet printed: printed in the stomachs of eleven out of twelve parts of the realm; what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth." (Sir William Paget, to the Lord Protector, Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix II. 431.) This letter bears date July 7, 1549.

authority constrained to live within its pale. Of course, no conscientious ruler, holding these opinions could thus maintain a religion which he deemed erroneous and pernicious. That the Protector thus viewed Romanism must be inferred both from his acts, and from the known opinions of his confidential associates. He lived upon terms of intimacy with eminent divines who had spent years of unwearied toil in examining the papal faith, and who had at length become fully convinced that they were bound to abandon it. As it is indisputable that Somerset had imbibed the opinions of his friends, it is plain that he could not conscientiously permit the continuance of ecclesiastical affairs in their existing state. Among Romanists, there were, no doubt, then, as ever, many genuine Christians. There were also many virtuous and enlightened heathens among the nations of classical antiquity. But the excellence of a religion is not to be measured by the characters of a few individuals. That religion is best which is most extensively beneficial. Now Romanism, as a religion for the people, is liable to the most serious objections. Its base alloy of Paganism cannot fail of captivating all superstitious minds, and of rendering them obtuse to sound religious impressions. Those who look upon graven images, bread, salted water, beads, dead men's bones, and other contemptible objects, as holy things; those who believe that departed spirits may be won over to become their especial patrons; and that idle delusions, or shameless

impostures practised among the silly or unprincipled, are indubitable marks of Divine favour, will be little likely to conceive a relish for the pure and rational doctrines of the Gospel. Nor can the endless forms of Romanism fail of obstructing the spiritual welfare of many persons rather above a grovelling superstition. If a man be persuaded, that the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice certainly beneficial to him, that by means of a periodical confession, he will assuredly escape the eternal punishment denounced against sinners, and that bodily mortifications, or tedious absurdities, will wipe away that temporal penalty which he considers himself liable to pay; there is very great danger, that he will content himself with an exact attention to these pharisaical forms, and imagine, that he is thereby thoroughly discharging the duties of his Christian calling. Persons in authority who witnessed such evils, were awakened to their real character, and knew the causes from which they sprang, could hardly, with a safe conscience, allow to Romanism the exclusive possession of a country under their governance.

The 15th of October had been named for the meeting of Parliament, but that important assembly was then prorogued until the 24th of the following month. The plague having made one of those visits to London which narrow streets, crowded with an uncleanly population, so fatally encouraged, it was thought unreasonable to require the attendance of members in town until

the pestilential virus should have yielded to the rigours of returning winter. On the 3d of December, a bill was brought into the House of Commons to allow the ordination of married men, and on the 6th it was passed. On the following day another bill was introduced, having for its object the allowance of marriage to men already in orders. This additional indulgence was conceded by the Lower House on the 13th of December, and the whole question was then transmitted to the Lords. This more dignified branch of the Legislature long debated upon the propriety of restoring to their clerical fellow-subjects the undisputed exercise of that discretion which the unquestionable word of God, and the unfettered regulations of civil society have freely granted to every man. On the 19th of February, however, the majority of their Lordships agreed to this measure, so plainly dictated by a regard to sacerdotal purity, individual comfort, sound policy, and even-handed justice. The dissentients were the Bishops Boner, Tunstall, Repps, Aldrich, Skip, Heath, Bush, Day, and Kitchen, together with the Lords Morley, Dacres, Windsor, and Wharton. In the preamble to the act it is said, "That it were better for priests, and other ministers of the Church, to live chaste, and without marriage; whereby they might better attend to the ministry of the Gospel; and be less distracted with secular cares: so that it were much to be wished, that they would of themselves abstain. But great filthiness of living, and other

inconveniences had followed from the laws that compelled chastity, and prohibited marriage; so that it was better they should be suffered to marry than be so restrained: therefore all laws and canons that were made against it, being only made by human authority, are repealed." All divorces, however, which had taken place in obedience to the act of Six Articles, together with marriages consequent upon them, were confirmed [d], and the indulgence conceded by the present act was refused to any priests who should decline conformity to the new service-book [e]. The royal assent being given to this act, the clergy of England were thus formally reinstated in a right which, since the thirteenth century, they had exercised but rarely and clandestinely. From the repeated canons enacted by the papal creatures in that age, it is obvious, that a considerable proportion of the parochial clergy then lived either in lawful matrimony, or in avowed concubinage; probably with females whom they had secretly espoused [f]. Attempts to force upon

[d] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 142. [e] Collier, II. 262.

[f] At the time of the council of Oxford, holden under Archbishop Langton, in 1222, it seems likely that the attempts of Lanfranc and Anselm to force celibacy upon the parochial clergy had only answered so far as to furnish immoral priests with a pretence for living in concubinage; for one of the Oxford canons is levelled against such ecclesiastics as kept mistresses in their houses, or resorted to such persons in a public and scandalous manner. *(Nec alibi cum scandalo accessum habeant publicum ad easdem.)* The following canon voids any legacies bequeathed by beneficed clergymen to these unfortunate women, and allows the

clergymen the yoke of celibacy had been made by various ascetics during the early periods of

bishop to confer such sums upon the testator's late church. (Const. Prov. 123.) A canon attributed to Richard Weathershed, who succeeded Langton, and filled the see of Canterbury, from 1229 to 1231, enjoins clergymen to leave their wives, if they should have married after taking the subdiaconate, and forbids married men generally, from holding preferment. (Lindwood, 94.) One of Otho's canons, enacted in 1237, provides, that married clergymen should be deprived, their property acquired from the church confiscated, and their sons rendered incapable of ordination without the Pope's leave. This canon speaks of the married clergy as "many," and ridiculously charges them with a negligence of their own salvation. (*Multi propriæ salutis immemores.* Const. Leg. 31.) Their wives, however, seem to have been retained with some shew of privacy, and it appears that they commonly took care to leave such documents behind them as were sufficient to establish the validity of their marriage. The Cardinal's next canon is against clergymen who *publicly* kept mistresses. Unless such scandalous offenders dismissed their paramours within a month, they were to be suspended, and if they should be found to be incorrigible, they were to be deprived. To this canon succeeds one prohibiting a son from succeeding his father in a benefice, and ordering that all such incumbents be deprived. It seems probable, that this Italian Cardinal's interference prevented the English clergy from marrying so avowedly as heretofore, and that, accordingly, all females cohabiting with ecclesiastics were obliged to pass under the humiliating name of concubines. As, however, many of them, undoubtedly, could lay claim to the respectable character of wives, archdeacons appear to have been commonly lax in prying into the secrets of such clerical families, and bishops unwilling to inflict the prescribed penalties. Hence Othobon, in his legatine constitutions of 1248, repeats the canon of his predecessor, with this addition, that such negligent or considerate individuals, being bishops, should be suspended from the use of the dalmatic, tunic, and sandals; being archdeacons, from enter-

Christian history, but the wisdom of councils opposed this delusive and pernicious rigour. Ecclesiastics of distinction, however, were commonly single, and the prejudices in favour of such as declined marriage were constantly gaining ground during the dark ages. Still it was not until after an arduous struggle, that Hildebrand, in the eleventh century, found means of forcing the celibate upon individuals in holy orders. Nor were his arbitrary mandates upon

ing the church. (Const. Leg. 73.) Friar Peckham, among the constitutions of Reading, enacted under him, as Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1279, adds severity to Othobon's canon, so far as archdeacons are concerned; a plain proof, that the persevering career of iniquity and tyranny which the Italian party had been enabled to run during the feeble and miserable reigns of the Kings John and Henry III. had failed of enslaving the whole clergy of England. The same Archbishop, at another council, repeated the substance of former canons against clergymen's sons. Nevertheless, it is evident that ecclesiastics continued to marry, but probably when they did it with some degree of publicity, they contented themselves with filling such offices as prescribed duties not strictly clerical. There is, accordingly, a constitution of Archbishop Chichley's, who took possession of the see of Canterbury in 1414, inhibiting married ecclesiastics from exercising any spiritual jurisdiction, or from acting as registrars. (Lindwood, 94.) The engagement by which, upon the continent, clergymen were considered as obliged to celibacy, was the answer given on ordination to the subdiaconate. It was asked, "Wilt thou follow chastity and sobriety?" The reply was, "I will." In England the question was not asked. (Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 147.) By these words, however, a man no more binds himself to abstain from marriage in obedience to the Pope, than he binds himself to abstain from wine in obedience to Mahomet. See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. I. 42, 344, II. 318.

this head uniformly obeyed until long after his death. When at length, this refined but unprincipled stroke of papal policy came into full operation, nothing could be more unhappy than its effects. A very large proportion of the clergy abandoned themselves with little compunction, or even concealment, to the most gross and infamous licentiousness [g]. They formed, however, a

[g] The preamble to the act passed by this Parliament is a voucher for the experience of the two Houses, as to England, upon this painful and disgraceful subject. About the same period an application was made to the council of Trent, by Ferdinand of Austria, for the concession of marriage to his clergy, because their impure celibacy had become extremely hateful to the people. *In Catholicis sacerdotibus cætera ferre potest, impurum vero cœlibatum extreme semper odit.* (Ferd. ad Conc. Trid. ap. Schelhorn, Amoen. Hist. Eccl. t. i. p. 548.) "And how little the case was mended by the council appears in a visitation made in the year 1629, at the command of Pope Paul V. when it was found, that among the ecclesiastics of three large provinces, who had all been bred up under the severe discipline of the Jesuits, there were only six priests who did not keep concubines." (Ridley's Review of Phillips's Life of Pole. Lond. 1766. p. 175.) Cardinal Pole and his colleagues, when charged by the Pope with devising a plan for reforming the Roman Church, were constrained to represent the infamy accruing to their cause from the clerical profligacy which openly disgraced the papal capital. In that "eternal city" were to be seen, say these unexceptionable authorities, women of notorious unchastity passing through the streets at mid-day, attended by noblemen intimate with cardinals, and clergymen. *(In hac etiam urbe, meretrices ut matronæ incedunt per urbem, seu mula vehuntur, quas assectantur de media die Nobiles familiares Cardinalium, Clericique.* Ibid.) Other reasons against enforcing clerical celibacy, some of them much more intolerable and offensive than those mentioned above may be seen in this work of Ridley's. Such reasons were col-

body more completely at the Pope's devotion, more acceptable to the undiscerning majority, which is ever the dupe of hollow pretensions, and more likely to make continual accessions of opulence and power, than if they had entered upon those domestic ties which knit other men to the society around them.

Before the bill for allowing clerical marriages received the sanction of Parliament, the question was earnestly debated, and the grounds of it narrowly examined in the Convocation. It was found, however, that the clergy were more generally satisfied as to the propriety of resuming their natural privileges, than they had shewn themselves in the last year. Then only fifty-

lected by Bale from different Romish authorities, and published in a tract entitled, "The Actes of Englysh Votaryes, comprehendynge their unchast practyses and examples by all ages, from the worldes begynnynge to thys present yeare, collected out of their owne legendes and chronycles; by John Bale. Wesel. 1546." Nothing can be more disgusting than this publication. To the impurity of imagination, however, prevailing among the ancient Romish priesthood, many of their books bear an indirect testimony. Upon the morals of the modern Romish priesthood, in his native Spain, let the eloquent and ingenuous Mr. Blanco White deliver the results of his mournful experience. "I have known the best among them. I have heard their confessions; I have heard the confessions of young persons of both sexes, who fell under the influence of their suggestions and example; and I do declare that nothing can be more dangerous to youthful virtue than their company. How many souls would be saved from crime, but for the vain display of pretended superior virtue, which Rome demands of her clergy!" Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism. Lond. 1825. p. 133.

three members of the Lower House assented to the proposition. But now seventy divines in that House, consisting of deans, archdeacons, doctors, and heads of colleges, approved by their signatures the principle of conceding to clergymen the exercise of that discretion which had been wrested from them under the papal usurpation [h].

After a short recess during the festivities of Christmas, the new book of Common Prayer furnished keen debates within the walls of Parliament. A bill to authorise this important compilation was brought into the House of Commons on the 9th of December, and on the following day it was offered to the Lords. Among these

[h] "As we learn from one (John Rogers) who seems to have been a member in that Convocation, or at least well acquainted with the transactions of it." (Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 209.) The following statement, made upon the most unexceptionable contemporary authority, and of which many in the Convocation must have known the truth, should, perhaps, be subjoined. "Archbishop Parker, who has treated this subject at large (Defence of Priest's Marriages by an anonymous author, published by Abp. Parker, with some insertions of his own) relates, that those called concubines to the English clergy were many of them lawfully married. Thus, to use his own words, *There be no small arguments, that some bishops and the best of the clergy, living within the memory of man, did continue; and elsewhere divers of the clergy lived secretly with wives, and provided for their children under the names of nephews, and other men's children: in which lived Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury,* (1244.) (*Vulgus eum sæpe ut uxoratum exprobrabat.* Antiqu. Brit. 284.) *and other bishops of old days, and some also of late days; though all the world did not bark at the matter.*" Collier, II. 262.

distinguished legislators it encountered a severe opposition. However, on the 15th of January, the bill passed: a protest being entered against it by the Earl of Derby, the bishops Boner, Tunstall, Repps, Aldrich, Skip, Heath, Thirlby, and Day, together with the Lords Dacre and Windsor. The act provided, that the new service should be used in all churches on the following Whit-Sunday at farthest. Clergymen, refusing or neglecting to use it, were to forfeit, for the first offence, one year's income of their benefices; for the second, all their preferments, and to suffer a twelvemonth's imprisonment; for the third, they were to be imprisoned for life. Those who should libel the new offices by means of writing or printing, or who should endeavour by menaces to keep any priest from conformity, were to forfeit ten pounds for the first offence, twice that sum for the second, and all their goods for the third, besides being imprisoned for life. To the Universities was conceded the privilege of using the new service in Greek or Latin, excepting the Communion-office. No sooner had the work become a general subject of popular discussion, than attacks were levelled by the Romish party against two particulars in the preamble to the act. It was there stated, that the book had been drawn up "by one uniform agreement," and "by the aid of the Holy Ghost." Exceptions were made to the former of these assertions, as untrue, to the latter, as presumptuous. Positive untruth being, however, plainly out of the question, it seems

probable, that nothing more was intended in the first instance, than to assert the unanimity of the actual compilers. The objectors, it is likely, represented this assertion as made of a larger committee than that which really brought the work to a close. Even of such among the presumed commissioners as dissented from what was done, it is not, indeed, reasonable to suppose, that the objections were very material. Every man of education was aware, that the new offices were either translated from Romish formularies, or were selected from Scripture. Hence there was no part of the compilation to which a learned Romanist would venture to object. All that he could allege against it related to its omissions[i]. These were certainly numerous and important; wholly sweeping away the errors, absurdities, and fictions accumulated during the dark ages. In asserting, that their labours had been conducted under favour of Divine assistance, the liturgists, probably, meant only to intimate, that they had not forgotten to supplicate earnestly for that heavenly influence of which God has encouraged the expec-

i "I myself have heard some Jesuits confess, that in the Liturgy of the Church of England, there is no positive error. And being pressed, why then they refused to come to our churches, and serve God with us? they answered, they could not do it, because, though our Liturgy had nothing in it ill, yet it wanted a great deal of that which was good, and was in their service." (Archbishop of Laud's conference with Fisher, the Jesuit. Lond. 1686. p. 200.) King Edward's first service-book was, however, still less offensive to Romish prejudices than the Liturgy used in Archbishop Laud's time.

tation to those who ask for it [k]. While the compilation was in hand, the prayers of ecclesiastics generally were claimed by royal proclamation for those who were thus occupied in providing for the spiritual wants of their countrymen. By this mandate of authority all preaching was suspended for a time, "to the intent, that the whole clergy in this mean space, might apply themselves to prayer to Almighty God, for the better achieving of the same most godly intent and purpose [l]." By many devout spirits, in every part of England, it cannot be doubted, this proclamation was obeyed, as well as by the liturgical committee. Nor were the members of this justly censurable in claiming for their labours the sanction which they had every reason to expect. The integrity of their lives was notorious, the moderation of their proceedings undeniable, their attainments of the first order, and the result of their undertaking was strictly conformable to the recorded Word of God. Popes and councils, it should be recollected, had been wont to publish their decisions with an assertion that in making them the Holy Spirit was their guide. Such, however, of these eminent ecclesiastical authorities as were awakened to the knowledge of true religion, might reasonably fear to claim this sanction for all their judgments founded upon tradition [m]. This fatal defect not

[k] St. Luke xi. 13.

[l] Collier, II. 262.

[m] "A blasphemous proverb was generally used, that, *The Synod of Trent was guided by the Holy Ghost sent thither from time to time, in a cloak-bag from Rome.*" F. Paul. 497.

attaching to our Reformers, and being otherwise not unworthy, they were warranted in considering their labours as favoured from on high. They were, moreover, bound, in justice to their cause, to avow their honest conviction in a manner confident, though temperate. Eminent spiritual gifts had long been claimed by the Romish hierarchy as its exclusive inheritance, and its influence could not be destroyed, until men were shaken in their belief as to the validity of these claims. It became, therefore, the duty of those who laboured to reform the Catholic Church to insist, that their particular branch of it possessed every privilege promised by Christ to his faithful disciples. Hence they would have betrayed an injurious timidity, if they had forborne to assert, on a great public occasion, that they felt assured of having acted under that Divine guidance which Holy Scripture encourages pious Christians to expect in all their well-intentioned and well-directed undertakings. Had any unusual diffidence been displayed by the liturgical committee, it is indeed highly probable, that Romanists would have dwelt upon it as a proof, that the Reformers themselves distrusted the soundness of their cause. Such an impression respecting any party can never prevail without impairing its influence. The virtuous, learned, and enlightened divines, therefore, who re modelled the public devotions of Englishmen, displayed their usual wisdom in boldly assigning to their labours that heavenly character which individuals similarly

employed were wont to claim, and upon which those especially could calculate with reasonable assurance who rejected every thing, that was not either Scripture, or in unison with it.

The act to enforce the use of the new Liturgy contains a clause evidently intended to gratify the taste for devotional pieces in rhyme then prevalent, especially with the reforming party. Psalms, or prayers taken out of the Bible, were to be allowed in public worship, provided that no part of the legal service were omitted[n]. Hymns in rhyme are of high antiquity in the West, and many such, some of them very pleasing, are admitted into the Latin service-books. The Bohemian and German Reformers published such pieces in their vernacular tongue, and Marot did the same thing in France about the year 1540. His version, which originally comprised thirty of David's Psalms, was no sooner published than it became highly popular. Even Francis I., and most of the licentious or thoughtless persons who figured at his court, committed these devotional poems to memory, adapted them to agreeable tunes, and sang them habitually. Marot afterwards presented his countrymen with twenty more of the Psalms in French rhyme. But this new publication appeared at Geneva, whither the poet had been obliged to flee in order to escape a prosecution for heresy. He died in 1544, and Beza then accomplished a metrical version of the

[n] Collier, II. 263.

remaining Psalms. Towards the close of King Henry's reign were attempted such English versions. One of them, chiefly by Sir Thomas Wyatt, was printed in 1549. In the same year appeared fifty-one Psalms versified by Sternhold[o]. His labours formed the basis of that metrical collection which is yet used in many of our churches, but which has long sunk into general disesteem. It should, however, be observed in justice to these ancient psalmodists, that although many poets have subsequently trodden in their steps, no one hitherto has satisfied the public.

From another act passed in this session, it may reasonably be presumed, that the unsettled state of ecclesiastical affairs continued to supply avaricious minds with pretences for resisting the payment of tythes. After observing that the legislative enactments of the late reign had failed of securing the tythe-owner in his rights, it was decreed, that all, who should for the future subtract their predial tythes, unless already compounded for, should be liable to a forfeiture of treble their value. It was also provided, that tythe-owners, or their servants, might lawfully see the said tythes set out, and carry them off without molestation. Another clause renders cattle feeding upon commons, not certainly known as parcels of any particular parish, liable to a demand for tythes from the tythe-owner of the nearest parish. Another clause subjects land newly taken into cultivation

[o] Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia. Art. Psalmody.

to the payment of tythes at the expiration of seven years, unless it should have been exempted from that burthen by act of Parliament. This act also professed to provide for the better payment of personal tythes, or an income-tax of ten *per cent.* upon their gains to which mercantile, professional, trading, and manufacturing persons, not being daily labourers, are liable, in all towns customarily free from the tythe upon houses. It was enacted, that this impost be paid by every individual liable to it at, or before, Easter in each year; and it was stated to consist in the tenth part of a man's clear gains after deducting his expences [p]. The whole clause, however, was little better than a mere nullity; for the allowance of expences gave men an opportunity of rendering such an account to the tythe-owner as should leave little or nothing to his share. Personal tythes, accordingly, have become obsolete [q], a circumstance by no means to be regretted, if the Legislature had in their place imposed a small tax upon all houses in towns, for the maintenance of the minister.

As if to alleviate in some degree the mortification sustained by the Romish party in this session of Parliament, an act was passed for the effectual observance of Lent, and other fast days. It being

[p] Collier, II. 264.

[q] Millers continue to pay a small annual sum by way of tythe; at least so far as the writer's knowledge extends. But it is a mere trifle, and exacted without any enquiry into the individual's gains.

now universally known, that distinctions of meats are not prescribed in the New Testament, a general disposition continued to prevail among men to supply their tables at all times in such a manner as might suit their palates or circumstances. This unwonted license occasioned great disgust in many quarters. Since, however, a return to compulsory fish-eating at stated seasons was evidently not to be expected from the people, under the dread of royal proclamations alone, fines and imprisonment were now denounced by the Legislature against all who not being so fortunate as to be indulged by the King or the Primate with permission to dine after their own fashion, should presume to order their tables at certain seasons otherwise than authority prescribed. It is stated in the preamble to the act, that "divers of the King's subjects have abused their improvement in knowledge, turned epicures under better instruction, and broken the fasting days of the Church," which are serviceable to virtue, because tending to subdue the flesh to the spirit, and advantageous to the state, because tending to keep up the stock of cattle, and to encourage the fisheries. It was therefore enacted, that such persons as continued these indulgences, should for the first offence be liable to a fine of ten shillings, and to an imprisonment of ten days, all to be passed in total abstinence from butcher's meat. The second offence was to be visited by a double portion of these penalties, and this increase was to go regularly onwards until the offender should

have taken care to keep clear of such prosecutions [r].

On the 7th of January, the House of Commons performed an act of justice towards one of the best men of his own, or of any age, in addressing the Protector to restore the venerable Latimer to his former bishopric of Worcester. That eminent example of apostolical zeal, and inflexible integrity was, however, perfectly contented under Cranmer's hospitable roof. In that dependent situation he could make himself useful by the force and earnestness of his pulpit-oratory, as well as by his advice or interference in cases of individual difficulty or hardship. He thus had reason to feel a humble confidence, that the talents entrusted to him were not unimproved, and he desired no more; the routine of business, and the trappings of rank impeded his evangelical ardour, and wearied his humble spirit. He, therefore, declined to avail himself of the popular favour for the recovery of his former wealth and dignity [s].

Another ineffectual motion made in this session of Parliament was one to increase the power of the spiritual courts. Great complaints were now made of an unusual licentiousness in morals;

[r] Collier, II. 265. This bill was committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Ely, Worcester, and Chichester. (Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 152.) The prescribed days of fasting under this act were "all Fridays and Saturdays in the year, the time of Lent, the Ember days, the eves or vigils of such saints as had been anciently used for fasts by the rules of the Church." Heylin, Hist. Ref. 69.

[s] Ibid.

and indeed, it is not unlikely, that the unsettled state of religion had afforded to men of debauched habits, a pretence for practising their irregularities with less than ordinary reserve. Many preachers endeavoured to stem this torrent of iniquity by representing, that it was likely to draw down Divine judgments upon the nation. The Legislature, however, declined to arm the ecclesiastical authorities with any new privileges. The clergy, it was represented, were so generally attached to Romanism, that they would be likely to use any increase of jurisdiction, not so much for the purpose of repressing vice, as for that of silencing Protestant opponents [t].

Before Parliament was prorogued, it was called upon to visit with severity the dangerous practices of the Protector's brother. Raised unexpectedly by King Henry's marriage with their sister from a moderate condition to distinguished aristocratic honours, and now strong in the partiality of the reigning prince, the Seymours apparently stood among English families pre-eminently fortunate. But within their own circle were the seeds of misery and ruin, which the uninterrupted sunshine of prosperity soon matured. The younger brother having attained a peerage, the post of Lord Admiral, and extensive estates [u], appears to have looked upon these acquisitions only as the means of outstripping the Protector in the career of ambition. Lord Seymour was

[t] Ibid. 154.

[u] Strypé, Eccl. Mem. II. 195.

in demeanour spirited and stately, his dress was elegant, and his voice musical. That his discourse was vain and frivolous, that in habits he was dissipated, were defects in his character easily overlooked by the superficial multitude[x]. Too often, fatally for female happiness, men of an exterior so prepossessing, even though notoriously deficient in sense and morals, find themselves enabled to form advantageous marriages. To such a mode of advancement, accordingly, is their attention usually directed. Seymour's favourite project appears to have been a marriage with the Lady Elizabeth[y]. He probably thought, that as the reigning monarch was a delicate child, and the Lady Mary of doubtful legitimacy, he might reasonably calculate, by means of the younger princess, upon attaining the matrimonial crown. But Henry's executors frustrated his scheme[z], and the Admiral then immediately transferred his attentions to Catherine Parr, the widowed Queen. That excellent lady, whose piety had ever been conspicuous, and who had acted in general, with great soundness of discretion, evinced upon this occasion a weakness unworthy of her character. With such indecent precipitancy did she yield to the addresses of her suitor, that if pregnancy had immediately ensued it might have admitted of a doubt whether the

[x] Hayward, 301.

[y] Articles objected to the Lord Seymour, of Sudley. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 220.

[z] Ibid.

issue should be assigned to the late monarch, or to her new husband [a]. As some palliation of this levity and indecorum, Catherine alleged, that her love for Seymour was of long standing, and that, whilst the widow of Lord Latimer, she had fixed upon him as a spouse; a state of feeling which indisposed her even towards Henry's splendid offer [b]. Seymour, having clandestinely formed this connexion with royalty, shortly afterwards began that course of quarrelling with the Protector which eventually ruined both the brothers. No sooner was his marriage publicly known, than he claimed, in right of his wife, certain jewels and other effects, probably considered as crown property, which Somerset thought proper to withhold [c]. The irritation arising from this source received poignancy from Seymour's offensive conduct. He continued to pay such attentions to the Lady Elizabeth as aroused the jealousy of his wife [d]. He habitually slunk away from the daily prayers which that pious Queen caused to be said for the edification of her household; and he became notorious for griping rapacity [e]. In the last September, Catherine died

[a] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 220.

[b] As "it seems by a letter of her own writing from Chelsea, soon after her marriage." Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 206.

[c] The Lord Admiral to the Lady Mary. Burghley State Papers, by Haynes. Lond. 1740.

[d] Confession of Parry, cofferer to the Lady Elizabeth. (Ibid.) That young Princess was residing at Chelsea, under the Queen Dowager's care.

[e] Latimer's Sermons, I. 207.

in child-bed, leaving behind her an only daughter, named Mary, who was ultimately entrusted to the care of the Duchess of Suffolk, like her mother, a lady of eminent piety and virtue [f]. On the death of his excellent wife, it was hoped by Seymour's friends that his misunderstanding with the Protector would terminate. Somerset had taken for his second wife Anne Stanhope, a woman remarkable for haughtiness of spirit [g]. This conspicuous imperfection in her character afforded to ordinary minds, ever prone to seek absurd and inadequate causes, an explanation of the differences existing between the Protector and his brother. It was believed that the former's wife had burned with indignation when she saw, that though become a Duchess, and though married to the first subject in England, her husband's younger brother claimed for his own spouse, as the widow of a King, the precedence above her [h]. No sooner, however,

[f] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 200. [g] Hayward, 301.

[h] Sanders assigns this origin to the disagreement between the Seymours, as do many other historians much more worthy of credit. Camden, in his Elizabeth, (p. 541.) mentioning some persons of distinction who died in April, 1587, thus records the death of one among them: "Anne Stanhope, Duchess of Somerset, being ninety years of age, formerly wife of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and Protector of England; who, by her womanish contending with Catherine Parr, Queen Dowager of King Henry VIII. for precedence of worth and dignity, was the cause of great bustles in the family of the Seymours; while she was persuaded by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who plotted the ruin of this noble and potent house, that she, being the Protector's wife, ought not to bear up the train of the Queen Dowager, who

had Catherine descended to the tomb, than Seymour privately renewed his suit to the Lady Elizabeth, who was then in her sixteenth year, and who, as would most young females of that age, shewed herself inclined to terminate abruptly the restraints of pupillage, by matching with a man esteemed more than ordinarily spirited and fashionable. As another means of rising to the eminence for which he panted, the Admiral basely endeavoured to corrupt his royal nephew. He assailed Edward by working upon his vanity and anger, a mode of dealing with persons in early life more likely than any other to hurry them into criminal acts of folly. The Protector seems to have done his duty by his important ward in that most essential point, the keeping him short of money. This gave to Seymour an opportunity

was married to the Protector's brother, or to give her place." From a conversation, however, between Wightman and Throckmorton, two members of Lord Seymour's household, which is preserved in the Burghley papers, it appears, that this ground was assigned to the differences between the brothers upon mere surmise. Throckmorton, speaking of the Queen Dowager's death, thus expressed himself as to his master, the Admiral: "I trust it will make him a good waiter at the court, and make him more humble in heart and stomach towards my Lord Protector's Grace, I promise you, if my Lord be either wise or politic, he will become a new manner of man both in heart and service, for he must remember, that if ever any grudge were borne towards him by my Lady of Somerset, it was, *as most men guess*, for the Queen's cause." In opposition to this general "*guess*" it may be observed, that there existed much more solid and rational grounds for the disagreement between the Seymours than those which it assumed.

of thus addressing him, "Ye are but even a very beggarly King now: ye have not wherewith to play, nor to give to your servants." This irritating language was accompanied by pecuniary offers on the unworthy speaker's part, and by intimations, that the young sovereign was fully equal to assume the reins of government. Edward could not resist the temptation of applying secretly to his uncle for money[i]. Thus the Admiral acquired a hold upon his nephew's mind, which might have aided him in his ulterior designs. For his pecuniary resources he made provision by means of Sir William Sharington, an unprincipled peculator, who, to his own infamy, and the nation's loss, managed the royal mint at Bristol. This worthless functionary had engaged to furnish Seymour with such money as he coined, to the nominal amount of ten thousand pounds a month, whenever he should be called upon for that purpose[k]. Thus prepared, the Admiral provisioned largely his castle of Holt, in Denbighshire[l], advised some noblemen, who envied the Protector's greatness, to form a party among their country neighbours[m], and even looked for adherents among pirates by conniving at their depredations[n].

[i] The King's confession, and Fowler's letter. Burghley Papers.

[k] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 192.

[l] Ibid. 195.

[m] Earl of Rutland's confession. Burghley Papers.

[n] Articles objected to the Lord Seymour. Burnet, *ut supra*, 222.

Information of these unwarrantable acts being laid before the privy council, he was, on the 19th of January, committed to the Tower by a warrant, which the whole of that body signed. It was hoped, that this decisive measure would humble Seymour's haughty spirit, and communications were made to him, having for their object his retirement into a private station. These overtures, however, he resolutely declined, insisting upon an open trial if any criminality were seriously laid to his charge. This demand was eluded, probably because the overt acts which could be proved against him were barely such as to affect his life. But the whole mass of accusation was digested under thirty-three heads, and from it no doubt can be entertained, that the Admiral's designs were inconsistent with the public tranquillity. Soon afterwards the whole privy council, excepting Cranmer and the Speaker, went in a body to the Tower, and attempted to bend him to submission. But Seymour would admit nothing, and again demanded to be confronted with his accusers in open court. On the following day, being the 24th of February, the whole affair was submitted to the young King. The counsellors delivered their sentiments upon the case, in succession, ending with the Protector, who deplored his misfortune in being driven to recommend extremities against his own brother. Edward, unexpectedly, and of his own motion, as it is said °, thus ex-

° "So it is marked in the council-book." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 158.

pressed himself: "We perceive, that there are great things objected and laid to my Lord Admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason; and we perceive, that you require but justice to be done: we think it reasonable, and we will, that you proceed according to your request." No time was now lost in apprising Seymour of his danger, and moved, probably, by the prospect, he listened to the advice of the Lord Chancellor, and of some other privy councillors, who again repaired to his prison. He answered the first three of the articles objected against him. His admissions established, that he had shewn a desire to gain possession of the King's person clandestinely, that he had supplied Edward with money, and that he had placed in the young monarch's hand a letter which, after receiving the royal signature, was to have been presented to the house of Commons. But he explained his conversation as to obtaining his nephew's person surreptitiously, by saying that he then spoke in jest, and that his only serious object was to separate the personal care of the King, from the regency of the kingdom. He added, however, that although these two distinguished trusts had not usually gone together, when he recollected his own consent to their union in his brother's person, he desisted with shame from any attempt to separate them [p]. Seymour having given these three answers refused to sign them, and no intreaties availed to

[p] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 224.

gain from him any reply to the remaining thirty charges. Some of these, it is true, are of doubtful weight, but those which concern his intercourse with pirates are in the highest degree disgraceful to his character as Lord Admiral, and if he could have rebutted them satisfactorily, he was imperiously bound in justice to himself not to neglect it. On the following day a bill of attainder against him was brought into the Upper House. The judges declared, that the acts charged were treason, and evidence was heard, as to the facts. Upon these grounds the Lords passed the bill on the 27th of the month, and sent it down to the Commons. In the Lower House were started many scruples. It was argued there, that attainders were unfair and dangerous measures which ought to be steadily resisted, as the only way to restore the old and equitable usage of condemning no man without a fair trial. At least, it was said, the Admiral ought to be brought to the bar of the House, and thus allowed an opportunity of being heard in his defence. The court, however, would not consent to this, and therefore, on the fourth of March, a King's message was brought down to the Commons informing them, that his Majesty did not think it necessary that the accused should appear at their bar, but that the peers who had deposed to his criminality in the Upper House, should repeat their evidence before them. This expedient was adopted, and then not more than ten or twelve, out of about four hundred members who were present, voted

against the attainder[q]. On the following day, being the 5th of March, the bill received the royal assent, and on the 10th of that month the council required his Majesty to sanction their arrangements for the Admiral's execution: it being their intention to forbear from troubling either himself or the Protector with the details of that distressing event. The required sanction was promptly given, and the Bishop of Ely having previously endeavoured to prepare the prisoner for death, the warrant for his execution was signed on the 17th of March. Among the privy councillors who set their hands to this instrument were both Somerset and Cranmer[r]. The latter's name, especially, has excited animadversion, because it had not been usual with churchmen to participate in proceedings affecting life or limb[s]. Their conduct, however, in this respect being dictated by

[q] It appears, however, from Latimer's fifth sermon before King Edward, that the people out of doors were far from being satisfied with the conduct of their representatives in this affair. The venerable preacher undertook to defend the Legislature, but he admits that an attainder is a mode of proceeding against an accused person, only to be adopted from necessity.

[r] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 160.

[s] By the 9th canon of a council holden at London, under Archbishop Lanfranc, in 1075, it was enacted, "That no bishop, abbot, or clergyman was to judge any person to the loss of life, or limb; or to give his vote or countenance for that purpose to any others." A similar canon was passed in the council of Toledo, in 675. (Collier, I. 245.) The English prelates claiming the privilege of being allowed to obey the canons, have, in consequence, been used to withdraw from the House of Peers, in capital cases, protesting, at the same time, their right to stay.

Romish canons chiefly, Cranmer might think himself at liberty to use his own judgment in such cases, and there can be no doubt, that those who deemed the Admiral's death necessary for the national tranquillity were anxious to have the sanction of every name carrying any weight with it. Seymour was beheaded upon Tower Hill on the 20th of March, and he then declared, that "he had never committed, or meant any treason against the King, or kingdom[t]." His mind, however, appears to have been but ill prepared for its approaching change up to a short time before the closing scene. For Latimer, whose attendance he had desired, affirmed in the pulpit, that he died "very dangerously, irksomely, horribly[u]." This harsh language was extorted from the zealous preacher, because it was discovered, that one of the unhappy prisoner's latest cares was the writing of letters for clandestine conveyance, to the two Princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, intreating them to avenge his death[x].

On the 14th of March, the Parliament was prorogued. During its session, subsidies had been granted by both clergy and laity. The former body acknowledged, in the preamble to their grant, the national happiness in being allowed peaceably, and uninterruptedly to worship God.

[t] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 72.

[u] These expressions being justly deemed offensive, were expunged from the edition of Latimer's sermons published in 1571.

[x] Note to Hayward, 302.

The latter expressed their exultation in the profession of Christ's true religion, and declared their willingness to forsake all things rather than Christ [y].

The Admiral had no sooner been executed, than all who had hated Somerset loudly execrated that statesman's conduct. He was represented as a fratricide, a monster, a selfish and sanguinary man, most unfit to be trusted with the guardianship of his royal nephew. It was even whispered in some quarters, that Edward had actually fallen a victim to the Protector's unprincipled ambition, and that his demise would be announced as soon as his uncle was ready to usurp the throne. A powerful intellect would have despised such a malignant absurdity, but it seriously disquieted the honest mediocrity of Somerset. He caused, accordingly, the youthful monarch to be paraded through the streets of London; thus silencing the stupidest calumny levelled at him by giving to all men an opportunity of seeing, that Edward was neither dead, nor unusually sickly [z]. The Protector's vanity too was at this time fast augmenting the popular prejudice against him. Along the Strand stood a range of spacious mansions, with gardens to the Thames, and serving to lodge families of the highest distinction during their visits to the metropolis. Somerset had determined to build within this favourite line a magnificent palace for his own occupation, and no ground being disen-

[y] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 162. [z] Hayward, 303.

gaged, he resolved to find some by pillaging the Church. Accordingly, the Bishops of Worcester, Lichfield and Coventry, and Landaff were ousted of their parliamentary residences. These mansions, together with the parochial church of St. Mary le Strand, were then demolished, and upon the ground thus cleared, the Protector began to build. The materials upon the spot being insufficient for his vast designs, he determined upon pulling down the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, and of assigning to the parish a portion of the nave in the adjacent abbey. The parishioners, however, armed with various offensive weapons, drove away his workmen, and he thought it prudent to desist from his sacrilegious attempt. He then looked eastward for the means of carrying on his erections. Abutting on St. Paul's cathedral, towards the north, stood an extensive cloister, ornamented, as such arcades were not uncommonly, by a series of allegorical figures representing the dance of death. The space of ground enclosed within this venerable over-arched walk was used as a cemetery, and called Pardon Church-yard. In the centre of it was reared a chapel. These ancient and curious edifices, together with a charnel-house, and attached chapel, on the cathedral's southern side, fell before the selfish vandalism of Somerset. The building materials thus set free were speedily transferred to the Strand, and an immense quantity of human bones, disturbed, as might be expected, in a place so long used for sepulture, were deposited in Fins-

bury Fields [a]. All these destructive operations having failed to supply sufficient means for the completion of his plan, the Protector followed them by causing to be blown up by gun-powder the steeple, and great part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem, near Smithfield [b]. These erections were of very recent date, and of conspicuous beauty, and extreme was the popular disgust, as the materials obtained from this, as well as from former demolitions passed onwards to their new destination. Often has a statesman had occasion to repent the erection of a splendid residence for his own accommodation. The labour and responsibility of eminent stations, although the real foundations of official greatness, are contentedly left by the mass of men to the few who are competent for them; but no sooner do distinguished individuals display their importance by outward magnificence, than every petty coxcomb looks upon them with hatred and envy. But if it be thus dangerous in public men to indulge an ostentatious taste even unexceptionably, it must be a fatal mistake in such persons to gratify their vanity by reprehensible means, as did the Protector. His erections, accordingly, obtained for him the

[a] "This notice of former superstitions was gained by this barbarity, used by him, (Somerset) and others under the reigns of King Henry, and King Edward, that among a great number of rotten carcases were found caskets full of pardons safely folded and lapped together in the bottom of their graves." Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 283.

[b] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 73.

character among political enemies, and the illiberal crowd, not only of a vain upstart, but also of a sacrilegious plunderer.

While such as valued Somerset for his religious opinions had so much reason to regret the popular odium which had fallen upon him, their uneasiness was augmented by the progress of heretical and antisocial doctrines. Political events in Germany had recently driven many Anabaptists into England [c], and these dangerous fanatics were now intent upon propagating among their insular associates those hateful positions [d] which had caused so much evil upon the continent. From the activity of these foreigners, joined to such elements of heterodoxy as were of domestic growth, resulted a prevalence of unsound opinions esteemed highly disgraceful to the Reformation, and certainly tending to disturb the country. For the purpose of silencing such as were

[c] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 177.

[d] The following passage, cited by Lewis from the amiable and candid Melancthon's Common Places, enumerates the dangerous opinions broached by the Anabaptists. "Habent *multas impias opiniones*, non solum de baptismo, sed etiam de cæteris articulis Christianæ doctrinæ. Damnant pleraque politica, ut judicia, juramentum, rerum divisionem, &c. Unde satis apparet eos non intelligere spiritualem justitiam, sed imaginari Christianismum esse tantum quendam externum monachatum. Imo Anabaptistæ nuper nati etiam turpiter docent, conjugem debere discedere a conjuge abhorrente a secta Anabaptistica. Et alicubi jam per seditionem pepulerunt legitimos magistratus. Item fingunt tale Christi regnum in terris ante novissimum diem futurum esse, in quo dominaturi sint sancti deletis omnibus impiis." Brief History of Anabaptism in England. Lond. 1738, p. 48.

intent upon undermining the principles of sound religion, a commission was issued in April, directed to Archbishop Cranmer, the Bishops Goodrich, Heath, Thirlby, Day, Holbeach, and Ridley, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smyth, Dr. Cox. Dr. May, and some others. These commissioners were empowered to take cognizance of Anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the Common Prayer. Several such persons, accordingly, were brought before the court, and persuaded to recant[e]. Among those who were brought into trouble upon this occasion, were some persons holding heretical opinions respecting the Second Person in the Adorable Trinity, and one of them, unhappily, refused to abandon her sentiments. This was Joan Bocher, who being found inaccessible to reason or persuasion, was necessarily, according to the barbarous laws then in force, delivered over to the secular arm. The sentence of excommunication was read by Archbishop Cranmer, who was assisted by Sir Thomas Smyth, Cook, dean of the arches, and Lyell, doctor of laws. The excommunication rested upon the following grounds: "You believe, that the Word was made flesh in the Virgin's belly; but that Christ took flesh of the Virgin you believe not, because the flesh of the Virgin, being the outward man, was sinfully begotten, and born in sin. But the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh[f]." As the accused

[e] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 178. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 254.

[f] Sentence against Joan of Kent. (Burnet, Hist. Ref. Re-

admitted this nonsensical heterodoxy, and refused to retract it, obviously Cranmer, sitting as a judge, was obliged to excommunicate her. Nor can any blame attach to him for having done so, unless it were known that he advised the prosecution. Upon this subject, however, we are wholly in the dark. Under this uncertainty, it is satisfactory to reflect, that Edward's government appeared very unwilling to carry into execution the barbarous rigour which had been introduced into English jurisprudence during the papal usurpation. The excommunicated woman was detained in custody during twelve months, in which space of time both the Primate and Bishop Ridley frequently conversed with her [g]. From these facts it is evident, that both prelates, as well as the government would gladly have preserved this

cords, II. 329.) The instrument appended to this sentence, which certifies the formal delivery of the poor woman over to the secular arm, is dated April 30. Latimer thus mentions this disgraceful case. "I told you the last time of one Joan of Kent, which was in this foolish opinion, that she should say, our Saviour was not very man, and had not received flesh of his mother Mary; and yet she could shew no reason why she should believe so. Her opinion was this, as I told you before. The Son of God, said she, penetrated through her, as through a glass, taking no substance of her. But our creed teacheth us contrariwise, for we say, *Natus ex Maria Virgine*, 'Born of the Virgin Mary:' so this foolish woman denied the common creed, and said, that our Saviour had a phantastical body: which is most untrue, as it appeareth evidently in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where St. Paul plainly saith, that Christ was made of the woman, that he took his flesh from the woman." Sermons, II. 335.

[g] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 258.

oppressed female's life. It is, however, not unlikely, that Cranmer, and his friends also, concurred in the propriety of subjecting glaring cases of heresy to judicial cognizance. In the last December, a priest named Ashton, who denied the deity of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, was summoned to Lambeth by means of two of the Archbishop's chaplains. It is not probable, that such a prosecution should have been instituted without Cranmer's privity. Fortunately the heterodox priest recanted[h]. As his case and Bocher's are not without parallel in the records of this time, it is reasonable to believe, that a disposition to revive the early heresies was now rather gaining ground, and there can be no doubt, that the friends of scriptural Christianity felt deep concern in observing such a tendency. Not only was a colour thereby given to the cavils of their Romish adversaries, but also violence was thus done to their own golden rule, by which canonical Scripture alone, fairly interpreted, was admitted as the ground of faith. Now those who hold anti-trinitarian opinions would fain adopt as their standard of belief something less than the received canon of Scripture, and would assume a right to interpret the text according to their own pre-conceived opinions. In this respect such religionists take a position similar to that of the Romanists. Neither of these sects is contended with Scripture as it finds it; but the one

[h] Ibid. 256.

detracts from the Sacred Record by gratuitous charges of interpolation, and forced constructions; the other adds to it by interpretations, and supplemental articles derived, as it is asserted, from infallible Apostolical tradition. Between the two parties, therefore, Scripture receives that treatment which Procrustes is fabled to have bestowed upon the unfortunates who reclined upon his bed. It is made longer or shorter according to the measure of their respective prejudices.

The new Liturgy was not compulsorily to come into use before Whit-Sunday, but many clergymen did not choose to wait so long. At Easter, accordingly, they greeted their congregations with the sound of devotions in a tongue universally understood [i]. Nor was the Common Prayer generally received by such priests as were less forward in using it, with any apparent reluctance. The work was in fact compiled with such eminent skill and moderation, that no friends to the former system, who were men of sense and information could substantiate any objections to the new service [k]. But although nearly the whole clergy, outwardly laid aside the Romish ritual, there were many members of that body who contrived virtually to retain it. Their new books, it is true, were disgraced by none of those wretched rubrics which occupy so large a space in the old ones, but

[i] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 74.

[k] Dodd admits, that the new Liturgy "was well concerted to carry on the interest of the Reformation."

these admirers of inveterate habits officiated, notwithstanding, as they had ever been wont. The prescribed words were chanted or muttered, almost innumerable crossings continued, the altar was kissed, the priest's fingers were washed, and all the other tedious absurdities making up the pantomime of a Popish mass, were practised as before[1]. In this obstinate adherence to exploded prejudices, there were ecclesiastics who steadily kept an eye upon the profits of the old system.

[1] These ceremonies, if they are worthy of the name, are thus briefly mentioned in the injunctions of the visitors. "That no minister do counterfeit the Popish mass, as to kiss the Lord's Table, washing his fingers at every time in the Communion, blessing his eyes with the paten or sudary, or crossing his head with the paten, shifting of the book from one place to another, laying down and licking the chalice of the Communion: holding up his fingers, hands, or thumbs joined towards his temples; breathing upon the bread or chalice, shewing the Sacrament openly before the distribution of the Communion; ringing of sacring bells, or setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time: and finally to use no other ceremonies than are appointed in the King's book of Common Prayers, or kneeling otherwise than is in the same book." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 226.) The Romish ritualists assign various mystical meanings to the egregious trifling of their mass-priests. Of these the following one, relating to the repeated finger-washings used at the altar, is a favourable specimen. "Priusquam sacerdos offerat, manus iterum lavat, quamvis prius, dum vestibus se ornaret, lavisset; et etiam post secundam thurificationem iterum lavat, ut si magis ac magis mundatus offerat hostiam immaculatam, sanctam, Deoque placentem." (Durandi Rationale, 53.) This portion of a Romish clergyman's ministrations is technically known as the *lavabo*, and a prayer for those who are gazing upon it is to be seen in Challoner's Garden of the Soul, 81.

These shrewd admirers of the principles in which they had been bred, obtained the attendance of a single recipient besides themselves, and to him they celebrated the new Communion-service by way of a soul-mass; perhaps repeatedly in the course of a day[m]. They thus continued to reap some advantages from those purgatorial regions so fortunately discovered by their Roman friends. It being, however, not intended to mock the nation by a service, so delivered as that few could distinguish whether it was in English, or in Latin; or to bring the people to church for the purpose of gazing there at a succession of idle ceremonies; or to allow them to be pillaged any longer, under a notion that if they should hire a priest to receive the Sacrament, they would thereby shorten the purgatorial sojourn of their departed friends; a royal visitation was ordered, for the purpose of putting down these and other similar abuses. The most remarkable articles in the regulations to be promulged by the visitors, were that all mention of the Popish mass, should be laid aside, and all attitudes and gesticulations used in its celebration wholly banished from the Churches; that all hiring of persons to receive the Sacrament in behalf of others should cease; that the people should be taught to abstain from gabbling prayers over beads[n], and that such as might be found in-

[m] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 164.

[n] "Beads are most probably of Oriental origin, being used by both the Hindoos and Tartars. Peter the Hermit, notorious as the leader of that immense mob, which sallied forth to the first

corrigibly addicted to this anti-scriptural folly[o]

Crusade, is thought to have brought them into Europe. Nor is it unlikely, that this fanatic saw the rosary when he made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which led to so many mad attacks upon Palestine. His approval and patronage of such a superstitious toy, if it came in his way, may fairly be presumed. The Dominican friars, however, claim the distinction of having brought beads into general credit in the West; saying, that their founder Dominic Guzman, known at the commencement of the thirteenth century, as the suggester of the Inquisition, and the zealous persecutor of scriptural Christianity in Southern France, first taught men to amuse themselves with rosaries. It is recorded of this fiery and unfeeling bigot, who passes for a saint among Romanists, that being prisoner on board a piratical Moorish vessel, a storm arose which threatened shipwreck. Guzman advised his captors to call upon the Virgin Mary, but being in the habit of confiding in no dead person excepting Mahomet, they only laughed at their prisoner's recommendation. Of course the Spaniard himself made all the interest that he could with the female object of his adoration, and on the morrow-morning, it being the feast of the Annunciation, she appeared to the crew, and informed them, that if they would recite the rosary every day, and institute a fraternity devoted to this kind of employment, she would save the whole of them. If they should refuse her stipulation, she professed her intention of rescuing Guzman alone, and of leaving them to their fate. The Moors, however, liking gabbling Latin prayers and angelic salutations over beads better than drowning, accepted the bargain. Their facility disgusted a company of infernal spirits in attendance, who loudly thus expressed their disappointment. 'Oh this Dominic! he deprives us of our prey! he releases them with the rosary! he chains us, he scourges us, he kills us with that rosary!' All the goods which they had thrown overboard to lighten the vessel, were found lying safely upon the strand; and the converts, being led in triumph to be baptised, became the first members of the society of the rosary." Southey's Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Lond. 1826, p. 478. See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. I. 38.

o "When ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen

should be repelled from the Holy Communion: that none should maintain purgatory, invocation

do; for they think, that they shall be heard for their much speaking." (St. Matt. vi. 7.) Of repetitions, thus condemned, by our blessed Saviour himself, Holy Scripture affords examples. The idolatrous priests "called on the name of Baal from morning even until noon, saying, O Baal, hear us." (1 Kings xviii. 26.) The Ephesian worshippers of the Great Mother "all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians." (Acts xix. 34.) In both these cases it is probable, that the short form used was the one habitually addressed to the supposed deity. Such addresses were common among the Pagans of antiquity. In honour of Apollo, *Io Pæan!* was iterated: in honour of Bacchus, *Euoe Bacche!* Horace says of Tigellius,

> "Si collibuisset, ab ovo
> Usque ad mala citaret, *Io Bacche!* modo summa
> Voce, modo hac, resonat quæ chordis quatuor ima."
>
> *Serm.* I. iii. 6.

It is generally considered, that the words *Io Bacche!* formed the burthen of a drinking song, which the capricious vocalist persisted in repeating with every variety of musical intonation during a whole repast. It is probable, that the introduction of these words into drinking songs arose from the use made of them in religious honours paid to the imaginary god of wine. Now, however animating might have been such sounds to minds intent upon the pleasures of the table, and however exquisite the vocal powers of Tigellius, it is not surprising, that his perverse display palled upon the ears of his companions.

There is evidently a striking resemblance between the iteration of these short Pagan addresses, and that of "Hail, Mary" &c. in Latin, which the deluded Romanist repeats one hundred and fifty times at a stretch over his beads. His priests, however, it should be observed, have contrived a little variety for him in his wretched employment. At the end of every ten smaller beads, which are to be fingered while he mumbles

of saints, the six articles, bead-rolls, images, relics, lights, holy bells, holy beads, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchres paschal, creeping to the cross; hallowing the font, oil, chrism, altars, beads; or any other such abuses and superstitions: that more than one Communion should not be celebrated in any church or chapel, in one day, except on Christmas day and Easter Sunday; that no holidays should be kept except those to which is assigned an appropriate service: and that clergymen should not carry the Sacrament to sick persons with a light or bells.

So general appeared the disposition to adopt the new ritual, that the visitors did not return a single complaint from any part of the kingdom. There was, indeed, an individual of the highest quality who set her face against the mandates of authority. The Lady Mary continued in her house to use the old Latin mass. Her pertinacity

Aves, he feels a larger one which he is to hold while repeating a *Pater Noster*. This "comes opportunely in to jog the memory; sufficient attention is thus excited to satisfy the conscience of the devotee, and yet no effort, no fervour, no feeling are required; the understanding may go wander, the heart may be asleep, while the lips, with the help of the fingers, perform their task; and the performer remains with a comfortable confidence of having added to his good works, and rests contented *opere operato*. The priests of the Romish Church have been wise in their generation, and the structure which they have raised is the greatest monument of human art, as it is of human wickedness: so skilfully have they known how to take advantage of every weakness, and to practise upon every passion of human nature." Vindic. Eccl. Angl. 475.

was no sooner known to the council, than she received a message from that body charging her to conform immediately to the established form of worship. This order she refused to obey, alleging, that during her brother's minority, no alteration could legally be made in the arrangements left by her father; and she fortified her resistance by an application to the Emperor. Charles, elated by the depression of the German Protestants, was then sufficiently inclined to interfere in his cousin's behalf. There were, indeed, those about him who objected to the use of the new Liturgy in the house of Sir Philip Hoby, then English ambassador at his court. The knight resisted this attempt to infringe the law of nations, representing that the Imperial minister was freely allowed to celebrate mass in London. At length both parties gave way. The council saw the propriety of conniving at the Lady Mary's disobedience, at least for a time, and Charles attempted not to impose his own religion upon the agents of foreign powers [p].

During this summer, England was convulsed by the turbulence of the peasantry. From the spacious churches often appended to contracted parishes, as well as from the numerous parochial and manorial subdivisions, it seems reasonable to conclude, that the most fertile parts of the kingdom were well peopled at a very early period. An inconvenient redundance of population was,

[p] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 165.

however, not likely to be felt until society had become tolerably settled and secure. Such had been eminently the case ever since the termination of those intestine wars which had so long raged between the rival factions of York and Lancaster. More than sixty years had now elapsed since the close of that sanguinary contest, and the national prosperity being steadily upon the increase during the whole of these years, there can be no doubt that families multiplied rapidly in all districts affording facilities for subsistence. It is no longer disputable, that a population unimpeded in its course, and seeking the necessaries of life from land alone, will quickly overspread a fruitful country of moderate extent, and eventually engender universal pauperism. A tendency to such a state would obviously be sooner felt in a community comprising numerous independent proprietors of land, than in one distinguished by a number of such persons comparatively small. Now the gentry of England had been greatly augmented in extent since the accession of Henry VII. The wars which preceded his reign had thinned the nobility; his politic law respecting entails had allowed the dismemberment of their vast estates, and a successful prosecution of peaceful pursuits had raised to opulence many families hitherto unknown. The recent dissolution of monasteries had still farther extended the bounds of genteel society. But not only had persons of independent fortune become much more numerous than they had anciently been, their habits had also become

much more luxurious and refined. Hence they were generally upon the alert to improve their estates, as the only means of keeping pace with the increasing elegance of their age. Accordingly, they enclosed waste grounds contiguous to their properties, or patches of arable land, for the purpose of laying them down in pasture [q], they discouraged those petty farms in which the tenants gained a scanty living almost exclusively by tillage, and they endeavoured to throw such a number of acres together as would enable the occupant to keep a considerable stock. There can be no doubt, that these arrangements, however selfishly intended, were highly conducive to the national benefit. Their operation was gradually to cover the agricultural districts of England with handsome mansions, respectable farm-houses and buildings, extensive flocks and herds, fields excellently cultivated, and cottages inhabited in

[q] An enclosure is, "when any man hath taken away and enclosed any other men's commons, or hath pulled down houses of husbandry, and converted the lands from tillage to pasture." Charge of Mr. Hales, one of the commissioners of enclosures. (Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix II. 362.) This gentleman thus describes the changes which these arrangements had wrought in the population. "Towns, villages, and parishes do daily decay in great numbers; houses of husbandry, and poor men's habitations be utterly destroyed every where, and in no small number; husbandry and tillage, which is the very paunch of the commonwealth, that is, that which nourisheth the whole body of the realm, greatly abated: and finally, the King's subjects wonderfully diminished; as those can well declare that confer the new books of the musters with the old, or with the chronicles." Ibid, 352.

as much comfort as mere labour can be expected to afford. From these things would necessarily flow, with considerable rapidity, populous towns, thriving manufactures, wealth, intelligence, and refinement. While, however, the system of rural economy was under alteration, it is obvious that some inconvenience might be sustained by the peasantry, and it is certain, that a body, so impatient of innovation, would not fail to attribute all its evils to a departure from established habits. Such was now the general impression of those who formed the rustic population of England. They considered the enclosures, the extended farms, and the breeding of live stock which had become objects of desire with the gentry, merely as heartless devices to impoverish and degrade the humble cultivator[r]. This unkindly feeling towards their wealthier neighbours was exasperated by the sullen dissatisfaction with which the country-people had generally viewed the abolition of those superstitions, which are so dear to weak and ignorant minds. The new Liturgy completed

[r] "If the King's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people; then these graziers, enclosers, and rent-rearers, are great hinderers of the King's honour. For whereas have been a great many of housholders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog." (Latimer's Sermons, I. 92.) "These (enclosers) were great graziers and sheep-masters, that ceased tilling the ground, and sowing of corn: pulling down houses, and destroying whole towns, that so they might have the more land for grazing, and the less charge of poor tenants, who had dependance on them as their plowme and husbandmen." Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 260.

their disgust, and its appearance among them gave the signal for that explosion which had long been in preparation.

In Wiltshire, the popular discontent first decidedly vented itself in open outrage. The tumult, however, there was promptly suppressed by Sir William Herbert, subsequently earl of Pembroke. Soon afterwards, riotous assemblages disturbed the public peace in the counties of Sussex, Hants, Kent, Gloucester, Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, Hertford, Leicester, Worcester, and Rutland. It was, however, found possible to allay this mass of irritation by promising to the excited peasantry, that their demands should be fairly considered. Unfortunately, in holding out this understanding, Somerset assumed an appearance of siding with the mutinous populace[s]. He admitted, that the poorer classes had been aggrieved, and in consequence, it was announced [t], that past disorders

[s] "What seeth your Grace over the King's subjects out of all discipline, out of obedience, caring neither for Protector nor King, and much less for any other mean officer. And what is the cause? Your own lenity, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor; the opinion of such as saith to your grace, Oh! Sir, there was never man had the hearts of the poor as you have. Oh! the commons pray for you, Sir, they say, God save your life." Sir William Paget, to the Lord Protector. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, II. 430.

[t] By a proclamation which he published, "contrary to the mind of the whole council." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 184.) The improved modes of managing landed property attracted legislative notice so early as the fourth year of King Henry VII. This year, accordingly, is the point as to time, at which the commissioners of enclosures were to terminate their investigation.

should be forgiven, and, that commissioners should be sent down to examine the grounds upon which enclosures had recently been made, for the purpose of destroying such as were effected upon no sufficient authority. This concession was perfectly in unison with the Protector's habitual good nature, but it had a most pernicious effect upon the public tranquillity. The landed interest now felt itself attacked, and under an impression, that it was about to be sacrificed for the sake of Somerset's popularity, it rather rejoiced than otherwise in the prospect of commotions which might overthrow the existing administration. On the other hand, the populace were highly elated on seeing the Protector admit the justice of their complaints, and were thereby confirmed in their determination that no efforts of their opulent neighbours should prevent the accomplishment of their favourite objects. Hence in many places the people would not wait for the government commissioners, but assembling in a tumultuous manner with spades and other such implements, destroyed of their own heads the obnoxious enclosures [u]. In the western counties, artful Papists of a condition above the lowest, industriously fanned the flame of popular discontent. As these parts of England were remote from London, the great seat of information and intelligence, gross

They were to enquire what lands had been enclosed since that date; how many ploughs had been discontinued in consequence; and how many dwellings decayed.

[u] Hayward, 292.

ignorance oppressed the minds of their inhabitants, and when they saw the Church purged from the base and antichristian superstitions cunningly patronised by Papal Rome, they stupidly conceited, that the Catholic faith itself was virtually destroyed. In the last year, this unhappy misconception had stimulated a priest to the commission of an atrocious crime. A rabble of deluded Cornishmen, deeply smitten by that proneness to idolatry which obstinately clings to minds unacquainted with religious truth, fiercely resisted the removal of their darling images. Regardless of this violence, however, one of the royal commissioners, named Body, resolutely proceeded in the needful task imposed upon him. His life paid the forfeit of his intrepidity. While in the act of removing one of those debasing idols which had turned aside the cheated neighbourhood from offering rational and acceptable worship to the living God, a priest stabbed him mortally with a knife [x]. The wretched ecclesiastic was soon afterwards hanged, and quartered in Smithfield [y]. Some of his abettors in the murderous tumult were executed in different parts of the country [z]. This just severity, however, failed of intimidating the bigoted and unruly spirits which agitated the western extremity of England. Unhappily, many of the clergy, being unable to soar above the prejudices of their education, encouraged the misapprehensions of their neighbours [a]. On Whit-

[x] Ibid. Speed.
[z] Ibid.
[y] July 7. Stow.
[a] Foxe, 1188.

Monday, June 10, the parishioners of Sapmford Courtenay, in Devonshire, being assembled at their church for divine service, insisted, that their rector should use the Latin mass [b]. On the preceding day, it must be presumed, these ignorant rustics heard a service, much resembling that for which they now clamoured, in their mother-tongue. It is obvious, that this last might have proved the happy means of enlightening their minds. The former never could. But they desired not to be awakened or enlightened. Their only wish was to be allowed, as their fathers had been before them, to hear at church certain undistinguishable words, to see there a long succession of trifling ceremonies, to kneel there on hearing the sacring bell before a wafer, to return home with a comfortable conviction that all these things had been greatly to their benefit; to make an annual confession of their sins, and then to receive absolution; to trust in some particular dead person as an especial patron, to believe implicitly any extravagant fictions to which this person's name might be appended, to kneel, light candles, and

[b] Their rector "is supposed to have invited them to that compulsion." (Heylin, Hist. Ref. 75.) This clergyman was said to be chaplain to the Lady Mary. This report, however, appears unfounded, for the Princess thus wrote in a letter which she despatched to the seat of government, upon being apprised by the council of the rumours to her disadvantage. "As for Devonshire, no indifferent person can lay their doings to my charge, for I have neither land nor acquaintance in that country." Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 277.

offer incense before his statues; to mutter fifteen decads of *Aves*, each decad followed by a *Pater Noster*, all at a time, and to feel assured, that this Latin repetition would abridge their stay in Purgatory; to trust for the same purpose, in a particular kind of diet, in trudging barefoot to some idol, or in hiring a priest to receive the Sacrament; to confess, be absolved, anointed, and to take the Eucharist, at the point of death; at last, to close their eyes in a full assurance, that they had lived in the faithful profession of that religion which an all-wise God revealed as the instrument for ameliorating the hearts, and enlightening the minds of his rational creatures. An anxiety to be left in undisturbed possession of such a religion as this was, however, not confined to the villagers of Sampford. On the contrary, the divinity of these rustics soon appeared to be that which a great majority of zealots and turbulent spirits throughout the diocese of Exeter, were disposed to maintain at all hazards. Within a short time, not less than ten thousand men appeared in the field[c], all eager to retain the papal yoke about their own necks, and to rivet it about the necks of their latest posterity. Their leader was Humphrey Arundel, a Cornish gentlemen; who was accompanied in his enterprise by others of his own condition. As a farther encouragement, certain clergymen left their homes to join this misguided rabble. By these unworthy priests, the people's madness was invested with

[c] Burnet, Hist. ef. II. 185.

the character of a religious war. Crosses and candlesticks, bread and salted water, esteemed holy by Romanists, the pix with its included wafer under a canopy in a cart, attended the movements of these infatuated insurgents[d]. In the hope of crushing the spirit of revolt by prompt measures, Lord Russell, the Privy Seal, was despatched westward, with such forces as could be hastily prepared for action. When, however, this nobleman arrived at Honiton, he found that the troops under his command were not equal to face the rebels in the field, and accordingly, he was obliged to content himself with opposing a barrier to their farther progress. His inactivity infused fresh spirit into the disaffected, and their numbers augmented daily. Russell now determined upon trying the effect of negociation, and he sent to the rebel troops for a statement of the conditions upon which they would disperse. This message brought back the following demands: that Baptism should be administered whenever necessary; that confirmation should never be denied; that solitary masses should be restored; that consecrated wafers should be reserved in churches; that holy bread, and holy water should still be allowed; that the old service should be audibly said or sung in the choir; that the clergy should be restrained from marriage; and that the Act of Six Articles should be in force until the King's majority. Disturbers of the public peace

[d] Foxe, 1190.

commonly profess loyalty, and accordingly these insolent, absurd, and intolerant demands were thus concluded: "We pray God save King Edward, for we be his, both body and goods." This pretence was noticed, with great propriety in an answer to the demands of the rebels, dated July 6, and sent in the King's name, from Richmond. "Ye use our name," says this state-paper, "in your writings, against ourself. What injury herein do you us, to call those who love us to your evil purposes by the authority of our name!" After more matter in a similar strain the royal communication proceeds to describe with great justice the kind of persons most active in seditions. "They care not what cause they seek to provoke an insurrection, so they may do it; nor, indeed, can they wax so rich with their own labours, and with peace, as they can with spoils, with robberies, and such like, yea with the spoil of your own goods, with the living of your labours, the sweat of your bodies; the food of your own households, wives, and children." This homely but accurate account of a demagogue's character and objects, is followed by answers to the demands of the deluded peasantry. As for Baptism, it is said, the people had been shamefully deceived in being induced to believe, that hereafter it was to be administered only on Sundays and holidays. Those who would look into the new service-book, might see, that this Sacrament was to be administered on any day, when necessary. An opportunity of receiving confir-

mation at all times is asserted to be unnecessary, because there is no reason to doubt respecting the salvation of children who die unconfirmed. That rite is therefore restricted to such as are of sufficient age to make in their own persons the religious engagements made for them by others at the font. The alterations in the public service are stated to have been made by persons eminently fitted for the task, after much deliberation, and to have merely consisted in the rejection of manifest improprieties, and in the translation of what remains into the vernacular tongue. As for the act of Six Articles, it is said to have been repealed, because it was too bloody to be borne, and that besides, being abrogated by Parliament, it could only be restored by the same authority. Then after some reflections upon the absurdity of disobedience under pretence of the King's minority, and some menaces addressed to such as might still continue in arms, the paper concludes with an appeal to the sound religious *feelings* of the insurgents[e]. When this document arrived in the West, the rebels had laid siege to Exeter, and had reduced its inhabitants to great difficulties by cutting off the supplies of provisions. The Exonians, however, though agreeing for the most part in religious opinions with their assailants[f], chose rather to brave the horrors of famine, than admit within their walls an armed rabble intent upon plunder and mischief. Forty

[e] Ibid. 1188.

[f] Fuller, 394.

days did the siege continue, during which time, the city-gates were twice consumed by fire[g], but the citizens notwithstanding, repulsed every attempt to gain admittance made by the insurgents. These deluded men, however, long kept up their spirits, not only on account of the inadequate force by which they were opposed, but also from the news of commotions which had broken out on the opposite side of England. Thus encouraged, they rose in their demands, and instead of the eight articles upon which they formerly insisted, they transmitted to the royal commander fifteen articles as the conditions of their return to peaceful habits[h]. Russell, indeed, was at one time in a very critical situation. Destitute of military supplies, he found himself unable to advance, and he had even felt a disposition to retrograde, at the instances of the Dorsetshire gentry. Happily such a dangerous and dishonourable movement was rendered unnecessary by the patriotic conduct of three opulent merchants, who furnished him with the sums required for undertaking effectual hostilities. He now gave battle to the insurgents at Fenington-bridge, and defeated then with a loss of three hundred of their body. This advantage was no sooner gained than the royal army was re-inforced by Lord Gray, who brought the troops recently employed in suppressing an insurrection in Oxfordshire. With this nobleman, were three hundred Italian

[g] Foxe, 1188.

[h] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 264.

mercenaries, under the command of Spinola, a soldier of fortune. The royalists having become thus formidable, engaged the insurgents upon Clyst-heath, and finally defeated them with frightful slaughter[i]. Among those who escaped the sword in that murderous encounter was Arundel, the unhappy leader of his infatuated neighbours. He, with a few other gentlemen, were shortly after executed, as were nine rebellious priests[k].

While Devonshire was thus distracted, Norfolk was equally unquiet. A disorderly rabble had assembled at Attleborough on the 20th of June, under colour of resisting those agricultural arrangements which passed under the general appellation of enclosures. The ferment occasioned by these rioters was continually upon the increase until the 6th of July, when the disorderly peasantry, assembled for the annual festivities of Wymondham, were moulded into a dangerous association by Robert Kett, an opulent tanner of that place. This demagogue inflamed the passions of the mob by urging the topics usually employed by persons of his stamp; such as the oppressions of the gentry, and the hardships of inferior stations. By such discourses, aided as was his eloquence by popular discontents of long standing, he easily collected a formidable assemblage of

[i] Fuller, 397. More than a thousand rebels were slain altogether in this western insurrection. The Duke of Somerset to Sir Philip Hoby. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, II. 426.

[k] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 281.

distressed and ignorant rustics, who were animated, as all such parties are, by those idle and disorderly men "who love to fill their bellies by plunder, rather than by labour." Kett then advanced at the head of his rabble to Norwich; in which city were many who wished well to his enterprise; for although chiefly at war with property and the established government, he failed not to take the popular side in religion. The insurgent leader, fixed his quarters upon Mousholdhill, which overhangs the city, and he there affected all the airs of revolutionary grandeur. He daily seated himself under a noble oak, which he denominated the Oak of Reformation, and thus enthroned, he administered such sort of justice as suited his views. Conyers, one of the Norwich incumbents officiated as his chaplain, and daily among the rebels, said the Latin mass, with all its rubrical formalities[1]. Kett's military talents were first put in requisition by the Marquess of Northampton's arrival at Norwich, with a body of troops under his command. The noble general, however, proved incompetent, and the Norfolk peasantry acquired fresh spirits from an advan-

[1] This clergyman had the merit of saving Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, from being murdered by the seditious. Parker went among them to preach upon the folly and irreligiousness of their proceedings. His sermon, however, proved so offensive, that arrows were levelled at him. Conyers seeing his danger abruptly began the *Te Deum*. This diverted the people's attention, and before they recovered from their surprise, the menaced preacher withdrew.

tage over the royal forces. In the encounter, Lord Sheffield lost his life. Having been thrown from his horse, he took off his helmet, in the hope, that by discovering his quality, he might meet with quarter. But his assailants heeded not hereditary distinctions, and a butcher struck a mortal blow upon his head with a club. After this repulse, Northampton was strengthened by the arrival of the Earl of Warwick, at the head of some German mercenaries, who were destined for the war in Scotland. Kett still occupied his position upon Moushold-hill, and thence might have looked down upon the royal forces in security for some time longer, had not want of necessaries rendered his men impatient [m], and a stupid prophecy lured them prematurely to their fate [n]. They now madly descended into the level ground below them, and there fell an easy prey to the royal commander. A miserable carnage ensued, from which Kett, the leader of these infatuated peasants, escaped. But having sinned past all forgiveness, he was shortly after hanged on Nor-

[m] The Duke of Somerset to Sir Philip Hoby. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix. II. 426.

[n] "The country knuffs, Hob, Dick, and Hick,
With clubs and clouted shoon,
Shall fill up Dussendale
With slaughtered bodies soon." Hayward, 299.

The Duke of Somerset, in the letter cited above, says of the rebels, "issuing out of their camps into a plain near adjoining, they determined to fight, and, like mad and desperate men, ran upon the sword: where a thousand of them being slain, the rest were content to crave their pardon."

wich Castle. His brother William met with the same fate upon Wymondham steeple, as did nine others upon the Oak of Reformation [o].

When intelligence of these insurrections arrived in the North, it incited some bigoted and turbulent spirits there to disturb the public peace. A ridiculous prophecy, current among the vulgar in Yorkshire, induced an expectation, that when a commotion should arise on the shores of both the southern and the northern seas, the throne and the gentry would be destroyed, and four governors, appointed by the inferior orders, would rule the land. In Devonshire, these unhappy people discerned the southern commotion predicted, and some designing agitators among them resolved upon completing that condition in the prophecy which regarded their own side of the country. At Seamer, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, this delusion first found a vent. A few obscure malcontents there contrived to raise the country, first, by declaiming upon the iniquities of gentlemen, and the changes in religion, and then by firing the beacons as if the coast were invaded. These artifices having thrown the North and East Ridings into confusion, a riotous mob, three thousand strong, was eventually collected. Some murders and other outrages were committed in consequence, but the affair nationally was never important. After a few weeks of disorder, the deluded rustics slunk away to

[o] Fuller, 397.

their homes, and their leaders were executed at York [r].

[r] Foxe, 1191. The following extract from a letter of Somerset's to Sir Philip Hoby thus mentions the real and alleged causes of the insurrections which agitated different parts of England at this time. "The causes and pretences of their uproars and risings are divers and uncertain, and so full of variety almost in every camp, as they call them, that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know it is like to be of people without head and rule, and would have that they wot not what. Some cry, Pluck down enclosures and parks; some for their commons; others pretend religion; a number would rule and direct all things, as gentlemen have done: and indeed all have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and take them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them, and soldiers cashiered, which be the chief doers, look for spoil: so that it seems no other thing, but a plague and a fury among the vilest and worst sort of men." (Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, II. 425.) It is hence evident, that these commotions had for their real objects plunder and revolution: two things, in fact, generally at the bottom of insurrectionary schemes. Religion was little better than a pretence with any of the rebels, except those of Devonshire; and among these were several gentlemen. The whole summer's miseries were plainly an ebullition of popular uneasiness resembling that which now disquiets Ireland. The cultivated parts of England were over-peopled, and landlords could only render their properties productive by arrangements which drove the unhappy labourer from his paternal soil. This, as commerce and manufactures were in their infancy, caused extensive distress; for the expelled cottager could not look to the crowded city for that subsistence which his native fields refused to him. Unprincipled plunderers, political incendiaries, and gloomy bigots eagerly laid hold of the discontents necessarily springing from these unavoidable causes, and by persuading the miserable peasantry, that their distresses arose from the abolition of their accustomed superstitions, inflamed their passions so far as to lead them into open rebellion.

During these intestine troubles, the French exerted themselves for the recovery of Boulogne: so that altogether the English government was exceedingly harassed. A fast, accordingly, was proclaimed, in the hope, that penitence and humiliation might be found effectual to avert some portion of that Divine anger which appeared to be suspended over the land. Upon this occasion, Archbishop Cranmer preached before the court. The greatest part of his sermon is still extant. It is a plain, practical discourse, only aiming at touching the hearts of the hearers. The preacher severely taxes the vices of the times, and plainly shews by references to Scripture, that until men shall abandon their adulteries, blasphemies, animosities, and other crying sins, they have no encouragement to hope for the favour of God. This doctrine he enforces by adverting to the unhappy state of Germany, in which country, although the Gospel had shed its glorious light, yet a large proportion of such as were within reach of its beams had refused to reform their lives according to its direction. Hence, it is said, have these unrepenting converts been delivered over to imperial and papal oppression. From this example of God's judgments upon the ungodly, the hearers were earnestly exhorted to forsake their own evil habits, and to commence that course of true repentance, through which alone the Almighty is reconciled to sinful man [q].

[q] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 189.

The Archbishop was also charged, about this time, with answering the fifteen articles transmitted by the western insurgents. He did not complete this reply until after the rout near Exeter, and the caption of those unhappy gentlemen, who had acted as leaders of their humbler neighbours[r]. He thus introduces his observations. "When I first read your requests, O ignorant men of Devonshire and Cornwall, straitways came to my mind a request which James and John made unto Christ, to whom the Lord answered, *Ye ask, ye wot not what.* Even so thought I of you, as soon as ever I heard your articles, that you were deceived by some crafty Papist, which devised those articles for you, to make you ask ye wist not what. Your first demand is, 'We will have all general councils, and holy decrees of our forefathers observed, kept, and performed; and whosoever shall gainsay them, we hold them as heretics.' How many of you know what are called general councils, or the nature of those decrees observed by your forefathers, and termed holy by you[s]? As for these decrees, indeed, they are nothing but enactments made by the Bishops of Rome, for their own private advan-

[r] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 265.

[s] "They would follow their forefathers, as our Papists are wont to say. When they cannot defend themselves with Scripture, then they will defend themselves with the ignorance of their forefathers; much like unto the Jews which could not away with the doctrine of our Saviour, because it was disagreeing from the customs and traditions of their forefathers." Latimer's Sermon's, II. 261.

tage, and for that of their clerical partizans. One of these decrees is this, '*Whosoever doth not acknowledge himself to be under obedience to the Bishop of Rome, is an heretic*'.[1] Do ye then acknowledge yourselves to be under this foreign bishop? If ye do, ye set yourselves up against your country's laws, and are traitors. Your second demand is to have the act of Six Articles restored. Now this act is such as never was law in any country but England, and here only thirteen months. Indeed it never would have passed, had not our late sovereign come personally into the Parliament-house. Nor is this act reconcilable with your former demand, for it is at variance with ancient canons, and the decrees of councils in several particulars. The Apostolical canons enjoin, that no priest, under pretence of holiness, shall put away his wife, and they pronounce every priest so acting excommunicated. The first council of Nice, the most illustrious of all the councils, declaring clerical marriages holy and godly, refused to dissolve them; the council of Gangra accursed those who declined attendance upon a clergyman's ministry, because he was a married man. But the Six Articles enact, that

[1] The Romish canons cited by the Archbishop in his answer, as it stands at length to this absurd demand, are much the same as those which he pointed out to the late King. (Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. II. 588.) Cranmer concludes his extracts from this mass of scandalous pretensions in the following language of indignant irony. "These, *with an infinite number of like sort*, be the *godly* and *holy* decrees, which you long so sore for, and so much desire."

priests who will not put away their wives shall be treated as felons. In many other respects the decrees of general councils, and the Six Articles are at variance with each other; so that ye must be cunning men if ye can make the two agree. You next desire to have the mass in Latin, as it used to be, and that no one should communicate with the priest. As the mass, therefore, proceeds all along upon the supposition, that the congregation is joining in the service, ye would wish to share in that which ye do not understand. The priest is your agent, and pleads for you your cause with God, but ye are anxious to be excused from knowing the particulars of his suit. Is it then possible, that ye would rather be like parrots or magpies, taught to repeat words of which ye understand not the meaning, than like true Christians, pray in heart and faith? St. Paul speaks expressly, and at considerable length against using such a language in public worship as will not edify the people [u]. This evil, accordingly, has been generally avoided. The Greeks have the mass in their own tongue, the Armenians in theirs, and the same usage obtains with the Syrian, as well as other Christians. Will you then shew yourselves such enemies to your own country, that you will not use your mother-tongue in praying to God, praising him, or receiving his Sacraments; but insist upon employing the language of the old Romans for these purposes, in defiance of both Scripture and reason? As for

[u] 1 Cor. xiv. 2, *et sequ.*

your desire to have none communicating with the priest, it shews your ignorance, and how you are imposed upon by Papists. You said before, that you would have all general councils and decrees observed. Hear, then, some of these councils and decrees. One of them says, *When the consecration is done, let all the people receive the Communion, except they will be put out of the church.* In the Apostolical canons it is enjoined, *Whenever there is any mass or Communion, if any bishop, priest, or deacon or any other of the clergy, being there present, do not communicate, except he can shew some reasonable cause to the contrary, he shall be put out of the Communion, as one that giveth occasion to the people to think evil of the ministers.* In another chapter of the same Apostolical canons, and in those of a council holden at Antioch, it is thus written, *Let all Christian people, that come into the church, and hear the holy Scriptures read, and after will not tarry to pray, and to receive the holy Communion, with the rest of the people, but for some misordering of themselves, will abstain therefrom: let them be put out of the Church, until by humble acknowledging of their fault, and by the fruits of penance, and prayers, they obtain pardon and forgiveness.* Not only is your desire to have priests receive the communion alone thus condemned by the canons, of which you clamour for the observance: it is also condemned by the practice of all Christ's Church, both in the East and in the West, for some hundreds of years after the time of our Lord and his

Apostles. It is even condemned by the very words of the mass, as it is called: a service evidently compiled not only for the priest's receiving, but also for the congregation to receive with him. In the very canon, which is considered so holy, that men generally are not to know it, and therefore it is read so softly, that no man can hear it, a prayer is offered not only for the priest, but also for *as many* as communicate with him, *that they may be fulfilled with grace and heavenly benediction*[x]. Your fourth article is, '*We will have the Sacrament hang over the high altar, and there be worshipped as it was wont to be; and they which will not thereto consent, we will have them die like heretics against the holy Catholic faith.*' What say you, O ignorant people, in things pertaining to God? Is this the holy Catholic faith, that the Sacrament should be hanged over the altar, and worshipped? And are they heretics who will not consent thereto? I pray you, who made this faith? Any other, than the Bishops of Rome? And did not they do it after the faith of Christ had been fully known for more than a thousand years? Innocent III. about the year 1215, ordained, that the Sacrament and chrism should be kept under lock and key; but he made no mention of hang-

[x] "Ut *quotquot* ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione celesti et gratia repleamur." It is obvious, that these words are a mere mockery, when used by a Romish priest, administering the Eucharist to himself alone, even his assistant ministers being excluded.

ing the Sacrament over the high altar, or of worshipping it. His successor, Honorius III. added to Innocent's regulations, that the Sacrament should be devoutly kept in a clean place, and that the people should be taught to bow down before it. But he did not order, that it should be hanged up over the high altar, nor is this done in Italy to this very day. When the practice originated in England, no man I believe can tell. The primitive Christians were so far from hanging up the Sacrament, that among them it was forbidden to be kept altogether. Will you then, have all people die like heretics, unless they will consent to this article of yours? Were the martyrs and confessors heretics? Were all the old doctors of the Church heretics? Were all Christian people heretics until within the last three or four hundred years? In brief, you must either condemn as heretics all the Apostles, martyrs, confessors, doctors, and the whole Church of Christ until the time of Innocent and Honorius; or upon your own principles, you must be condemned yourselves to die like heretics against the Catholic faith. You next desire to have the Eucharist administered to the laity only at Easter, and then only in one kind. Never, probably, did Christian people make such a request before. Both while the Apostles lived and afterwards, men communicated every day. Subsequently this Sacrament was received by the people, at least once in every week; and it was not until religion grew cold, that Christians became infrequent

at the Lord's table. Nor are your desires compatible with those canons, which you set out by maintaining. By them, if ancient, it is enjoined, that Christians communicate at least at the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. As for receiving in one kind alone, Pope Gelasius pronounces it to be *a great sacrilege.* Your sixth article demands the administration of baptism at all times. Who refuses this? Children may be baptised at all times when there is necessity; but it is thought desirable to administer it ordinarily only upon some holy day, when the people are come together. The councils and decrees, however, enjoined, that Baptism be not administered except in cases of necessity, at any other times than Easter and Whitsuntide. Of obedience to such injunctions there were lately traces, for on every recurrence of these great festivals, the fonts were hallowed, and collects were read applicable particularly to the newly-baptised. But all this, alas! was much like mocking God, for at those times, none were baptised unless by chance; all having received that Sacrament before. Seventhly, you insist upon having '*holy bread and holy water every Sunday, palms and ashes at the times accustomed; images again set up in every church; and all other ancient, old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother, holy Church.*' Oh! superstition and idolatry, how they prevail among you! The very true, heavenly bread of life, the food of everlasting life, offered unto you in the Sacrament of the holy Communion, ye refuse to

eat, but only at Easter. The cup of the most holy blood, wherewith you were redeemed and washed from your sins, ye refuse utterly to drink of at any time. And yet in the stead of these ye will eat often of the unsavoury and poisoned bread of the Bishop of Rome, and drink of his stinking puddles, which he nameth Holy bread, and Holy water. As for images, they are plainly forbidden by the Second Commandment, and never were established in the Western Church until after a long course of iniquities committed by the two Popes, Gregory II. and Gregory III[y]. By the council of Eliberis they are forbidden, and justly so, because all experience shews, that man is prone to worship creatures, and the work of his own hands. In the eighth place, you say, 'We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game: but we will have our old service of matins, mass, even-song, and procession in Latin, as it was heretofore. And so we Cornish men, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse this new English.' Thus the people in Cornwall refuse the new service, because some of them do not understand English. How much greater reason, upon their own principles, have both they and the Devonshire people to reject the old service? How very few there are in either county who understand Latin? When you speak of the new service as like a Christmas game, you plainly shew the spirit by which you are led. Is the word of

[y] Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. I. 17.

God, then, to be thus compared? Much more like a Christmas game is it to hear the priest speaking in Latin, some of the people praying in Latin, others walking up and down the church; while, perhaps, not even the priest, and certainly very few or none of the people understand the meaning of what is said. In some cases, indeed, this is no evil; for the matter uttered is so very silly, that if people were acquainted with it, they might justly think it only fit for a play. We are told, that '*the Devil entered into a certain person; in whose mouth St. Martin put his finger. And because the devil could not get out at his mouth, the man blew him, or cacked him out behind.*' This was one of the tales that was wont to be read in the Latin service that you will needs have again. Is this a grave and godly matter to be read in a church; or rather a foolish Christmas tale, or an old wives' fable, worthy to be laughed at and scorned of every man, that hath either wit or godly judgment? Yet more foolish, erroneous, and superstitious things are read in the feasts of St. Blaise, St. Valentine, St. Margaret, St. Peter, of the Visitation of our Lady, and the Conception, of the Transfiguration of Christ, and in the feast of Corpus Christi, and a great many more [z]."

[z] St. Nicholas, we are told in the Popish prayer-book used by our ancestors, voluntarily fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays, when an infant at the breast. He took one suck on those days, and that sufficed him. (*Cum matris adhuc lacte nutriretur, cœpit bino in hebdomada die, quarta scilicet et sexta feria, semel bibere mammas, et hac vice contentus, tota die sic permanebat.*) This

Ninthly, you demand, that every preacher in his sermon, and every priest at the mass, pray espe-

marvellous child grew up a perfect Hohenlohe, and all sorts of people, but especially sailors, by calling upon him, were delivered from alarming difficulties. St. Lucia, having determined upon a life of celibacy, was brutally ordered away to a brothel by a heathen magistrate. Of course she resisted; and displaying no common degree of strength, ropes were fastened to her hands and feet, which many men pulled at once most lustily. But it was all of no use. She stood like a mountain. *(Quasi mons immobilis permanebat.)* Many pairs of oxen then were brought, but they could not move her. Enraged at this, her heathen persecutor caused her to be enveloped in a blaze of burning oil, pitch, and rosin. She told him, however, that he would again be foiled, and so it proved. He then ran her through with a sword. Still she did not stir a step, nor did she die, until a priest came and administered the Eucharist to her. At the close of this celebration, as the people said Amen, she resigned her breath. A similar resolution to live in celibacy was made by St. Agnes, a young Roman lady, then in her thirteenth year. Unfortunately a youth, who was son to the prefect of the city, saw her in her way from school, and fell desperately in love with her. In the course of an illness, originating in the violence of his passion, he disclosed his charmer's name to the physician. Proposals were then immediately made to Agnes in form. These she resolutely declined. As a punishment, an immense fire was made, and she was flung into the midst of it. The flames, however, parted and left her unhurt; so that, until they thought of cutting her throat, it was found impossible to kill her. The parents of St. Bridget having determined upon marrying her, she went before the bishop, and vowed celibacy. While uttering this vow, she touched a piece of wood which served as a foundation to the altar. The said wood continues green to the present day, just as if it were still nourished from a root, and it effects cures upon sick people. *(Quod lignum in commemorationem pristinæ virtutis, usque ad præsens tempus, viride ac si non esset decorticatum et excisum sed in radicibus fixum, vi-*

cially by name for the souls in purgatory. To this it may be answered, that Scripture enjoins us to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and comfort the afflicted, but of praying for souls in purgatory it says not a single word. For all that is said about purgatory, there is, in fact, not the slightest foundation. The whole is evidently nothing more than a fiction invented for the sake of filthy lucre. My counsel to you, therefore, is,

rescit, et languidos curat usque in hodiernum diem.) St. Blaise, when cut down, after being hanged, for the purpose of being decapitated, prayed that for his sake, pious persons alarmed by a bone or a thorn sticking in their throats, might be relieved. This petition, of course, was granted audibly, to the great comfort of Romish fish-eaters. St. David was baptised by a priest who was blind, and disfigured by some deformity of the nose. This ecclesiastic, aware of the infant's sanctity, thrice sprinkled his face with water from the font, after the ceremony was over. Immediately sight gladdened his eyes, and his nose became like other people's. A monk was once chopping bushes with a bill in a manner so vigorous, that the metallic portion of his instrument was hurled in an adjoining pond, the wooden handle remaining still in his grasp. St. Benedict tossed the said handle into the pond; up jumped the iron from the bottom forthwith, and took its proper place in the handle. *(Vir autem Domini, Benedictus, tulit manubrium et misit in lacum, moxque ferrum de profundo rediit, et in manubrium intravit.* Breviar. Sarisb.) These are a few specimens of matters appearing in that prayer-book which so many warlike admirers desired to see restored to the churches. This venerated volume is indeed abundantly stored with such relations, for even upon days dedicated to the Apostles, it was not thought necessary to consult Scripture only for a Gospel. Tradition was, according to custom, put into requisition, and she has favoured us with many wonderful particulars respecting those admirable men whom all Christians revere, but of which mere readers of the Bible are wholly ignorant.

turn aside from the Bishop of Rome's decrees which you think will lead you to purgatory, and keep God's commandments which will fit you for heaven. Your tenth demand is, "*We will have the Bible, and all books of Scripture in English, to be called in again. For we be informed, that otherwise the clergy shall not of long time confound the heretics.* Alas! it grieveth me to hear your articles; and much I rue and lament your ignorance: praying God most earnestly once to lighten your eyes, that you may see the truth. What Christian heart would not be grieved to see you so ignorant, for willingly, wittingly, I trust you do it not. The Bible has been used by all nations in their native tongues; and without it, we cannot prevail against subtle heretics, powerful devils, the deceitful world, or our own sinful flesh. Until God's word came to light, the Bishop of Rome reigned quietly under the prince of darkness, and his heresies were received as the Catholic faith. Nor will heresies ever cease to reign unless the light of God's word drive away our darkness. You desire, in the eleventh place, to have Crispin and Moreman, two clergymen who hold your opinions, despatched to you and preferred by the crown[a]. These men are so head-

[a] "Of Crispin I find little, but that he was once proctor of the University of Oxon, and doctor of the faculty of physic, and of Oriel College. Moreman was beneficed in Cornwall in King Henry's time, and seemed to go along with that King in his steps of reformation, and was observed to be the first that taught his parishoners the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Com-

strong that they will not learn, and so ignorant, that they are not fit to teach; to ask, therefore, for them, and to refuse God's word in your own tongue, is like the Jews when they clamoured to have Christ crucified, and Barabbas delivered unto them. You next desire that Cardinal Pole should be pardoned and restored to his country. Now, as no Cardinal or legate has ever done any good in England, no such person can be expected to do any for the future. As for Pole, I have read a book of his, which no one, well affected to our late Sovereign's memory, and to England, can peruse, without esteeming that Cardinal unworthy not only of pardon, but also of life." Of the last three demands made by the insurgents, the first required, that for every hundred marks of annual income gentlemen should keep one servant, and no more; the second, that one half of the monastic property should be restored to its former uses; and the third, that Arundel and Bray, the two principal rebels, should receive a safe conduct to court. The first two of these demands, are shewn to be unreasonable in themselves, and injurious to the community. Much notice of the last was rendered unnecessary, be-

mandments in English; yet shewing himself in the next King's reign a zealot for the old superstitions. Hence we see the reason why the Archbishop charged him to be a man full of craft and hypocrisy. In Queen Mary's time he was, for his Popish merits, preferred to be Dean of Exeter, and was coadjutor to the Bishop of that diocese, probably then superannuated, and he died in that Queen's reign." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 265.

cause when the Archbishop wrote his answers, the rebellion was crushed, and the two leading rebels were lying under sentence of death. He, therefore, concludes his labours by praying for these unhappy criminals, that God may so be gracious as to cause "them to die well, who have lived ill[b]."

While the flames of rebellion were raging thus extensively, the leading Romanists naturally became objects of anxious observation to the government. Among them, no one conducted himself more suspiciously than Bishop Boner. Outwardly that prelate had complied with recent changes, but his obedience was contrived in such a manner as to give very little satisfaction to the friends of scriptural Christianity. At the high altar of his cathedral the old Latin mass was, indeed, superseded by the new English Communion-service; but in the chapels attached to that church celebrations upon the former plan yet continued. In these less conspicuous places, adherents to Romish abuses were enabled, as they had been wont, to gaze upon a priest while receiving the Eucharist; his ministration passing under the name of our Lady's Communion, that of the Apostles, or the like[c]. The encouragement thus given by their prelate was not lost upon those individuals in his diocese who were disaffected to the government, or who half-for-

[b] Ibid. Appendix, 799.

[c] Letter of the council to the Bishop of London, dated June 21. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 74.

getting the sacrifice of Calvary, dreamed of propitiations for sin offered by mass-priests, or who could not be contented to go to church without remaining there in ignorance of what the clergyman said. Such persons were greatly inspirited by the news of disturbances which poured in from all parts of the country, and, accordingly, many of them resorted secretly to places in which they might still hear mass [d]. They were the more encouraged on observing, that Boner now generally absented himself from public worship on those days in which he had been used to be seen at church, and that he very rarely preached, or administered the Holy Communion. These omissions could not fail of being reported among the insurgent peasantry, and therefore they justly rendered the administration uneasy. Hence it was required of the Bishop peremptorily to put a stop to the irregularities which distinguished his cathedral. A letter, signed by the Protector, and some other members of the council, enjoining this reformation, was no sooner brought to Boner, than he handed it over to Dr. May, the Dean of St. Paul's. Under that dignitary's directions, it seems, that the slightly-disguised masses were abolished for we hear no farther complaints upon the subject. The Bishop of London, however, was still narrowly watched, and an opinion prevailed, that he looked with an approving eye upon the principles and conduct of the rustic

[d] Foxe, 1192.

population, then in arms. In order to counteract this mischievous impression, he was called before the council, on the 11th of August, and ordered, to preach at St. Paul's Cross within the next three weeks; to administer the Communion at all times when his predecessors had been used to say mass; to summon before him such as absented themselves from the English service; to be more careful in repressing adultery and fornication; and to remain at home during the time which would elapse before the delivery of his prescribed sermon. It was ordered, that he should, in this discourse, inculcate the wickedness of rebellion, the superiority of practical holiness over ceremonial observances, and the competence of a minor king to make laws binding upon his subjects. On the first of September was delivered the expected sermon to a very numerous audience. In this discourse were some observations upon rebellion and upon ceremonies, but nothing upon the obedience due to a sovereign under age. There was, however, other matter calculated to keep alive popular irritation [e]. This matter is considered with great probability to have been a vehement defence of transubstantiation [f]. Among

[e] "Intreating (*viz.* the preacher) of other far distant and divers from the articles upon which he was commanded to intreat, and such as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and rebellion." Denunciation of Hooper and Latimer, against the Bishop of London, Foxe, 1193.

[f] Heylin (Hist. Ref. 70,) affirms, positively, that such was the tenour of this exceptionable part in Bishop Boner's sermon. Burnet says the same.

the hearers were John Hooper, soon afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and William Latimer, incumbent of St. Laurence Pountney, in the city of London; and these divines presented an accusatory statement, or denunciation, as it is called, of Boner's sermon, to the King in council.

It was most important to treat the Bishop's disobedience with some severity, because many of the rebels openly declared their determination to obey no new laws, until the King should have arrived at the age of twenty years [s]. Accordingly, on the 8th of September was issued a commission, under the great seal, directed to Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, Sir William Petre, and Sir Thomas Smyth, the two secretaries of state, and Dr. May, the Dean of St. Paul's; empowering them to require the Bishop of London's attendance, to hear such matters as might be objected against him, and if the charges should be proved, to suspend, excommunicate, imprison, or deprive him, as it should seem to them most fit. The commission is grounded upon Boner's disobedience in his recent sermon, which, it is said, he was required to preach, "upon certain complaints before made, *and other great considerations.*" On the 10th of September, the Bishop appeared at Lambeth; all the commissioners excepting Smyth being present. Nothing could exceed the levity and insolence displayed by this unworthy prelate in the presence of his judges.

[s] Denunciation, *ut supra.*

He entered the room in which they sat with his cap upon his head, as if he did not see them, and when one of those who stood by, pulling him by the sleeve, reminded him that it might be proper to take some respectful notice of the distinguished persons before him, he turned to Cranmer, and said with a laugh. "What are you here, my Lord? By my troth, I saw you not." "No," replied the Archbishop, "you would not see." "Well," rejoined Boner, "you have sent for me here; have you any thing to say unto me?" "Yea," said the commissioners, "we have here authority from the King's Highness to call you to account for neglecting, in your late sermon, to discourse upon that point which you were expressly commanded to handle." Of these words the accused prelate took no notice, but turning to Cranmer, he said, "In good faith, my Lord, I would one thing were had more in reverence than it is." The Primate asked, "Pray, what is that thing?" The reply was, "The blessed mass: a sacrament upon which your Grace has written very well [h], and I marvel much, that you do not honour it more." To this Cranmer answered, "If your Lordship think well of my book, it is because you understand it not." Boner rejoined, "I think that I understand it better than yourself." Upon this the Archbishop said, "I could easily make a child of ten years old understand it better than you: but what is that

[h] In the catechism prepared from the German. In this piece it may be recollected, is adopted the Lutheran view of the Eucharist.

to the purpose?" Business was then begun by a formal statement of the charges objected to the accused, and by an examination of the two principal witnesses. When their testimony was concluded, Boner utterly denied its truth, and turning them into ridicule, said, "One of them speaks like a goose, the other like a woodcock." Others were then called, who had been present at the delivery of the sermon under consideration, and interrogated as to whether the preacher had inculcated the duty of obedience to a minor King. A negative answer being given, the accused prelate turned round, and said, "Will you believe this fond people?" At length he drew from his bosom a protest in Latin, designating both the proceedings and the commissioners, as pretended, and reserving to himself the right of excepting against any thing that might be done in his case hereafter, upon the ground of his not having hitherto seen the commission. He then requested to see the written charges preferred against him, and having read them, he said that there was a vagueness about them which rendered a specific reply difficult. On this, the Archbishop observed, "The particular matter of complaint against your Lordship, is your having omitted to inculcate, upon a late occasion, the duty of obedience to a sovereign under age, according to the injunction delivered to you from the proper authority." Latimer and Hooper were now desired to come forward again, and to depose as to the particulars of what they heard at St. Paul's Cross. At the

close of their evidence, Boner, looking at them earnestly, thus broke forth: "As for this merchant[i], Latimer, I know him very well, and have borne with him, and winked at his evil doings a great while: but I have more to say to him hereafter. But as touching this other merchant, Hooper, I have not seen him before: howbeit, I have heard much of his naughty preaching. Ah! my Lord of Canterbury, I see, that my present trouble is not for the matter pretended, but for my having asserted in my sermon the true presence of our Lord's blessed body and blood in the sacrament of the altar. Touching this sacrament, my accusers are manifest and notorious heretics; especially this Hooper. On the afternoon of the day in which I preached, this man having a great rabblement of his damnable sect about him, like an ass as he is, falsely said, that I had asserted the Lord's body and blood after sacramental consecration to be the very same *as* it hung, and *as* it was shed upon the cross. Whereas I preached and affirmed, that the true body and blood of our Saviour is in the Sacrament, the self same *that* was hung, and shed upon the cross." Cranmer then said, "My Lord of London, ye speak much of a presence in the Sacrament; what presence is there?" This question caused the blood to mount into Boner's face, and with considerable vehemence, he replied,

[i] Probably synonymous with *chap*, a contemptuous word, meaning properly much the same as *merchant*.

"What presence, my Lord? I say and believe, that there is the very true presence of the body and blood of Christ. What and how do you believe, my Lord?" The Archbishop rejoined: "Do you then believe, that in the Sacrament are present the Saviour's face, nose, eyes, lips, arms, and other members of his body?" Boner shook his head; and said, "Oh, I am right sorry to hear your Grace use such language." He then proposed to argue at greater length upon transubstantiation; but this was refused upon the ground, that the commissioners had assembled to execute the King's orders, not to moot a question of theology. When the accused found, that the business in hand was the only one to which his judges would attend, he desired, still protesting against the competence of the court, to be furnished with a copy of the commission issued against him, with another of the evidence tendered in support of the case, and to have some time allowed for the preparation of his defence. These demands were granted, and the court adjourned.

On the 13th of the same month, the commissioners met again in the Archbishop's chapel at Lambeth. Secretary Smyth now taking his place at the board, Boner objected to his presence as illegal, because he was absent on the former day. This objection, however, was over-ruled, and the Bishop entered upon his defence. This was plentifully garnished with invectives against Latimer and Hooper, whom he styled vile and infamous persons, justly excommunicated by the common

consent of Christendom, on account of heretical writings published by the latter of the two, and on account of the heretical sermons delivered by both against transubstantiation. Of his own discourse, he then proceeded to give some account. From this it appears, that he enlarged upon the sinfulness of the rebellious, and upon transubstantiation. He also inculcated the duty of obedience to the King, but it does not seem that he touched upon the pretence then so rife among the agitators, drawn from Edward's minority. That fact, he observed, was known to the whole world, and he added, that he certainly should not have inculcated the danger and iniquity of disobeying the royal authority, unless he had been fully persuaded of its validity under a minor sovereign. This was, however, evidently nothing else than an artful evasion; for no man of information can suppose, that persons in superior life are liable to such gross delusions as are contrived for the most ignorant of the vulgar. At the same time, it is clear, that if men of influence, when called upon to expose a mischievous pretence notoriously prevalent, choose to preserve silence, upon the ground that the matter in question is too stupid for notice, they virtually take effectual means for propagating the error. The Bishop's apology, therefore, was justly deemed unsatisfactory, and the case proceeded. As for his two principal accusers, Cranmer said, that if there were any law against receiving the evidence of such persons, it must be a bad law, proceeding from the Bishop

of Rome, and one of which a man unjustly accused would not readily avail himself. "No, Sir, it is the King's law;" said Boner. "Well, my Lord," replied the Primate, "I wish you had less knowledge in that law, and more knowledge in God's Law, and in your duty." The accused rejoined: "Seeing your Grace falleth to wishing, I can also wish many things to be in your person." In order to stop this unseemly recrimination, the two secretaries interposed, one after the other, and informed the Bishop, that since he objected so strongly to the evidence of the two principal witnesses against him, the case could be established by other means, and that no attention would be paid to the legal quibbles by which it was sought to delay the proceedings. Petre then asked him, "Did you write your sermon, my Lord, or no?" The answer was, "I wrote it not: I merely drew up some notes for my direction in the delivery of it." The business of the day soon after closed without the farther occurrence of any thing material.

Within three days afterwards, the court being met again in the Archbishop's chapel, Latimer declared that he had been falsely accused of heresy and of conspiring with Hooper; he never having holden any communication with that divine until after the day on which the Bishop delivered his sermon. Hooper also defended himself from the imputation of having preached or published heretical doctrines, by shewing that he had maintained no opinions at variance with Scripture.

In his defence he termed Boner, reprehensibly it must be admitted, "That ungodly man." The accused prelate, however, retorted upon him by saying, "I have here this varlet's books, against the blessed Sacrament; and from them I will convict him of heresy." He then proceeded to turn over the leaves of some books which he drew from his sleeve. While thus engaged, Hooper began to speak again: "Put up your pipes," said Boner, "you have spoken for your part." He then proceeded to read extracts from the books in his hands, but in a manner so light and ridiculous, that the spectators behind began to laugh. This disconcerted him, and turning round with a strong expression of anger, he said, "Ah, woodcocks: woodcocks." After this sally of intemperate absurdity, Cranmer addressed the spectators to warn them against believing, that the Bishop was brought into trouble for his opinions upon transubstantiation. The commissioners, however, would not permit Boner to reply; but it was found impossible to prevent him from charging the Archbishop with having published at different times two books respecting the Eucharist, which contradicted each other. This Cranmer denied. After some farther altercation between the two prelates, it was determined to call for the defence without more delay. His apology proved very lame. He had begun to write his sermon, he said, but becoming weary, had soon contented himself with merely making notes; that these contained many examples, both

scriptural and from profane histories, of kings obeyed during their minority; that his notes, however, unfortunately proved of inconsiderable use to him, partly, because his little practice in preaching, rendered his memory in the pulpit not so effective as he could have wished, partly, because the council had sent to him to read a long account of successes obtained over the rebels, and partly, because some of his papers slipped away from him while he was engaged in the delivery of his discourse. Such excuses being deemed of little value, the proceedings continued, and at the fifth session, the accused prelate was committed to the Marshalsea by order of Sir Thomas Smyth, for refusing to answer some interrogatories offered to him. At the seventh session, holden on the 1st of October, by the act of all the five employed in the investigation, who call themselves commissioners, or judges delegate, he was deprived of the bishopric of London, together with all its rights and emoluments. The grounds of this sentence, are, his connivance at adultery within his diocese, and at the conduct of those who followed foreign religious rites disapproved by the national Church[k]; his absence from the sermons at St. Paul's Cross, and moreover his letters advising the lord mayor and aldermen to absent themselves; and his omitting to inculcate in his prescribed sermon the duty of obeying a mi-

[k] "Qui externos et non probatos Ecclesiæ ritus in hoc regno sequerentur." Sent. depriv. Edm. Ep. Lond. Foxe, 1209.

nor sovereign. His offences, therefore, must be considered as chiefly political. Since, probably, he was thought to have been remiss in repressing immorality, from a desire to see disgrace brought upon the Reformation[1]. His connivance at the conduct of those who followed the rites of Romanism, accurately designated as foreign, his refusal to attend the reformed preachers, and his letters to the civic magistrates, were all plain indications of a resolution to resist the government in its ecclesiastical policy, to the utmost of his power. His omitting to notice the absurd pretence advanced among the insurgent peasantry, could hardly have flowed from any other cause than a desire to abstain as much as possible from topics likely to discourage the rebellion. It does not

[1] It was, and is still, a favourite point in Romish tactics to dwell upon the immoralities which shewed themselves with unwonted impudence at the time of the Reformation. The modern Romanists cite Protestant authors as vouchers for such facts, with a great appearance of satisfaction. To such testimony, however, these polemics are sufficiently welcome, for it is evident, that at a time when the principles of men are in an unsettled state, the frailty and corruption of human nature will be likely not only to embolden offenders, but also to multiply offences. After all, however, it is not improbable, that the complaints of immorality heard among those who conversed with the Reformers are somewhat exaggerated. The Romanists naturally made the worst of evils which appeared to flow from the ruin of their own system, and leading members of the other party, being chiefly very pious men, looked upon the vices of their contemporaries with a degree of concern which could hardly fail of disposing them to represent these delinquencies in colours more unfavourable than the case strictly warranted.

indeed seem, that there was any intention to treat him altogether as a canonical offender, for although his metropolitan, a diocesan bishop, and a distinguished dignitary were among his judges, yet the court was completed by the addition of two lay statesmen. Nor did the sentence affect his ecclesiastical character. He was in fact dismissed from the bishopric of London, an office which he had consented to hold during pleasure. That the authority from which he held that situation was justly used in cashiering him, there appears no reason to doubt; for his conduct plainly tended to contravene the policy and to menace the stability of the existing administration. After deprivation, he was detained in prison[m]: a severity with which, it is likely, the government could not dispense. If such a man had been at large, it is most probable, that he would have embarked in projects injurious to the progress of that ecclesiastical system which illumines so brilliantly young Edward's brief career.

Whatever might be the satisfaction with which the friends of scriptural religion viewed Bishop Boner's disgrace, it was sadly alloyed by the troubles which almost immediately afterwards overtook the Protector. That nobleman had been, throughout the summer, beset with difficulties enough to baffle a genius far above his own. In addition to the tumults raging so extensively at home, unfavourable events abroad had

[m] Foxe, 1210.

rendered the government highly unpopular[n]. The French had taken some of the forts about Boulogne, and were unremitting in their endeavours to carry that place itself. Of their ultimate success in this object, there appeared, indeed, little reason to doubt, and this prospect, so mortifying to English vanity, was attributed to the negligence and incapacity of the Protector. In Scotland, also, the war either languished, or was decidedly unsuccessful: so that, the nation's military fame appeared altogether upon the decline. Difficulties in the cabinet enhanced the importance of these diappointments in the field. England's only ally was the Emperor, but upon that prince's friendship no reliance could be placed. As usual, indeed, when it served his purpose, Charles was lavish of professions; but an application for effective assistance induced him to employ his habitual evasions, and he even intimated that the Romish system must be restored among them, if his English allies aimed at securing his cordial co-operation. If Somerset could have looked to France, he might, indeed, have calculated reasonably upon strengthening his administration; for that country was interested in supporting the German Protestants. The French statesmen too

[n] "The confusions this year occasioned that change to be made in the office of the daily prayers; where the answer to the petition, *Give peace in our time, O Lord*, which was formerly, and is still continued, was now made, *Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God.* Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 208.

were anxious for peace with their insular neighbours; but then, as a preliminary, they insisted upon the restoration of Boulogne. To gratify them in this, was entirely the Protector's wish, because he felt severely the difficulty of preserving that fortress; and he justly reasoned, that it never could be worth while to make any considerable sacrifice for retaining possession of a place, which must be surrendered, according to treaty, at the end of a very few years. Among the people, however, the capture of Boulogne had given general satisfaction, and the national honour would have been tarnished in the eyes of most men if they saw that town relinquished before the stipulated period. In this view of the case a majority of the council affected to coincide. It became every day more doubtful, whether Somerset possessed ability sufficient for bringing to a prosperous issue the serious difficulties which crowded upon him. His political rivals anticipated, therefore, the downfal of his power from the continuance of foreign hostilities, and hence they urged every obstacle in the way of making peace. In this state of disunion and embarrassment had the English administration passed the summer. Early in the autumn the Earl of Warwick returned to London flushed with his success against the Norfolk insurgents, and that ambitious peer no longer affected to conceal an aversion for Somerset, but openly charged upon his unfitness for the Protectorate the manifold evils which distracted the kingdom.

The Duke, when at Hampton Court with his royal nephew, becoming sensible that he was menaced by some serious evil, mustered his armed retainers, and took measures for assembling a guard, one thousand strong, under colour of ensuring Edward's personal safety. Before these troops arrived, he removed the King to Windsor by night, being apprehensive, that the palace at Hampton, if attacked, would be found capable of offering very little resistance. In Windsor Castle were with the young sovereign and his uncle, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir William Paget, and Secretary Smyth. The other members of the council were in London, and the Earl of Warwick persuaded them to meet at Ely House, in Holborn, where he then resided. There, before the assembled board, various causes of discontent were recapitulated, and the blame of them all was laid upon the Protector. Of him it was even said, that he was keeping the King in durance, and that he was maturing a design for subjugating the kingdom. As if to prevent these misfortunes, the scheming councillors sent for the Lord Mayor, and enjoined him to obey no orders from the Duke of Somerset. They sent also for the lieutenant of the Tower; and that officer, though a creature of Somerset's, made little hesitation in promising obedience to the party which appeared likely to prove the stronger. The city, when assured that the restoration of popery was not in agitation, was found equally ready to abandon the Protector. Indeed that unfortunate nobleman was now for-

saken by all that motley and unprincipled crew of frivolous or interested sycophants whom great men too commonly consider as their friends. In Cranmer, however, Somerset found that real friendship, of which a virtuous mind alone is capable. The Archbishop, grieved to see an honest man immersed in such overwhelming difficulties, in conjunction with Smyth and Paget, wrote to the council in London. This letter, which reached its destination through Sir Philip Hoby, thus admonished Warwick's partizans; "that they caused great uneasiness to the King, being evidently but little intent upon restoring the general tranquillity, and upon warding off the dangers by which the state was menaced; that they seemed forgetful of the benefits received from their late sovereign, and of the allegiance which bound them to the reigning prince; that the Protector's acts had flowed from an anxiety to secure his Majesty's safety, and to perform conscientiously what his duty to God required; and that his opponents should seriously reflect upon the propriety of doing as they would be done by[o]." Before the receipt of this letter, as it seems, the councillors in London transmitted to their colleagues at Windsor, a vague communication, in which they charged the Protector in general terms with spreading false reports, and enjoined him to depart from his Majesty's immediate presence, for the purpose of being treated according to

[o] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 275.

justice and reason[p]. When the seceding councillors received the letter from Windsor, they despatched Hoby back to that place with an answer. In this, the three members of their body who had addressed them, were required at their utmost peril to keep a continual, earnest watch over the king's person, and to take care that he should not be removed from Windsor Castle. At the same time, they expressed much surprise that his Majesty should be guarded by Somerset's retainers and that these men should wear the royal armour, while some of Edward's own people were sent away. Finally, they exhorted the three councillors at Windsor to co-operate with the rest of the board in London[q]. This letter, together with another addressed to the King, being taken into consideration by the Archbishop and his two confederates, it was determined to send Sir Philip Hoby again to town with verbal instructions, and with a letter inviting the lords in London to despatch some of their body to Windsor[r]. With this communication, or very shortly before it, appears to have been conveyed one of a more private nature from Sir William Paget; for the London party sent down immediately a letter to that statesman

[p] The council in London, to their colleagues at Windsor; dated October 7. Ellis's Letters, II. 166.

[q] The lords of the council in London, to those at Windsor; dated October 9. Ibid. 169.

[r] The Lords of the council at Windsor, to those in London; dated October 10. Ibid. 171.

consisting of two portions, separately signed, but with the same names, excepting that of Southwell, which is affixed only to the latter part. The first division of this has no other object than to obtain credence from Paget for Knight, the Vice-chamberlain, whom the signers despatched with instructions to Windsor. The second part enjoins the arrest of the Protector, of Sir Thomas Smyth, and of three others; a measure which Paget's servant had verbally declared to be of no difficult execution [s]. Meanwhile Cranmer and Paget persuaded both the King and Somerset to give way [t]. The latter then after stipulating, that no violence should be offered to his person, and that nothing illegal should be attempted against him, resigned himself to his fate [u]. This submission was no sooner known in London, than Sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard, was sent down to Windsor for the purpose of taking the King under his own charge, and of preventing Somerset from farther access to him. On the following day, being the 12th of October, all the councillors who had been plotting in London, with the exception of Warwick [x], rode down to Windsor, and on the evening of that day, Somerset was committed prisoner to Beauchamp's tower, within the Castle. On the 14th, he was conducted to the Tower of

[s] The lords of the council in London to Sir William Paget, dated October 10. Ibid. 173.

[t] "As is entered in the council-book." Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* II. 221.

[u] Goodwin, Annal. 96.

[x] Hayward, 307.

London, being paraded through the city between the Earls of Southampton and Huntingdon[y]. The articles of accusation preferred against him, which are in number twenty-eight, charge him with acting in various instances as if he were independent of his brother-executors; with illegally holding a court of requests in his own house for the summary determination of causes; with debasing the coin; with issuing proclamations and commissions upon the subject of enclosures, which had caused considerable evils; with neglecting the fortifications of Boulogne; and with raising reports to the prejudice of the council[z]. In fact, therefore, Somerset's enemies could only prove against him, that he was unduly elated by the splendid station to which he had attained, and that his greediness of popularity had hurried him into acts which were illegal and unwise. Upon these grounds he was deprived of the protectorate, and detained in the Tower. In confinement there, he conducted himself with great propriety, turning his attention chiefly to religion, and shewing, that if he had been vain, ambitious, and indiscreet, he had never acquired that hardness of heart which is the most effectual obstacle to amendment. His fall was highly grateful to the Romanists, who reckoned immediately upon recovering their ascendancy, and Bishop Gardiner made at once preparations for again appearing before the public[a].

[y] Stow.

[z] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 260.

[a] Stow.

The King, however, had imbibed the strongest abhorrence of Popery, and as many influential minds were similarly circumstanced, Warwick discovered no wish to depart from the ecclesiastical policy of the statesman whom his intrigues had driven from the helm.

CHAPTER V.

Translation of the council from Trent to Bologna—The Interim—Learned Foreigners entertained by Cranmer—Ratramn published with the royal privilege—Disputations in the two Universities—Proceedings in Parliament—The English ordinal—Death of Paul III., and election of Julius III.—Somerset released and pardoned—Joan Bocher, and George Van Parr—Bishop Ridley translated to London—Farther proceedings against Bishop Gardiner—Hooper—Removal of Altars—Controversy between Cranmer and Gardiner.

By a long train of artful intrigues and fortunate events, the Emperor had at length acquired an influence in Germany which bade fair for the effectual depression of the Protestant party in that country. While the transactions which led Charles to this important position were in progress, the Pope eagerly lent him assistance both with men and money. But no sooner did the imperial power begin to wear an appearance of consolidation, than Paul became alarmed; anticipating in the admitted successor of the Roman Cæsars, not an obedient son, but a resolute master. He, therefore, abruptly withdrew his forces from the Emperor's camp, and retracted some of those financial engagements by which he had consented

to relieve that monarch's embarrassments[a]. He became also more anxious than ever as to the proceedings at Trent. It was true, that his obedient tools, assembled at that place under the name of an œcumenical council, had hitherto shewn the most abject compliance with his desires, but he could scarcely calculate upon a continuance of their obsequiousness, if Charles were to succeed in acquiring for himself an effective monarchy in Germany. There was every reason to believe that a prince, so selfish and sagacious, would not hesitate to sacrifice some points of Romish doctrine, if he could thereby paralyse an important opposition to his policy; that he would gladly correct admitted abuses in the established order of ecclesiastical affairs, and extend his own power by curtailing that of the Pope, there could be no doubt whatever. Nor was it possible to foresee how far the Trentine fathers might lend their aid to such arrangements as Charles might desire, if that monarch were once firmly established as the arbitrator of Italy and Germany. Apprehensive of events so fatal to the grandeur of his see, Paul determined upon bringing to a close the deliberations at Trent. To dissolve the council was, however, hardly practicable, because there were no producible reasons for such a measure. Even its removal could not openly be commanded from Rome, without exposing to all mankind, that the Papacy shrank from any investigation unless conducted where she herself unequivocally bore

[a] Robertson, Charles V. III. 112.

sway. Under this dilemma secret instructions were sent to the papal legates, enjoining them to seize some pretence, as if upon their own responsibility, for transferring the council from a place so immediately within the reach of imperial influence, as was Trent. It was then early in the spring, when the change of seasons commonly affects the human constitution, and when the debaucheries of the carnival cannot fail to indispose many Romanists. In the households, accordingly, of some distinguished ecclesiastics, attendant on the council, there were several cases of illness, and among the bishops, one died. These occurrences were magnified into indubitable marks of pestilence, physicians were publicly examined, reports were spread that the neighbouring towns had resolved to cut off all communication with the seat of contagion, every nervous man in Trent became alarmed, some of the divines pressed for leave to depart, and the bustle ended in the transfer of the council, ostensibly by legatine authority alone, to Bologna, in the papal territories [b].

The artifice employed by the legates being sufficiently obvious to discerning minds, those prelates at Trent who were subjects to the Emperor, with only one exception, opposed the council's emigration. Nor, after that measure had been carried by means of the Pope's more immediate dependents, would the imperial minister allow the departure of any who owed allegiance to his master. When Charles heard of the papal

[b] March 11, 1547. F. Paul, 267.

manœuvre, he was greatly displeased, and sent orders to his subjects, that they should remain at Trent. They did not, however, choose to transact any business there, for fear of making a schism in the Roman Church. Nor did their late confederates attempt any thing at Bologna beyond some matters of form, and the venting of some contemptuous expressions levelled at the Spanish party which they had left behind among the Trentine mountains [c]. Thus the council was reduced to a state of complete obeyance, and Paul regained the satisfaction of being enabled to pursue his own objects without incurring the risque of falling under the lash of an authority which his adherents might be unwilling to contravene. Charles, however, felt himself completely outwitted, and as the tide of his prosperity rapidly augmented, he was by no means inclined to lay aside his plans, in deference to the court of Rome. By the decisive battle of Muhlberg, fought on the 24th of the month succeeding that in which the council of Trent was translated to Bologna, Protestant Germany was, indeed, apparently laid prostrate at the feet of her imperial oppressor. This great advantage gained by the principal Romish sovereign over the enemies of that creed, was any thing rather than agreeable to the Pope; who now became resolute not to gratify Charles in re-assembling such a council as the Germans demanded. Every attempt, accordingly, to wring this compliance from the papal

[c] Ibid. 269.

court, was met by some subterfuge; and at last, Charles determined upon devising, by his own authority, a provisional scheme of Reformation, and of enforcing obedience to it throughout Germany, so long as the acknowledged visible head of his religion should persist in his existing disingenuous policy. He, therefore, commissioned Julius Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg, Michael Helding, Bishop of Sidon, and John Agricola, a Protestant divine, to draw up such a system of religious belief as they might judge best suited for his purpose. The nomination of Agricola for this employment seems to have been intended merely as a blind, for that divine was considered to have been previously gained over by his imperial master; an opinion certainly warranted by the work produced [d]. This was decidedly Papistical, although conceived in soft and ambiguous language, with a great parade of scriptural phraseology, and with an appearance of consulting the feelings of such as had refused to be guided in matters of faith by unwritten tradition [e]. It was

[d] Robertson, Charles V. III. 172. Sleidan, 339. Agricola was in the service of the Elector of Brandenburg, a prince who would fain have given currency to the system arranged by that divine and his two associates. Archdeacon Coxe thus accounts in a note for the Elector's conduct in this particular. "Joachim II. Elector of Brandenburg, who among the Protestants principally concurred in the formation and establishment of the *Interim*, was gained by the Emperor, with the hopes of securing the reversion of the see of Magdeburg for one of his sons." House of Austria, II. 172.

[e] The following are the principal heads of this celebrated pro-

proposed in this compromise, that married clergymen, who refused to dismiss their wives, should

duction. Of the state of man both before the fall, and afterwards: of redemption by Christ: of charity and good works: of faith in the remission of sins: of the Church: of vows: of sacerdotal power: of the Pope: of the Sacraments: of the sacrifice of the mass: of the commemoration, invocation, and intercession of saints: of the commemoration of those who have died piously: of turning the mass into a communion: of ceremonies, and the efficacy of the Sacraments. In treating upon these subjects, it was taught, that works piously or honestly undertaken, beyond the commandment of God, and denominated works of supererogation, are commendable; that man cannot without hesitation arising from his own weakness, confide in the remission of sin; that the Church has the power of interpreting Scripture, of eliciting doctrines from it, and of explaining them, of exercising jurisdiction, of deciding controversies synodically, and of enacting constitutions; that one bishop was appointed to preside over the rest in virtue of the prerogative assigned to St. Peter; that to him is committed by Christ the government of the universal Church, but with the reservation of jurisdiction to the other bishops within their respective dioceses; that the Holy Ghost, as a defence against the world, the flesh, and the devil, is received by means of confirmation and chrism, the minister of which is the bishop; that such sins as can be recollected are to be enumerated to a priest; that by satisfaction, which chiefly consists in fasting, alms, and prayers, the causes of sin are cut off, and its temporal punishment is either taken away, or mitigated; that holy unction was handed down from the Apostles, not only as a bodily relief, but also as a spiritual benefit, hence it is properly used at the close of life; that there were two sacrifices made by Christ, one bloody, upon the cross, another under the forms of bread and wine, by which he offered his body and blood to the Father; that he commanded the Apostles and their successors to continue this latter sacrifice, not, however, for the purpose of reconciling man to God, this having been effected at Calvary, but for the purpose of commemorating what

notwithstanding be allowed to officiate, and that provinces, accustomed to communicate under both kinds, should be permitted to continue that usage. Besides these relaxations, all mention of transubstantiation was omitted, images were pronounced merely commemorative and ornamental, and other bishops, as well as the Pope, were said to derive their power from Christ. It was not, however, pretended to settle any point definitively; the whole scheme being offered for reception, only until the meeting of an unexceptionable general council. So that, according to the Emperor's own shewing, the slight indulgences and seeming concessions made to the Protestants, were all in danger of being speedily retracted. Charles, however, trusting to his commanding position, doubted not, that in spite of this fatal defect, he should be able to force his plan upon the country; and on the 15th of May, in the year 1548, he introduced it, by a speech from the throne, to the diet assembled at Augsburg. The

was done there, of representing Christ, and of placing him before the Father ("*hoc non cruento, sisti Deo Patri et repræsentari Christum*") and of applying to ourselves by faith, the reconciliation which Christ obtained for us by his death; that in this sacrifice the saints ought to be commemorated, and their intercession for us with God, as also the aid of their merits, intreated; and that likewise, in this, other dead persons ought to be mentioned and recommended to God's mercy. As for ceremonies, it was taught, that none of them hitherto used ought to be abolished, except a few which had manifestly led to superstition, and that in the canon of the mass nothing whatever was to be changed. Sleidan, 333.

piece was there read to the Germanic body as calculated to allay the religious heats distracting the Empire, until these could be satisfactorily composed in a general council. In the *meanwhile*, it was proposed to establish this body of faith and discipline: which hence obtained the name of the *Interim*. When the reading of it was concluded, the Archbishop of Mentz, who took precedence of the whole electoral body, arose; and after thanking his imperial Majesty for his paternal care, he added, that they were all bound thankfully to receive the system so kindly prepared for their use. In opposition to the Elector's harangue, a single word was not uttered on any side, and Charles, accordingly, considered, that the *Interim* was sufficiently sanctioned by the diet[f]. Encouraged by this apparent acquiescence, he produced, in the following month, a body of canons to regulate the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. In these, among other things, it was enacted, that monasteries should be restored, where they had been abolished; that nothing at variance with Popery, or as the phrase ran, nothing that agrees not with the Catholic Church, should be taught in schools; that Latin should be used in the public services, lest these, if intelligible to the populace, should become contemptible; and that the canon of the mass should still be pronounced inaudibly, for the sake of preserving their proper dignity to such tremendous mysteries[g].

[f] Sleidan, 334. [g] Ibid. 337.

But Romish in almost every part as was this attempt at a religious compromise, it filled every violent Papist with indignation. In Charles's conduct was found a parallel to that of the eighth Henry, and it was predicted, that he, like his English uncle, would end his sacrilegious boldness, by declaring himself head of the Church within the wide range of his dominions. The offensive piece was then attacked in detail, and it was pronounced at variance with the Catholic faith in some particulars, while in others, it was said to display a disingenuous pusillanimity, highly unworthy of a Church planted by Apostolic hands[h]. Among the Protestants, this insidious plan of fixing around their necks once more the galling yoke of exploded traditions was in general received with the contempt that it merited. There were, indeed, among the emancipated princes; some gained by imperial promises or threats, who agreed to receive the *Interim*[i]. Of those who proved above this disreputable compliance, the Elector of Saxony claims the highest praise. That prince, in a temporal point of view so unfortunate, had remained in the Emperor's custody ever since the fatal battle of Muhlberg, and Charles, well aware of his deserved importance with the whole Protestant party, was most anxious to obtain his approbation for the new system. But neither hopes nor fears availed to shake the illustrious prisoner's constancy. From

[h] F. Paul, 289.

[i] Coxe, House of Austria, II. 173.

long reading of Holy Scripture, he said, had been drawn his religious opinions, and he dared not, for worldly considerations, to deny or dissemble principles impressed upon his mind by the writings of Apostles and Prophets [k]. A similar spirit was displayed by the imperial cities, which at

[k] Sleidan, 336. The following extracts from letters to the Protector written by Sir Philip Hoby, the English ambassador at the imperial court, bear honourable testimony to the Elector's exalted character. "Grandvel also required, in the Emperor's name, that the Duke of Saxony, at that time the Emperor's prisoner, should promote this his desire for the peace of Germany; considering how well his Majesty had deserved at his hands by rendering his imprisonment easy. He piously answered, that his body was in the Emperor's hands, and he might use his carcase as it liked him, but he prayed his Majesty not to press him to yield to this, which was against the Word of God. Upon this, the Emperor, being offended, clapped upon him a guard of three hundred Spaniards more than he had before, and disarmed his servants of all their arms, and dismissed his servants, being seventy in number, reducing them to twenty-seven. His preacher was also sent away, upon pain of burning, if he stayed any longer. And his cooks and officers, upon the same pain, were commanded to dress no flesh for him on Fridays and Saturdays, and other fasting-days. Yet herewith the Duke seemed so little moved, as there was no alteration perceived in him." The Elector's religious knowledge was thus, in conversation with Hoby, attested by one of Charles's officers, Don Alonzo Videz. "He said, he had talked and discoursed with him sundry times, and did very well perceive his stiff sticking to his opinion to proceed of no ignorance, or lack of knowledge, for he was witty, and even as well seen in the Scripture, and knew as much by that he had read in his mother-tongue, as all the whole heap of learned men in Germany could tell him." Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 174.

first remonstrated, and afterwards refused to receive, as religious doctrines, the vain traditions of men, however exalted and formidable might be the authority which sought to fasten such excrescences upon God's recorded Word. But Charles was deaf to their representations, and he proceeded, by means of military violence, to force his thinly-varnished Popery upon these enlightened and virtuous communities. Unhappily they were detached and feeble: hence those of them alone which were seated on the northern extremity of Germany were enabled to maintain their religious liberties. Through the country generally, the new system was received with sullen acquiescence; opposition to it being paralysed by the power, the artifices, and the severities of the Emperor [1]. Under this miserable state of depression, the zealous friends of scriptural Christianity turned their eyes towards foreign lands, and many of them prepared to seek among strangers that freedom from human corruptions in the profession of religion which their native Germany denied them.

When Archbishop Cranmer was apprised of the disconsolate condition to which so many learned and conscientious divines were reduced, he generously determined upon offering an asylum to some individuals among them. In October, 1548,

1 "The Emperor was bent, at the conclusion of the diet, to cause the Protestants to observe the *Interim;* and he hath used both fair means and foul to bring this purpose to pass." Sir Philip Hoby to the Protector, *ut supra.*

accordingly, he wrote to Martin Bucer, an Alsatian of high theological reputation, inviting him to come over into England. At first this invitation was declined, but in the spring of the following year, both Bucer and Paul Fagius, a celebrated linguist, born in the Palatinate, arrived at Lambeth. The Archbishop had also about that time, under his hospitable roof, Peter Alexander, from Artois, Bernardin Ochin, a reclaimed Italian capuchin, Matthew Negelinus, afterwards a minister at Strasburg, John a Lasco, a noble Pole, and Peter Martyr[m], a Florentine of good family and eminent attainments, who had been compelled by the force of truth to renounce the monastic profession, and to turn his back upon the genial clime which reared his infancy[n]. These victims of intolerance brought to the shores of England an ardent anxiety to promote that emancipation of the human mind, for which they were plainly called to labour both by their abilities, and by the circumstances of their age. Bucer and Fagius, accordingly, spent their hours at Lambeth, at their excellent entertainer's desire, in studying the Sacred Scriptures; it being intended to publish the Word of God in a translation so exact as to defy the candid objections of any competent judge. Soon after their arrival, these two eminent scholars were attached to the University of Cambridge, Bucer being nominated professor of divinity there, Fagius of Hebrew. Their inten-

[m] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 279. [n] Melchior Adam.

tions were to enter upon their official duties immediately after the long vacation, and until they could remove to Cambridge, both of them continued to partake of Cranmer's hospitality. While residing in his house, illness interrupted their studies. They were, however, impatient to be gone, and to commence the labours which they had undertaken. His honourable anxiety proved fatal to Fagius; for, removing to Cambridge, when imperfectly convalescent, the damp air of that place aggravated his malady, and, after a short struggle, he sank into the tomb[o].

Peter Martyr had superseded Dr. Richard Smyth, as regius professor of divinity, at Oxford, in the year 1548. His appointment gave great offence, and occasioned violent heats upon the question of transubstantiation. It was now understood, that a belief in that doctrine was the corner-stone of the papal system; hence the Reformers were intent upon attacking, the Romanists upon defending it. As nothing was more likely to wean the popular mind from this inveterate error than to shew its comparative recency, Ratramn's important tract was published with the royal privilege in the course of the last year[p]. Evi-

[o] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 282.

[p] Mr. Todd, in his introduction to Archbishop Cranmer's work upon the Sacrament, has, in a note, (vii.) inserted the following citation from Ames respecting Ratramn's book: It was printed "By J. Raynalde, in 1548, and by A. Kitson, in 1549." The London edition, however, of 1686, assigns its first appearance in English to the year 1549, and says, that the translation was either made by Bp. Ridley, or by his advice.

dently this remarkable piece attracted immediately considerable attention, for a reprint of it appeared before the present year closed. All men were thus enabled to satisfy themselves, that transubstantiation could be no doctrine of the ancient Catholic Church; since they saw, that so lately as in the ninth century, a divine of high reputation, in communion with Rome, not only controverted that doctrine as a pernicious innovation, but even intimated, that the most illustrious prince of his age must reject it, if he wished to think as a Catholic. But no testimony, however irrefragable, affects the pertinacity of some minds. Rather are they confirmed in any prepossession by the force of the opposition by which it is assailed.

Martyr first endeavoured to shake the Oxonians in their belief of transubstantiation, by lecturing upon the 11th chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians [q]. What he said gave great

[q] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 279. It is probable that Martyr, who was a man of eminent modesty, and who must have been well aware of the prejudices prevailing around him, lectured upon this portion of Scripture with great moderation. For Sanders, who says that he was among his hearers, represents him as wavering between the Lutheran and the Zuinglian doctrines. This conduct he attributes to his ignorance of the course which Cranmer and the Parliament might require him to adopt. (De Schism. Anglic. Ingolstad. 1588, p. 203.) Unfortunately, however, for the credit of this historian, Cranmer had abandoned the carnal presence before Martyr's appointment to the divinity chair at Oxford; and the Parliament, by authorising a new Communion service, evidently might be expected to follow as the Archbishop

offence. It was generally reported of him, that he was a rash innovator, who presumed to set up his own judgment against the whole stream of ecclesiastical antiquity; and a profane scoffer, impelled by licentious levity to trample under foot even the holiest mysteries of religion. But such charges, though they may be circulated for a time to the injury of any man's reputation, will quickly die away of themselves unless those with whom they originate shall endeavour to substantiate them. Aware of this, Martyr's opponents determined upon a public disputation with him, but it seems, that they considered themselves to be venturing upon no easy task; for they used a stratagem in the hope of taking him by surprise. Placards were affixed to the doors of the churches, announcing that a disputation upon the Sacrament was about to be holden in the schools, at a given time. It was understood, that the new professor of divinity was to conduct one side of the argument, but no notice of any such call upon him reached his ears. On the day appointed all Oxford was in commotion, the town as well as

should lead, in this particular. Respecting Martyr's real sentiments, when he first came to Oxford, the following words, written by Cranmer himself, are conclusive. "Of M. Peter Martyr his opinion and judgment in this matter, no man can better testify than I. Forasmuch as he lodged within my house long before he came to Oxford, and I had with him many conferences in that matter, *and know, that he was then of the same mind that he is now, and as he defended after openly in Oxford, and hath written in his book.*" Cranmer's Answer to Smyth's Preface, 402.

the gown flocking to the spot in which every zealous Romanist anticipated a signal triumph for the mass. Martyr, who was engaged to lecture on that day, was then advised by his friends to remain at home. He replied, "I will not be wanting to the office assigned to me by his Majesty. Many, doubtless, will come to hear my discourse, and I shall not disappoint them." In his way to the place appointed, a servant put into his hand a letter from his predecessor, Dr. Smyth, so notorious for theological vacillation, challenging him to dispute upon that very day. Being nowise disconcerted by this unhandsome treatment, or by the unusual concourse which he found assembled, he proceeded undauntedly to the professor's chair. He then modestly but firmly said, "I am far from unwilling to defend my opinions in a public disputation. At present, however, I have come hither to read and not to dispute." These words occasioned considerable clamour, but Martyr, unmoved by it, prepared for the delivery of his lecture; an object which he accomplished without any change of colour, hesitation of speech, or alteration of tone. Having concluded, the assembly became more turbulent than ever. Voices were heard, Smyth's being among the loudest, insisting, that the learned Florentine should immediately accept the proffered challenge. He again declined it, expressing his readiness to meet his opponents in the field of argument upon some other occasion, but ob-

serving, that such a compliance with their wishes could not then be reasonably expected of him, because the propositions which he was called upon to argue had not been made known to him until a short time before, and, therefore, he had not been enabled to consider them. To this it was sarcastically replied, that a man who, like himself, had read so much upon the Eucharist, could never surely be unprepared to argue upon it. Regardless of this taunt, the professor remained firm to his purpose, and the uproar augmented in violence. He said at length: "I will do nothing in this matter, endangering, as it evidently does, the public peace, without the King's permission. If, however, the royal licence be obtained, the questions for discussion fairly proposed, moderators appointed, and public notaries of character nominated for the purpose of recording what may be said, I shall not decline the contest." This reasonable speech allayed in no degree the disorderly spirit prevailing all around. The Vice-chancellor, accordingly, apprehensive of serious mischief, went up, preceded by the bedel, to the rostrum, took the professor by the hand, and eventually, but with considerable difficulty, placed him safely within his own house. Thither followed Dr. Smyth, with some of his friends, and the preliminaries for a disputation were then arranged. An application for the royal licence was to be made, and it was determined to open the business, if practicable, upon the 4th of

May. Before, however, that time arrived, Smyth had left Oxford [r]. He was required, it seems, to give security for his good behaviour, probably on account of his prominence in the disgraceful tumult by which it had been attempted to browbeat Martyr [s]. He then left the kingdom, fleeing first to Scotland, afterwards to Louvain [t]. While in exile, he wrote a very submissive letter to Archbishop Cranmer, intreating that prelate's good offices to procure his pardon, and offering in a manner unequivocally characterizing the man of unsteady principles and overweening vanity, to employ his pen in confutation of positions which it had formerly supported. "Were I restored," he said, "to my native land, I could safely communicate to the public that alteration in my sentiments which has taken place since I wrote against clerical marriages. I should also be relieved from the painful necessity of writing against your Grace's work upon the Sacrament, and against the other alterations in religion which have signalised your primacy. Here, those who

[r] Cranmer's Answer to Smyth's Preface, 286.

[s] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 170.

[t] Collier, II. 273. This flight appears to have arisen from Smyth's unwillingness to make some new retractation, to which he had pledged himself. In his preface to his work upon the Eucharist, he taunted Cranmer with the change which had taken place in his opinions. The Archbishop thus retorted: "You have turned twice, and retracted your errors, and the third time promised, and breaking your promise, ran away." Answer to Smyth's Preface, 403.

find me a subsistence require me to undertake these disagreeable labours [u]."

It seems, that when an application reached the proper authorities for permission to hold the proposed disputation, a refusal was returned [x]. Of this, the violent excitement prevailing at Oxford, and the narrow escape which that place had recently experienced from a dangerous and disgraceful tumult, is an obvious and sufficient reason. The Romish party, however, loudly charged it upon the undue influence possessed by their adversaries with the government, and upon their incompetence to support their opinions when fairly confronted. Aroused by the boldness and frequency of these aspersions, the Reformers determined at length to break silence, and under the advice of Dr. Cox [y], Martyr, after an interval of several months, challenged the friends of transubstantiation to a public argument upon that doctrine. This defiance was no sooner hurled than the traditionists recoiled, alleging as the reason

[u] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 289. It is probable, that Smyth was then actually employed in preparing some controversial matter against Cranmer, for he subsequently published a violent attack upon the Archbishop's work on the Eucharist.

[x] "Interim Petri (Martyris) aut certe cujuspiam ejus asseclarum, *ut conjicere licet*, industria, apud magistratus suggestionibus minus sinceris actum est, ut ejusmodi disputationes non haberentur. Qua Petri arte totum eludebatur negotium." Epist. Tresham. Ibid. Appendix, 853.

[y] Collier, II. 273. This may be reasonably inferred from the speech made by Dr. Cox, at the close of the disputation.

of their unseemly backwardness, that some of their advocates were absent. Among their party, Oxford then contained no theologian more distinguished than Dr. William Tresham, a Northamptonshire man, of a knightly family, who had sided with King Henry when seeking a divorce from Catharine of Arragon, and who was now one of the canons of Christchurch[z]. This eminent scholar had been engaged in several controversies with Martyr, conducted, as it seems, with some asperity[a], and he now felt himself impelled to measure intellectual strength with the Florentine Reformer in a manner that would never be forgotten. To his arduous enterprise, two other members of the University, Chadsey and Morgan by name, undertook to lend the aid of their acknowledged talents.

The royal licence being obtained, the disputants met in the divinity school on the 28th of May. Bishop Holbeach, of Lincoln, Dr. Cox, chancellor of the University, and tutor to the King, Dr. Heynes, Dean of Exeter, Dr. Nevinson, a civilian, and Richard Morison, Esquire, presided on the part of the crown. The propositions maintained by Martyr, were the following three. 1. In the Eucharist is no transubstantiation. 2. Nor are the body and blood of Christ present under the species of bread and wine. 3. This body and blood are united to the elements sacramentally. The disputation lasted three days,

[z] Wood's Athenæ. [a] Epist. Tresham, ut supra.

and was conducted with proper decorum [b]. Martyr's arguments are thrown of course into a series of syllogisms. In support of his first proposition, he proves, that both Christ and St. Paul speak of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and that the early fathers do the same; that sacraments are figures of absent things; and that they must bear an analogy to the thing represented by them. Thus the Eucharist typifies the sacrifice of Calvary, and the receiving of substances corporally nutritive admonishes the believer that spiritual sustenance is desirable only through a crucified Saviour. Transubstantiation, however, asserts the personal presence of Jesus, and induces men to deny that they receive any thing at the Lord's table which supports animal life. The second proposition was argued upon the grounds, that the human body of Christ, like every other material substance, could only be in one place at any one time; hence, that a belief in the carnal presence is irreconcileable with the Saviour's huma-

[b] "Quod optabamus, id successit, ut quieta esset disputatio." (Orat. Coxi ad fin. disp. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 848.) Sanders denies this; asserting that Martyr was all but hissed and hooted out of his chair. But Dr. Cox's vindication of the Romanists from the charge of having thus disgraced themselves at this time, is fully sufficient. It is not, however, unlikely, that this author, from whom Romanists are even yet contented to derive their ideas of the English Reformation, has confounded the disputation in which Martyr was engaged with the riot in which Dr. Smyth made an appearance so disreputable, in the preceding year. Of that outrage, Sanders makes no mention, although he was most probably in Oxford at the time when it happened.

nity; and that also it is at variance with both Scripture and the fathers. The third proposition is maintained as necessarily flowing from the doctrine, that wicked men are not members of Christ, a principle plainly deducible from the sacred text, and from ancient authorities of most esteem in the Church [c]. Of the arguments advanced on the other side, we have no particulars, but it may be reasonably conjectured, that they chiefly turned upon figurative and insulated passages from the fathers, and upon the decrees of councils [d]. As to which side the victory lay, there was no decision [e]: the Chancellor, merely closing the business by a speech, in which he paid very high compliments to the disputants on both sides, but especially to Martyr; and in which he exhorted his auditory to a diligent study of Holy Scripture, not indeed turning their backs upon ecclesiastical antiquity, but resolutely rejecting all religious principles incapable of meeting the touchstone of God's recorded word [f]. But although a

[c] Foxe, 1249.

[d] "Nolite perpetuo peregrinari in patribus et conciliis, tanquam in patria vestra. Nolite existimare illa esse vestra principia. Nolite hallucinari in probabilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis." Orat. Coxi, ut supra.

[e] "Cæterum de hisce controversiis sententiam ferre, et litem prorsus dirimere modo non decrevimus. Tum autem decernetur, cum Regiæ Majestati, et Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ proceribus visum fuerit." Ibid.

[f] "Hinc religio stabiliatur atque solidetur. *Cœlum et terra transibunt, Verbum autem Domini manet in æternum.* Hoc, tanquam Lydio lapide, omnes controversiæ examinentur, atque definiantur." Ibid.

formal judgment was not given in this case, Tresham has left evidence engendering a suspicion, that he acquitted himself scarcely even to his own satisfaction. He subsequently poured upon the head of Martyr a torrent of scurrilous generalities; in which, however, no definite charge is brought against the Florentine Reformer, except that he was a married man[g]. Such unmeaning and vulgar abuse is always unworthy of a scholar and a gentleman, and is rarely used by any person unless irritated by feeling, that he has been worsted, or is in the wrong.

On the 20th of June, a similar disputation was holden at Cambridge, before the Bishops Goodrich and Ridley, Dr. May, the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Wendy, the King's physician, and Mr. Cheke,

[g] "Senex quidam delirus est, subversus, impudens, errorum magister insignis, Petrus Martyr Vermilius. Is e patrias sua primum fugam faciens ad Germanos, dum apud illos vigeret hæretica pravitas, se contulit, certe ut libidini licentius indulgeret, et suo potiretur adulterio. Cæterum restaurata illic per Carolum Cæsarem religione, ad nos statim transvolavit." (Epist. Tresham, ut supra.) That the Romish party was disappointed in Tresham and his friends, appears from Sanders, whose account of the Oxford disputation is vague and lame. He says, that Martyr did not dare to dispute with Smyth; that he waited until that divine had fled and Dr. Cox could act as moderator; that the latter abruptly broke off the disputation because his friend was too severely pressed; that he was wholly unable to answer the arguments of his opponents, and that he published a false account of what he had said. (De Schism, 224.) Sanders abuses Martyr with his habitual folly and indecency. (Ibid. 204.) Of the first Cambridge disputation he says nothing: of the second, merely that it ended like the one in Oxford.

his preceptor. The questions proposed for discussion were these: 1. Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture, nor necessarily collected from them, nor from what the fathers wrote during the first thousand years of the Christian era. 2. In the Lord's Supper there is no other oblation or sacrifice, than one of praise and thanksgiving, in commemoration of Christ's death. This disputation lasted three days. Dr. John Madew, of Clare Hall[h], maintained on the first day the affirmative of these propositions in a very plain and solid manner. He shewed, that our Lord's words at the institution of the Eucharistic feast are evidently figurative, and that to prove transubstantiation from Scripture is impossible. "This portentous and monstrous doctrine," he says, "took its rise when the Popish prelates and priests began to understand these words, *This is my body*, of the carnal presence; as Hugh de St. Victor, Gratian, Peter Lombard, and Innocent III., the very pestilent poison of all Christian religion, to whom we have of long season, yea, alas! too long, given credit. Under which Innocent, the said devilish term, or vocable of transubstantiation began, in the year 1215. And Boniface, after him Bishop of Rome, made the said mad, blind transubstantiation to be the third article of faith; full wisely no doubt. Whereas, another Bishop

[h] Of which house he was elected master in the present year. From this appointment he was ejected in 1553, as a married man. Fuller's Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge, 38.

of Rome, Gelasius I., before him, affirmed plainly against Nestor the heretic, that bread remaineth there still." The incessant offering of Christ, alleged as the glory of a Romish mass, was then shewn to be a mere fiction, wholly at variance with the plain language of Scripture. The principal disputant on the contrary side was Dr. Glyn, with whom were several assistants. Madew's arguments also were supported by some others of his fellow-students. The whole disputation is extremely tedious, and to a Romanist it must be but little satisfactory. The language of Scripture and of the fathers is not examined by his party, upon the principle of instituting a critical comparison between passages bearing upon the same questions, nor is any attempt made to grapple with the historical evidence against transubstantiation. The whole labour of the Romish disputants appears, indeed, to have been spent upon the contrivance of such toils as their adversaries might find it difficult to escape from with all the formalities of logic. By this management, the Romanists were at least likely to have the satisfaction of being enabled to mention among their friends some knotty point which the adverse party had not thoroughly unravelled, and upon this ground to insist, that they had escaped from the ignominy of a total defeat. They also endeavoured to perplex the discussion, by using the term real, instead of carnal, or corporal; an inaccuracy, which gave a colour for answering objections not advanced by their opponents, and for

exhibiting the Reformers as denying altogether Christ's presence at the Eucharistic feast. The disputation being concluded, Bishop Ridley was desired by his fellow-commissioners to deliver a judgment as to the results which had flowed from it. He summed up against transubstantiation upon the five following grounds, that it is contrary to the sense of Scripture, to the writings of the fathers, to the nature of a sacrament, to the reality of Christ's human nature, and to the doctrine of his bodily ascent into heaven. Each of these propositions is solidly supported by citations. The material oblations of a mass-priest, of which Romanists talk so much, are shewn by the Bishop to be irreconcilable with the Epistle to the Hebrews, and with some passages cited from Austin, and Fulgentius [i].

[i] Foxe, 1262. It should be observed, that in the Cambridge disputations, Bishop Ridley denied altogether any kind of change in the substance of the sacramental elements: some sort of change, however, was conceded by Martyr, at Oxford. Probably that Reformer inclined to Lutheranism. Mr. Butler (Hist. Mem. of the Engl. Cath. III. 125.) says, "We have no full information of what passed at these disputations, that can be relied on. It should seem, from the accounts which have reached us, that the Catholics anxiously but fruitlessly strove to have the question of the real presence settled previously to the discussion of the question of transubstantiation." Mr. Butler also supplies his readers with a rhetorical flourish originally penned by the Jesuit Persons, and intended to make Romanists happy under their belief, that Bishop Ridley's five conclusions against transubstantiation are untenable. Upon this, it is sufficient to say, that plain passages, cited by an honourable and discriminating scholar from authorities of undeniable weight, are not to be eluded, in

In August, 1550, Bucer disputed at Cambridge, in defence of the following propositions. 1. The

the estimation of unprejudiced minds, by the figurative assertions of a furious partizan. As for the accounts of these important disputations which have reached posterity, there can be no doubt, that they are worthy of implicit reliance, being recorded by Foxe, from authentic documents. It is, certainly, true, that of the Oxford disputation the account is incomplete, inasmuch as the martyrologist has inserted no particulars of the Romish arguments. It is, however, far from easy to discern how Martyr's positions can be solidly refuted. Tresham's attempt evidently was a failure; hence his soreness, and his anxiety to supply defects in his chain of reasoning after the disputation was over. "He confesses, he hath added some supplemental passages which slipped his memory in the disputation, and hopes it is defensible enough to make use of recollection, and fortify the argument." (Collier, II. 275.) As to what was said at Cambridge, in the discussion on the Eucharist, it is well observed by Fuller, but in his usual style: "The transactions of this disputation are so amply reported by Master Foxe, that the sharpest appetite of his reader need not fear famishing, if he can keep himself from surfeiting thereon." (Hist. of the Univ. of Cambr. 127.) With respect to the manner of Christ's presence in the Eucharist; there does, indeed, appear to have been a solicitude shewn by the moderators to prevent the agitation of such questions. Dr. Cox, in his concluding oration at Oxford, admonished his audience, to keep clear of disputes upon the carnal presence. ("*Nunc demum ponatis illas controversias, quæ Ecclesiam Christi multis sæculis inutili concertatione turbarunt et dilacerarunt de transubstantiatione, et nescio qua carnali præsentia. Nullus est rixandi finis. Hæ sunt diaboli pædicæ, quibus nos perpetuo involvit, et a vera pietate remoratur. Nos vero, uti pios decet Christianos, illud imprimis, imo in universum spectemus, quid Christus fecerit, quid nobis faciendum præceperit. Cogitemus sacrosancta et tremenda illa Christi mysteria esse, illa subinde ad salutem nostram usurpemus, ad illa cum timore et tremore accedamus; ne unquam indigne veniamus, et ad judicium et condemnationem nostri*

canonical books of Scripture sufficiently teach the regenerate all things necessary for salvation. 2. Every Church on earth is liable to error, not in manners only, but in faith also. 3. So free is the justification of man, that works, seemingly good, performed before it, rather tend to provoke the wrath of God. After justification, however, works really good are done [k]. In arguing these points, the learned foreigner, following antiquity, and the rules of sound criticism, refused to consider as

accipiamus.") (Strype, Mem. Cranm. Append. 850.) The wisdom and piety of this advice are obvious. It was the anxious endeavour of all the Reformers to wean the popular mind from an idolatrous adoration of the sacramental elements, and from a pernicious reliance upon imaginary material sacrifices. With the accomplishment of these vital objects, the eminently moderate men who directed the Church of England during her struggles for emancipation from Papal Rome, were contented. Their own opinion was, that Christ is really, though not substantially present in the Eucharist, to the faithful communicant, but to no other. They did not, however, wish rashly to offend the holder of consubstantiation with Luther, or even of transubstantiation with Rome. Provided that men would abandon the unscriptural usages and expectations which had been engrafted upon the carnal presence, our Reformers were willing to leave the tenet itself to the gradual but secure process of demolition which must have been anticipated from time, and from calm enquiry. The Romanists, on the contrary, being well aware that transubstantiation is the palladium of their religion, were anxious to drive their opponents into disputes upon the manner of Christ's presence in the Eucharist; both from a politic desire to represent the Reformers as profane persons to the superstitious populace, and from a hope that they might thus entangle them in some inextricable mazes of dialectic subtlety.

[k] Foxe, 1262.

canonical those obscure appendages to Holy Writ which form the Apocrypha. He appears, however, to have thrown himself into some difficulties by his mode of understanding regeneration. That particular churches are not infallible, he infers from the fact, that they are not impeccable. The sinful nature of acts preceding justification, is maintained upon the principle, that before men are justified, they are not actuated by a true, Christian faith, the only source from which can flow works really acceptable in the sight of God [l].

The discussions which fixed enquiring minds upon the Eucharistic question, during the summer, could not have failed to facilitate the progress of Scriptural Christianity. When men of ordinary candour and intelligence saw plain sense, and sound criticism, arrayed against scholastic subtlety, and ingenious constructions of insulated passages, they must have found it difficult to elude a suspicion, that the party which adopted the former course was defending the stronger cause [m]. Accordingly, notwithstanding the general

[l] Collier, II. 295.

[m] The bigoted adherents of the superseded system steadily denied, of course, that their champions had sustained any defeat; and accordingly, Strype informs us, that in a Romish account of the Cambridge disputation, which he had seen, the writer says, that Bishop Ridley determined the questions at issue, *ad placitum suum*. (Mem. Cranm. 290.) The following fact shews the real state of the case. "Langdale, one of the disputants, and for his zeal made Archdeacon of Chichester by Queen Mary, composed a pretended refutation of Bishop Ridley's determination:

hatred of a purer faith manifested in so many rustic insurrections, and the Protector's fall, it was found, when Parliament assembled, that the Reformation retained its wonted influence among the legislators. These assembled, after their prorogation, on the 4th of November. Among their cares, was a provision against such dangers as had agitated the kingdom within the last few months. It was made treason in all persons met together, to the number of twelve, upon any political subject, if they should not immediately separate, having been ordered so to do by any lawful magistrate. The illegal destruction of enclosures was made felony, as also was the assembling of people without proper authority, by means of ringing bells, beating drums, sounding trumpets, or firing beacons. Another act imposed fine and imprisonment upon such as uttered prophecies against the King and council; this artifice having been used by the incendiaries who had lured the ignorant peasantry into turbulence and ruin. Allied to these was an act passed in this session upon the principle often recognised

but with this suspicion of unfairness in his account of managing the dispute, that though he had the King's licence for printing it, at Paris, February 1553, yet it was not printed till three years after, when Langdale was secure that Ridley could make no reply. However, Pilkington, another of the disputants, afterward Bishop of Durham, says, that the Bishop made all things so clear in his determination, and the auditors were so convinced, that some of them would have turned Archbishop Cranmer's book upon that subject into Latin." Life of Bp. Ridley, 279.

before, and which ultimately became the basis of the poor laws. Sick and impotent paupers were to be relieved in the places of their respective residences, work was to be found for such as were capable of it, and strangers, being found burthensome, were to be passed from constable to constable until they should reach the place which was legally bound to provide for them [n].

Of acts passed relating to the Church, one provided, that before the last day of the following June, all Romish service-books, as containing things "corrupt, untrue, vain, and superstitious, and as it were a preparation to superstition," should be called in and destroyed. The reason assigned for this measure was the difficulty of bringing the new service into general use, so long as books containing the old one were dispersed throughout the country. It was farther enacted, that all images of saints yet standing in churches or chapels, or taken out of such places, should be defaced, or demolished. Primers, however, whether in Latin, or English, published during the late reign, might be retained, provided that all prayers and addresses to saints contained in them were blotted out [o]. Against the passing of this act dissented the Earl of Derby, the Bishops Tunstall, Sampson, Aldrich, Heath, Thirlby, and Day, the Lords Morley, Stourton, Windsor, and Wharton [p]. Among the matters brought before Parliament

[n] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 226. [o] Collier, II. 286.
[p] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 229.

during this session was the state of public morals, which was represented by the bishops as deplorably bad, and yet, from the diminution of their authority, past their power to remedy. The Upper House, expressing generally great concern on hearing these representations, passed a bill to augment the efficiency of ecclesiastical courts. This, however, the Commons rejected. In its room was revived the project of compiling a new body of canon-law. As during the late reign, it was proposed to place this business in the hands of thirty-two commissioners, sixteen being clergymen, and sixteen laymen. But such was the distrust entertained of the bishops, that four only were to be selected for this employment from their bench. This arrangement is thought to have displeased the Archbishop of Canterbury, as he protested against the bill. He was joined in this, by the Bishops Tunstall, Goodrich, Aldrich, Heath, Thirlby, Day, Holbeach, Ridley, and Ferrar. Probably in consequence of the opposition made by Cranmer and his friends, the letter of the statute was not observed. When the committee was appointed, eight prelates were nominated among its members. In order to prevent the interminable delays which had hitherto rendered abortive attempts to obtain for the nation a new body of canons, it was provided by this act, that the committee should complete their labours within three years[q]. By another act the King

[q] Collier, II. 287.

was empowered to nominate six prelates, and an equal number of inferior divines, for the preparation of a new ordination service, which was to supersede that actually in use, after the first of April next ensuing. Against this protested the Bishops Tunstall, Aldrich, Heath, Day, and Thirlby[r].

It is a subject upon which an Englishman may justly congratulate himself, that the principal agent in his country's emancipation from the tyranny of papal Rome was a member of the episcopal order. This happy circumstance rendered unnecessary to our national Church any departure from the system of ecclesiastical discipline which has prevailed alike in the East, and in the West, from the Apostolic age[s]. Thus, no shock was given to those reasonable prepossessions in favour of the episcopate, which must necessarily take hold upon the minds of such Christians as peruse the interesting annals of their holy religion. Nor were a clergyman's fears aroused by the prospect of subjection to those who, not belonging to his order, would be likely to harrass him by unfair expectations; or to those, who, being upon a footing of perfect equality with himself, could scarcely interfere in his concerns, without exciting in him feelings of jealousy

[r] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 227.

[s] "It is acknowledged both by Blondel and Salmasius, the most learned defenders of Presbytery, that bishops were distinct from and superior to presbyters in the second century, or the next age to the Apostles." Cave's Primitive Christianity, 221.

and mortification. Thus also, the Church of England connected herself with the whole stream of Christian antiquity, and contented with rejecting every principle at variance with Scriptural authority, she was enabled to avail herself of such unexceptionable arrangements as are, perhaps, the product of an age posterior to that in which the sacred penmen wrote. It was accordingly left undecided in the first instance, whether the inferior orders used among Romanists should not be naturalised in the Anglican establishment. The act empowering the King to give directions for compiling a new ordinal, mentions the[t] "making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and other ministers of the Church." This last phrase undoubtedly refers to the five lower grades in the ministerial character adopted under the papal system. Nor can it be denied, that these, or at least some of them [t], are of high antiquity. They are, however, all unknown to Scripture, and it certainly is unnecessary that any such offices should be filled by clerics [u]. In Eng-

[t] "In the constitutions" (termed Apostolical) "are rules given about the ordination of subdeacons and readers. And though there is mention made of exorcists, yet it is plainly said there, that they were not ordained, but were believed to have that power over spirits by a free gift of God, and that they were then ordained when they were made bishops and priests." Bp. Burnet's Vindication of Engl. Ordinations. Preface.

[u] "In the Church of Rome, though these are still kept up, yet all, except the subdeacons, are merely for form's sake; for acolyths, exorcists, readers, or porters, never discharge any part of the service that belongs to their office, and the exorcisms are

land, indeed, it appears, that little strictness prevailed as to conferring these minor orders, anterior to the Norman Conquest [x]. It was, therefore,

quite taken out of the hands of the exorcists, and are made only by priests." (Ibid.) It is obvious, that these ministers in minor orders answered in early times to the clerks, sextons, Sunday-school-teachers, singers, and other such officers as existing among ourselves. Persons intended for the sacerdotal order may spend their youth much more profitably than in filling any such employments. If, however, they are not actually thus employed, to preserve the name and form of being so, is little better than downright trifling.

[x] This curious fact appears from a letter written by Archbishop Lanfranc to Herfrast, Bishop of East Anglia, who removed his see from Helmham to Thetford, soon after the year 1075. In 1024, this see was transferred to Norwich, by Bishop Herbert. (Angl. Sacer. I. 407.) Lanfranc's letter is also deserving of notice, because it shews the excessive anxiety of the papal partizans to make the clergy live in celibacy. If a clergyman who had been at once ordained deacon, would give up his wife, it was not thought necessary to insist upon his taking the minor orders. So much for the invalidity of ordinations not attended by these preliminaries, in the estimation of that prelate who so largely contributed to fasten the papal yoke about the necks of Englishmen. The following is Lanfranc's letter. "Clericus iste noviter ad me venit, causam suæ infelicitatis mihi dixit, didictam testimonio vestrarum literarum veram esse asseruit; testatus est se inordinate ordinatum, videlicet cum nullius esset ordinis, a fraternitate vestra factum esse diaconum. Interrogatus a me, si uxorem haberet, uxorem se habere, nec eam se velle dimittere respondit. Propterea tali pacto consulendum ei divina fultus authoritate decerno; diaconatum ei auferte, ad cæteros minores ordines congruis cum temporibus promovete: diaconatus vero ordinem nunquam recipiat, nisi caste vivat, nisi de reliquo se caste victurum canonica attestatione promittat. *Si vero cælibem vitam egerit, et acturum se omni tempore respondere voluerit, non quidem cum ad ordinem diaconatus iterum ordinabitis,*

wise in our Reformers to reject this cumbrous arrangement, of which any trace will be vainly sought either in the sacred volume, or in the records of primitive times [y].

The commissioners [z], having determined upon

sed ipsum officium per textum sancti Evangelii, vel in synodo, vel in multorum clericorum conventu reddetis." Lanfr. Op. 312.

[y] "Cardinal Bona distinguishes between subdeacons, and the rest. He fairly owns, that acolythists, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers are not of Apostolical institution, as the modern schoolmen pretend. But as to subdeacons, he joins with them entirely, and says, that though the Scripture makes no express mention of them, yet their institution must be referred either to Christ, or at least to his Apostles. The French writers are not generally so tenacious of this opinion, as having never sworn to receive the decrees of the Tridentine fathers with an implicit faith; but many of them ingenuously confess the rise of the inferior orders to be owing only to ecclesiastical institution. Morinus undertakes to prove, that there was no such order as that of acolythists, or exorcists, or door-keepers among the Greeks in the age next to the Apostles: nor does Schelstrate disprove his arguments, though he makes a shew of refuting him. Duarenus says, there were no such orders originally in the first and primitive Church. Cotelerius confesses their original is involved wholly in obscurity; that there is no mention of any of them in Ignatius, or any other ancient writer before Cyprian and Tertullian. And therefore, Habertus is clearly of opinion, that it would be more advisable for their Church to expunge all the inferior orders out of the number and catalogue of Sacraments, and refer them only to ecclesiastical institution, as the ancient divines were used to do." Bingham, I. 107.

[z] "The number of the Bishops and the learned men, which are appointed by this act (for preparing an English ordinal) assure me that the King made choice of the very same, whom he had formerly employed in composing the Liturgy; the Bishop of Chichester (Day) being left out, by reason of his refractoriness

passing over the minor orders without notice, proceeded to cut off, from the services for conferring those mentioned in Scripture, all the cumbrous, or superstitious additions of later ages[a]. The principles upon which they proceeded were that prayer and the imposition of hands are the essentials of ordination[b]. Hence in the service

in not subscribing to the same." (Heylin, Hist. Ref. 82.) It however, appears, that Heath, Bishop of Worcester, was commissioned to join in remodelling the ordinal. But this prelate is not considered to have been engaged upon the Liturgy.

[a] "They applied themselves unto the work, following therein the rules of the primitive Church, as they are rather recapitulated than ordained in the fourth council of Carthage, (A.D. 398.) Which, though but national in itself, was generally both approved and received, as to the form of consecrating bishops and inferior ministers," (including those in the minor Romish orders, together with a sixth officer, the singer) "in all the Churches of the West." Heylin, ut supra.

[b] The more informed and cautious Romanists have found themselves unable to deny, that the imposition of hands is the characteristic mark of ordination, or, according to their notions, that it is the matter of the Sacrament. "Vasquez, whom the schoolmen of this age look on as an oracle, treating of episcopal orders, says in express words, *That the imposition of hands is the matter, and the words uttered with it are the form of orders, and that the sacramental grace is conferred in and by the application of the matter and form.* It is true, he joins in with the commonly received doctrine of the schools, about the two powers given to priests by a double matter and form, yet he cites Bonaventure, and Petrus Sotus for this opinion, that the imposition of hands, and the words joined with it, were the matter and form of priestly orders; and though Vasquez himself undertakes to prove the other opinion, as that which agrees best with the principles of their Church, yet it is visible, he thought the other opinion truer; for when he proves orders to be a

for consecrating bishops, no rubrics were inserted enjoining the use of gloves, sandals, mitre, ring, or crosier. In that office, and in the one for ordaining priests, was omitted also the practice of anointing [c], which had sprung up in the Latin

Sacrament, he lays down for a maxim, that the outward rite and ceremony, the promise of grace, and the command for the continuance, must be all found in Scripture before any thing is to be acknowledged a Sacrament: and when, pursuant to this, he proves that the rite of orders is in Scripture, he assigns no other but the imposition of hands: so that, according to his own doctrine, that is the only sacramental rite, or matter of orders." Bp. Burnet's Vindication, 32.

[c] In the Roman Church both the head and the hands of every one consecrated to the episcopate are anointed with chrism. While making this application to the head, the consecrator says, "*Ungatur et consecretur caput tuum cœlesti benedictione in ordine pontificali: in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.*" The hands are anointed with the following words: "*Ungantur manus istæ de oleo santo sanctificato, et chrysmate sanctificationis; sicut unxit Samuel David regem et prophetam, ita ungantur, et confirmentur, in nomine Dei patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, facientes imaginem sanctæ crucis Salvatoris nostri, qui nos a morte redemit, et ad regna cælorum perduxit.*" Of priests the hands only are anointed. In this ceremony, the following words are used: "*Consecrare et sanctificare digneris, Domine, manus istas, per istam unctionem, et nostram benedictionem; ut quæcunque recte benedixerint benedicantur, et quæcunque consecraverint consecrentur et sanctificentur: in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi.*" (Pontifical. 30. 32. 21.) "Habertus proves against Catumsiritus, that material unction is a new thing, and not to be met with in any ancient ordination; as neither is it in use in the Greek Church at this day. So that when Gregory Nazienzen and others speak of an unction, they are to be understood as speaking mystically of the spiritual unction of the Holy Ghost." Bingham, I. 81.

Church, and which had proved the parent of many superstitions. Among other usages of Romanism, comparatively modern, now judiciously laid aside, were likewise the delivery to priests of the chalice and paten containing the sacramental elements, and the simultaneous pronouncing of that commission by which the bishop authorises them to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate masses as well for the living, as for the dead[d]. Instead of

[d] "*Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo, missasque celebrare, tam pro vivis, quam pro defunctis: in nomine Domini.*" (Pontifical. 21.) The omission of this address, of the attendant ceremonies, and of anointing were represented, under Queen Mary, but with some caution, as invalidating the reformed ordinations of King Edward's reign. "When this ordinal was examined in the ensuing reign of Queen Mary, it was declared to be insufficient and invalid, as to the purposes of consecrating a true ministry; both the Bishops and Parliament being of that opinion. The reasons in general of its insufficiency, were an essential defect both as to the matter and form of the episcopal and sacerdotal orders. There was no anointing, *a ceremony always made use of from the earliest times*, without which ordination was *doubted*, and *according to the common opinion*, invalid. There was no porrection of instruments, another significative ceremony, *generally esteemed* to be essential. But what was still of the greatest moment, there was no form of words specifying the order that was conferred, and particularly no words or ceremony made use of to express the power of absolving, or offering sacrifice." (Dodd.) The assertion as to the antiquity of anointing appears like the historian's own. It has been disposed of in the preceding note. "The first mention of this power of saying mass given in the consecration of priests, is in a ritual believed to be near 700 years old, compiled by some near Rome, in which the rite of delivering the vessels, with these words, *Receive power to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate masses, &c.*

these innovations, which are highly reprehensible, because leading to antiscriptural notions of the

is first set down; yet that was wanting in a ritual of Bellay, written about the thousandth year, so that it was not universally received for near an age after it was first brought in." (Burnet, Vindic. 27.) "The ancient rituals for ordination agree with that drawn up in the reign of King Edward VI. There is no anointing the hands and head of the priest and bishop. No chalice or paten delivered to the second order, nor any ring or crosier to the first. It is true, about the ninth century we find the use of these ceremonies. But then, as the learned Morinus observes, these supplemental rites in the forms of ordination were added only upon the score of solemnity." (Collier, II. 289.) Of such facts Queen Mary's examiners evidently were not ignorant, and hence they brought forward vague surmises in places where ought to have stood scholarly declarations. They knew well enough, that if they had plainly pronounced all the forms of the modern pontifical to be necessary, able opponents would have instantly arisen, and proved, upon such principles, that the Roman Church could have conferred no valid orders during many centuries. What then would have happened to her pompous boasts of uninterrupted succession? The omission of mentioning the particular order conferred upon the individual bishop or priest, was, perhaps, an inaccuracy. This defect, however, if it be one, was subsequently remedied. Its little importance is manifest from these considerations, that the essentials of ministerial consecration, the imposition of hands and prayer, were observed in King Edward's ordinal; and that the address to bishops differs from that to priests. This trifling objection, however, comes with an ill grace from the Romanist, for his pontifical enjoins, that deacons, on ordination, shall be addressed in the following words: "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum ad robur, et ad resistendum diabolo, et tentationibus ejus. In nomine Domini.*" (Pontifical. 15.) Instead of this general language, it was originally prescribed in our reformed Church, and the usage still continues, that the bishop say, "Take thou authority to execute the office of a deacon in the Church of God." To priests

priestly character and functions, it was directed, that a Bible be delivered into the hand of every one coming for sacerdotal ordination. By this significant ceremony the true import of the priestly office is plainly shadowed out. Christ's appointed ministers are thus admonished, that their commission is to dispense the heavenly knowledge which flows from God's undoubted Word, as well as the Sacraments which that unerring authority plainly reveals. The Romish priest, on the contrary, by the corresponding member of his ordination, is taught to believe, that his principal duty consists in constantly sacrificing the Son of God, and in applying the merits of that merciful Saviour's glorious passion to the purgation of human iniquity both past and present. Another judicious variation from the Roman system is found in the imposition of hands, as prescribed by our Church. Among the Papists, this ceremony is performed by the bishop alone. Our Reformers, mindful of the manner in which Timothy was ordained [e], and of the usage prevailing in the West at an early period [f], enjoined that such priests as may be present at an ordination shall unite with the bishop in the imposition of hands.

In its interrogative portions also, the English ordinal differs materially from the Roman. In

and bishops the Roman pontifical prescribes no appropriate address.

e 1 Timothy, iv. 14.

f "Juxta expressam sanctionem concilii Carthaginiensis." Mason. de Ministerio Anglicano. Lond. 1625, p. 242.

this latter, no questions are asked of the deacons; of the priests, nothing is required beyond promises of canonical obedience; bishops are examined at some length as to their belief in the trinitarian doctrines, and in the divine origin of Scripture. The Anglican fathers, however, enjoin that deacons be asked, whether they trust that they are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to enter upon the diaconate: whether they consider their calling as agreeable to the will of Christ, and to the law of the land: whether they unfeignedly believe the canonical Scriptures: whether they will diligently read them to the people duly assembled for public worship: whether they will undertake to lead their lives, and to regulate their families, like true Christians: and whether they will engage to obey the ordinary, or any other ecclesiastical superior? Priests are to be interrogated as to their cordial opinion upon the suitableness of their calling to Christ's will, and to the order of the English Church: as to their persuasion that Scripture sufficiently teaches all things necessary for salvation, and their determination to inculcate no doctrine as thus necessary, unless they shall be convinced that it may be proved by Scripture: as to their willingness to administer the Christian doctrine, sacraments, and discipline in a manner conformable to God's Word, and to the national regulations: as to their disposition to use diligence in dispensing sound religious knowledge, and wholesome admonition: as to their inclination to engage in prayer, and in

professional studies, to the exclusion of such habits as are worldly and carnal: as to their determination to lead religious lives, and to make their families do the same: as to their anxiety to promote peace around them: and as to their feelings respecting canonical obedience. Bishops are to be questioned in a similar manner respecting their opinions as to the lawfulness of their calling, and as to the sufficiency of Scripture; likewise as to their disposition for prayer, scriptural studies, an exemplary life, and the promotion of peace. A pledge is also required of them, that they will oppose the progress of unscriptural doctrines, use their jurisdiction in repressing immorality, faithfully discharge the duty of ordination, and live in habits of Christian charity. The propriety of calling for such engagements from individuals about to be invested with offices of great solemnity and importance, is unquestionable. Nor, at a time, when a very large proportion of men denied the validity of such ministerial commissions as were not sanctioned at Rome, and the insufficiency of Scripture to furnish proofs of a Christian's faith; could those who stood forward to vindicate their country's ecclesiastical independence, and the vigilance of Providence in causing such religious truths to be recorded as mortals are concerned to know, deem it needless to require, that none should take holy orders who would not unequivocally recognise these two great principles. Of this formal recognition the necessity has happily diminished; but it still

exists, and therefore the demand is properly continued. Among all these interrogatories, however, no one has attracted so much observation as the first of those addressed to deacons. But in this nothing more is required of the candidate than an expression of his trust that he is guided by a heavenly influence in what he is doing. Nor obviously need any serious man brought before the bishop for ordination, by his own deliberate choice; and the force of circumstances, hesitate to express a hope, that God has directed his steps. In many cases where the sacred profession is adopted, it is that calling to which the individual is attached by natural inclination, and by its suitableness to his peculiar habits. A person of this kind, when undertaking the diaconate, after due religious preparation, assuredly may feel justified in cherishing a belief that an overruling Providence has led him to that important occupation for which his talents are evidently best adapted. Nor need others, less distinctly marked out for the clerical vocation, scruple to express their trust that heaven has led them to the decisive step which cuts them off from secular employments; when they recollect that their choice has flowed from the advice of those whom they respect, that it is approved by their own judgment, and that it has given a peculiar direction to their studies. It is most desirable, that ordination should wear an appearance of something more than a formal admission to a worldly calling. Men who devote themselves to the ministration of holy things

ought distinctly to understand, that spiritual gifts are indispensable for the due discharge of their important office; and that, in consequence, they are bound to seek such aids by the means revealed in Scripture. Hence our Reformers judiciously prescribed a pause to those who tread the threshold of the sanctuary; in order that such persons may seriously enquire of their own hearts whether they are duly aware of the character about to be assumed, and of the qualifications necessary to support it. In the form of this enquiry appears that sober piety which pervades the religious offices of England. The candidate for an ecclesiastical character is not asked for any declaration of assurance, or for any detailed exposition of his religious feelings. Nothing more is required of him than the expression of a reasonable hope, that God is willing to use his professional services.

Among the particulars adopted in the English ordinal from that of Rome, is the practice of addressing to such as are taking the priesthood upon themselves, the words by which our Saviour commissioned his Apostles [g]. This remarkable text does not appear to have been used at ordinations in the earlier ages [h]. The wisdom of our Reformers, however, in retaining it is obvious.

[g] St. John, xx. 22, 23.

[h] "The last imposition of hands, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, appointed in the pontifical, is not above 400 years old, nor can any ancienter MSS. be shewed in which it is found." Burnet, Vindic. 35.

The words are Scripture, and the benefits which they name are indispensable. Unless the ministers of religion are guided and enlightened by God's Holy Spirit, they must be inadequate to the due discharge of their sacred functions; unless serious men feel a reasonable assurance as to the remission of their iniquities, their hours of reflection must be hours of misery; and unless a visible Church exist, the means of grace cannot be offered to mankind. Had the fathers of English Protestantism discovered any needless timidity in asserting their claims to every sacerdotal prerogative, their Roman adversaries would have confidently charged upon them an overpowering conviction of their own weakness. At the same time, when they advanced their pretensions to privileges claimed by the Church of Rome, they were careful to keep within the sure warrantry of Holy Scripture. They did, indeed, enjoin bishops to address such as might be ordained to the priesthood in the words of Him from whom they derived their faith. But then, they disclaimed the doctrine of a sacramental transit to every willing receiver, and they took care to intimate plainly, that where is no true repentance, there is no remission of sin. These principles being laid down, the candidate for sacerdotal ordination is in effect admonished, that unless the imposition of hands be attended by faith, repentance, and prayer on his own part, assuredly no spiritual gift is communicated to him. He is also taught, by the principles of his Church, and he is bound

to teach others, that his absolving voice is only ministerial, and that all who desire to hear from his lips the assurance of pardon must come with the preparation of a truly contrite heart. These limitations give an import to the sacerdotal commission when falling from the mouth of an Anglican bishop, very different from that which it bears when uttered by a Romanist. In the latter case, an indelible character is believed to be imprinted upon the recipient's soul [i], and he is thought to become the depositary of a power to forgive sins upon terms peculiar to the Church of Rome [k]. In

[i] "Episcopus ei calicem cum vino et aqua; et patenam cum pane porrigens, qui sacerdos ordinatur, inquit; *Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium*, &c. Quibus verbis semper docuit Ecclesia, dum materia exhibetur, potestatem consecrandæ Eucharistiæ, *charactere animo impresso*, tradi, cui gratia adjuncta sit, ad illud munus rite et legitime obeundum." Catechism. ad Paroch. Lovan. 1662, p. 289.

[k] "Ut enim hoc concedamus, contritione peccata deleri, quis ignorat illam adeo vehementem, acrem, incensam esse oportere, ut doloris acerbitas cum scelerum magnitudine æquari, conferrique possit? At quoniam paucis admodum ad hunc gradum pervenirent, fiebat etiam ut a paucissimis hac via peccatorum venia speranda esset. Quare necesse fuit, ut clementissimus Dominus *faciliori ratione communi hominum saluti consuleret*; quod quidem admirabili consilio effecit, cum claves regni cœlestis Ecclesiæ tradidit. Etenim ex fidei catholicæ doctrina omnibus credendum, et constanter affirmandum est: si quis ita animo affectus sit, ut peccata admissa doleat, simulque in posterum non peccare constituat, *etsi ejusmodi dolore non afficiatur qui ad impetrandam veniam satis esse possit*; ei tamen, cum peccata sacerdoti rite confessus fuerit, vi clavium scelera omnia remitti ac condonari." Ibid. 250.

respect to another privilege conferred by the words of ordination, the Church of England agrees with her Italian sister. All men admitted to the priesthood, acquire that judicial character which must reside in ecclesiastical societies, as in every other. They become eligible to such employments as regulate the morals and affairs of both clergy and laity. They are rendered competent to decide upon the propriety of dispensing the sacraments, and assurances of pardon, to particular individuals. In these respects, their acts assume the appearance of remitting, or retaining sins. Nor can it be doubted, that when this discretion is exercised with eminent caution and discrimination, the ministerial judgment is ratified above.

Soon after the new service was completed, it was used for the first time by Archbishop Cranmer, at a great ordination which he celebrated. He was assisted upon this occasion by Bishop Ridley; and his object was to lay the foundations of an able and effective ministry. The services of such a body were then urgently required: for to a large majority of the clerical order, the prejudices of an unscriptural education adhered with invincible tenacity. Most or all of the men ordained at this time had, however, risen superior to this evil, and were, therefore, fitted to dispel that spiritual darkness which brooded over the land. It is not unlikely that the gratification which the Archbishop and his friends must have derived from the ordination of so many enlight-

ened ecclesiastics, was somewhat alloyed by scruples expressed among those who then accepted the sacred commission. Some of them refused to wear the vestments which had become hateful in their eyes from having been the dress of Romish priests when celebrating mass. These objectors were excused from the necessity of putting on the accustomed habits, and thus Protestant nonconformity made its first appearance: an unhappy schism, which eventually kept the public mind in a state of unceasing agitation [l].

On the 10th of November died Pope Paul III., broken with age, and with the numerous uneasinesses which had overtaken him by means of his descendants. In his room, such cardinals as were in the imperial interest, would fain have elected Reginald Pole; and this object having been after many intrigues accomplished, their Eminences repaired to the distinguished Englishman's chamber, late at night, for the purpose of offering to him the accustomed adoration. Pole replied to his gratulatory visitors, that the papacy was a fearful and onerous charge which he hesitated to undertake, and that night was by no means the proper time for investing any man with a trust of such vast importance. He therefore advised, that their choice should be reconsidered on the following morning. Amazed at such language respecting a dignity so generally coveted, the cardinals withdrew [m]. When the conclave re-

[l] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 273.

[m] Godwin. Annal. 96. Of Pole's conduct upon this occasion,

sumed its deliberations, it was found that Pole had lost his partisans. Soon afterwards John Maria Giocci, officially designated the Cardinal di Monte, and recently employed to preside in the council of Trent, was elected to wear the triple crown. One of the first acts by which this pontiff, who took the name of Julius III., exercised the privileges attributed to him as St. Peter's successor, was the opening of the holy gate. This ceremony, so well calculated to bring money into Roman pockets, and to soothe imaginations haunted by the fear of purgatory, distinguishes the year of jubilee, and it ought regularly to be performed on Christmas eve[n]. At that time the pontifical chair was vacant; hence the pilgrims who had come to Rome, and they were more numerous than usual, in the hope of

the most candid solution is that he was truly modest and conscientious. The motives, however, of a man who conducted himself so ill as the cardinal did upon several occasions, are not likely to pass implicitly for the best. Accordingly Ridley, in his review of Phillips (213), suggests that Pole was induced to hesitate as to the papacy, because he cherished the idea of marrying his relative, the Lady Mary, and thus eventually of mounting perhaps the throne of his native land. He had entertained, in all probability, such expectations; and as he was only in deacon's orders, a dispensation for his marriage might undoubtedly have been obtained. In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, thoughts of this connexion were actually brought forward. It is, however, not unlikely, that Pole's answer to his brother-cardinals flowed partly from the anxiety to keep up appearances which he generally manifested, and partly from the indecision incident to a contracted intellect.

[n] F. Paul. 298.

reaping there such spiritual benefits as Popes profess periodically to dispense, were compelled to bridle their impatience until the end of February. Then his Holiness kindly undertook to unlock, with due solemnity, "the sacred treasure composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues of our Saviour, of his Virgin Mother, and of all the saints." How worthy were the hands which claimed this exalted privilege was soon apparent. Julius, after abandoning himself to pleasure, indolence, and parade, completed the ruin of his character by raising to the cardinalate a youth of unknown parentage, who had been long an inmate of his house. This disreputable appointment was universally odious, and gave rise to the most unworthy suspicions [p].

On the 2d of January, the twenty-eight vague and frivolous articles which had been alleged against the Duke of Somerset, were laid before Parliament, signed by his own hand. He had been prevailed upon to sign this document a short time before, under a hope of favourable treatment, and under a protestation, that his exceptionable acts had flowed from indiscretion, not from any evil intention. His manner in admitting the charges against him was abject; for he did it on his knees. At first some objection was made in the Upper House against receiving this

[o] Bull for the Jubilee of 1825, cited by Dr. Phillpotts. Supplemental Letter to C. Butler, Esq. Lond. 1826, p. 428.

[p] F. Paul. 299. Jurieu. 184.

paper as evidence against the disgraced Duke, inasmuch as his signature might have been affixed to it from the employment of force, or under the influence of fear. Four of the bishops, and the same number of temporal peers were in consequence sent to him, and they reported, that the noble prisoner's subscription was voluntarily made. By a legislative act, he was then mulcted of his whole personal property, and of two thousand pounds annually from his landed estate. Had these ruinous fines been enforced to the letter, he must have been reduced to beggary; but a submissive letter to the council saved the bulk of his fortune. He was released from prison on the 6th of February, having given security for his good behaviour in a bond of ten thousand pounds. On the 16th of the same month he received a pardon [q]. His pecuniary punishment only extended to such portions of his property as had been already given to others; the rest of his fines being remitted [r]. On the 10th of April, he was again sworn in a member of the privy council; but his political rivals appear to have thought him no longer formidable. Early in June, his daughter was married to Viscount Lisle, eldest son to the Earl of Warwick [s], and thus an intimate connexion was apparently cemented between Somerset and that ambitious peer who had succeeded in driving him from the helm.

[q] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 228. [r] Hayward, 309.
[s] Godwin, Annal. 97.

Edward's government was not only strengthened at this time by the termination of domestic dissension; its stability was augmented also by a good understanding with foreign powers. The wars with France and Scotland which had served no other purpose than to mature faction, and exhaust the national resources, were brought to a close; peace being proclaimed in London on the 29th of March. To no man of high consideration was this event of so much importance as to the Earl of Warwick, because it relieved him from a burthen which might overthrow his influence. As, however, it was agreed that Boulogne should be surrendered within six months, and in fact, that England should gain no object whatever by the war, men generally found fault with the treaty. Warwick, accordingly, who was now assiduously courting popularity, was observed to be absent when the pacification was concluded. Of this, indisposition was the cause alleged[t]. In religious policy, Warwick steadily pursued the course which had been adopted under the administration of Somerset; much to the disappointment of the Romish party, and to the gratification of foreign Protestants. By these last, indeed, the proceedings of the English government had long been watched with intense interest, and so cordially did they approve them, that Bullinger, Calvin, and others had offered to unite their followers with the episcopal Church of England, and to

[t] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 239.

name King Edward the protector of their common faith [v]. By the Romanists, this prospect of union among the enemies of their sect was regarded with great uneasiness; and it probably prompted them to level against the Reformers, with unusual loudness, those charges of heterodoxy, by which they have ever endeavoured to render odious and suspected all religionists who treat papal traditions with contempt [x]. There is

[v] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 296. Sanders, 217.

[x] Upon this subject let us hear Mr. Butler, the eulogist, and ordinarily the model, of polemical courtesy. "You (Dr. Southey) believe, therefore, all that the Roman Catholic Church believes, respecting the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement; *but are these doctrines seriously and sincerely believed by the great body of the present English clergy: or by the great body of the present English laity? Do not the former, to use Mr. Gibbon's expression, sign the thirty-nine articles with a sigh or a smile? Is a sincere and conscientious belief of the doctrines expressed in them, considered by many of the laity to be a condition of salvation?*" (Book of the R. C. Church, 172.) This insult has been indignantly and very ably repelled by Bishop Blomfield, of Chester. The spirit of delusion and misrepresentation which dictated it, is excellently developed by Mr. Blanco White in his ingenuous account of his own interesting case. "It was the general opinion in Spain, that Protestants, though often adorned with moral virtues, were totally deficient in true religious feelings. This was the opinion of Spanish Catholics." (Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism, 12.) It is easy to understand why Romanists draw this picture of Protestants. The latter believe all those articles in the Romish creed which are unquestionable; they reject such articles only in that creed as have no better authority than the confident assertions of interested men. The naked disclosure of this fact must needs be very unsatisfactory to a discerning Romanist. Its natural operation is, therefore, eluded by a re-

even reason to believe, that some unprincipled Papists abroad had aided two foreign fanatics, or persons assuming that character, in reaching England; in order to scandalise serious Christians there by preaching against the baptism of infants, and by announcing, that the fifth, or spiritual monarchy, was now upon the point of annihilating the political system of Europe[y]. Unhappily the

presentation, that those who profess to reject papal traditions, have in reality ceased also to hold scriptural truth.

[y] "Whereupon were sent two of their emissaries from Rotterdam into England, who were to pretend themselves Anabaptists, and preach against baptising infants, and preach up re-baptising, and a fifth monarchy upon earth. And besides this, one D. G. authorised by these learned men (the council of Trent) despatched a letter written in May 1549, from Delf in Holland, to two bishops, whereof Winchester was one, signifying the coming of these pretended Anabaptists, and that they should receive them, and cherish them, and take their parts, if they should chance to receive any checks: telling them, that it was left to them to assist in this cause, and to some others, whom they knew to be well affected to the mother-church. This letter is lately put in print." Sir Henry Sydney first met with it in Queen Elizabeth's closet, among some papers of Queen Mary's. He transcribed it into a book of his, called, *The Romish Policies.* It came afterwards into the hands of Archbishop Usher; and was transcribed thence by Sir James Ware." (Strype, Mem. Cranm. 297.) In May 1549, began the tumults in England. At that time the council of Trent was a non-entity, the papal partizans composing it having been transferred long before to Bologna; where they transacted no ostensible business. There was, indeed, a party of the Emperor's subjects left at Trent, in idleness, as far as it appears. That either the Trentine, or the Bolognese party should have authorised the infamous artifice mentioned in the text, is not credible. There might, however, have been individuals among them thus guilty. It is sufficiently notorious, that

English government was induced to discover its hostility to heretical opinions by an act which has brought severe and just opprobrium upon the Reformation. Joan Bocher, the unfortunate woman who had been condemned twelve months before for holding heretical opinions respecting the Incarnation, had lingered in prison with her wild imaginations unchanged. On the 27th of April it was determined, at the council-board, that the savage law, provided in Romish times, for the extirpation of heresy, should be carried into execution upon this unimportant female. Archbishop Cranmer was not present in council on the day rendered ignominiously memorable by this determination. Bishop Goodrich, of Ely;

some Romish casuists have maintained, that the end justifies the means. To men who had imbibed this moral poison, the act mentioned above would appear defensible. A remarkable instance of a similar kind is recorded by Archbishop Tenison, in his address to the parishioners of St. Martin's and St. James's, prefixed to *A True Account of a Conference held about Religion, at London, September 29, 1687, between A. Pulton, Jesuit, and Tho. Tenison, D.D.* He says, "My father being turned out of his living of Mondesley, in Norfolk, as an adherer to King Charles the Martyr; a person, one of whose names was Gubbard, recommending himself to the committee at Norwich as a man who had a zeal for the same cause in which they were engaged, took possession of the living, and received all the profits, but restored nothing; and with Mondesley he held the living of Knapton also. *After a few years he began to throw off part of his disguise, and he preached up purgatory, and other points, in so open a manner,* that the same committee who had put him in, turned him out again; and in a little time, he, as it were, vanished away."

was, however, at the board [z]. This prelate, attended by Bishop Ridley, went to her three days afterwards, in the hope of bringing her over to a change of opinion; but she proved inflexible. On the second of May she was burnt in Smithfield, and it appears that she displayed to the last, that firmness and petulance of character which had attended her throughout her troubles [a].

[z] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 335.

[a] "May 2. Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding, that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary; being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion; and the 30th of April, the Bishop of London (Ridley) and the Bishop of Ely, were to persuade her, but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death." (King Edward's Journal. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 17.) "He (the King) always spared and favoured the life of man, as in a certain dissertation of his once appeared, had with Master Cheke, in favouring the life of heretics; in so much that when Joan Butcher should be burned, all the council could not move him to put to his hand, but were fain to get Dr. Cranmer to persuade with him, and yet neither could he with much labour induce the King so to do, saying, What, my Lord, will you have me to send her quick to the devil in her error? So that Dr. Cranmer himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the King to put to his hand, saying that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God." (Foxe, 1179.) For this remarkable statement no voucher is adduced, and therefore it may be nothing more than a report current when the martyrologist wrote. He was likely to have felt little hesitation in committing such a report to paper, because he no doubt cordially detested the unhappy Bocher's heterodoxy, and because he probably was irritated by the practice of affecting to confound Protestants with heretics, which was general among Romanists. The value of Foxe's work, which is immense, rests, it should be observed, upon the vast mass of authentic

At the stake, she addressed the following contemptuous language to Dr. Scory, upon whom devolved the little honourable task of preaching the sermon usual upon such occasions; "You lie like a rogue: go, read the Scriptures." In the last reign, she had been employed in dispersing clandestinely, especially to some ladies about the court, Tyndale's Testaments, and among

documents, and contemporary testimony which he has printed. In his unauthenticated relations he may sometimes have fallen into error. That he has done so in his account of Edward's conduct respecting Joan Bocher, is rendered highly probable by the King's silence. Had the extraordinary dialogue attributed to him and Cranmer ever taken place, it is not easy to account for its omission in the Royal Diary. Of any such dialogue, Sanders appears to have been ignorant, for he has not inserted the least allusion to it; although he has mentioned invidiously, as he was fairly warranted in doing, the burning of the two heretics, and the taunt which Bocher addressed to her judges, on the score of Anne Askew's case. (De Schism. 222.) Of the part which Cranmer really took in the affair of Joan Bocher nothing is known beyond the facts, that he presided judicially at her trial, and that he endeavoured, in company with Ridley, to shake her opinion, in several subsequent interviews, while she was detained at the house in Smithfield, then occupied by Lord Rich, the Chancellor, and lately the priory of St. Bartholomew. His dislike to the shedding of blood must be inferred from the mildness of his disposition, and is rendered undeniable by known facts. (Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. II. 333.) Dr. Lingard, in mentioning the burning of Joan Bocher, says, that "Cranmer was compelled to moot the point with the young theologian." (Edward.) He does not, however, attribute to the King the speeches which are in Foxe, and in most other histories. The whole account of this "mooting," is in fact unsupported by evidence, and when all the known circumstances of the case are considered, it appears by no means probable.

her acquaintances had been the martyred Anne Askew. To this female's case she referred on her condemnation, saying to her judges, "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long ago since you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet ye came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her. And now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end ye will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures, and understand them[b]." In April, 1551, this disgraceful spirit of persecution again revived, and an unfortunate Hollander, named George Van Parr, settled in London as a surgeon, after being excommunicated by the congregation of his own countrymen[c], was condemned to the stake for Arianism. Before the end of the month, this iniquitous sentence was carried into execution. The sufferer had led a life of uncommon strictness, and he met his death with admirable resolution, kissing the faggots amidst which he was destined to expire[d]. That the progress of heretical and antisocial opinions, the slanders of the Romanists, and the disgust of Protestants in being confounded with religionists whose tenets they abhorred, supplied to those who advised these horrid executions a justification sufficiently plausible in their own eyes,

[b] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 335.
[c] King Edward's Journal. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 36.
[d] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 180.

there can be no doubt. Nor is it to be denied, that the unsettled state of the public mind as to religion occasioned serious difficulties to the government throughout King Edward's reign. Such considerations, however, although they may account for the two frightful ebullitions of intolerance which disgrace that period, will by no means excuse those who recommended them. At the same time, it is fair to observe, that the triumphant manner of the Romanists in appealing to the melancholy cases of Bocher and Van Parr, is rather unreasonable. The law which sentenced these oppressed individuals to the stake was of Romish growth, and was enforced by men who had received a Romish education. The victims held tenets at variance with Scripture, condemned by the earliest and most respectable councils, and proscribed by the unanimous voice of the Catholic Church. The judicial murder of two persons under these circumstances, however infamous and intolerable, is surely much less so, than the burning of hundreds who obediently listened to the voice of Scripture, and of ecclesiastical antiquity, faithfully holding every article of the Catholic faith; and who only rejected such tenets as cannot be established from Holy Writ, nor from the records of primitive times, nor from the decrees of any council unless one comparatively recent in its date, and completely subservient to the Roman Bishop.

In the early part of the year it was determined

to confer the see of London upon Bishop Ridley [e]. Boner's appeal from the sentence of deprivation given against him had been taken into consideration since the fall of Somerset, but it was pronounced of no validity. Hence there was no reason why the most important diocese in England should any longer be deprived of its chief pastor. In point of emolument, it is probable, that Ridley gained but little by his translation; especially as his expenses were necessarily much augmented. The cupidity of the courtiers was still unsated, and it appeared as if they could never hear of a vacant bishopric, without mentally dividing its revenues among themselves. In order that they might have a large property for distribution upon this occasion, the see of Westminster was dissolved, and its prelate, Thirlby, was translated to Norwich [f]. The new Bishop of London, how-

[e] "On the 21st of February, he (Ridley) was sent for; though it is not unlike that he was designed for it (the see of London) more than a month before; for on the 16th of January, I find Thomas Broke, collated by the Archbishop to the vicarage of Herne, which Ridley had held *in commendam* with his bishopric of Rochester." He freely resigned his prebend of Canterbury on the 23d of July, 1551. Bishop Ridley took the oaths for the see of London, on the 3d of April, and he was enthroned by proxy on the 12th of the same month. Life of Bp. Ridley, 291, 297.

[f] Bishop Thirlby resigned the bishopric of Westminster on the 29th of March; and it was then suppressed, the diocese being reunited to London, three days afterwards. (Ibid) Bishop Repps resigned the see of Norwich in the beginning of the year,

ever, was not suffered to enjoy the estates of which he became legally the possessor. From their proceeds, he was allowed a pension of one thousand pounds *per annum*, and as the charges of his appointment could scarcely be defrayed upon such an income, he was permitted to retain *in commendam*, a prebend which he held in each of the churches of Westminster and Canterbury [s]. No sooner had Ridley entered upon his new preferment than he gave such proof of his good sense and Christian temper as was to be expected from his exalted character. He readily allowed his deprived predecessor to move away from the episcopal residences whatever property he could identify as his own, he even paid the wages due to his servants, and treated his mother and sister as if they had been members of his own family. These females, who resided at Fulham, were regularly invited both to dinner and supper with the new Bishop, when at his house there, and the old lady was always placed at the head of his table. Nor however distinguished might be his guests, would the amiable Ridley allow her to be removed from that situation. "By favour of

the chapter of his cathedral certifying that fact to the Archbishop on the 31st of January. Repps was indebted to the crown in the sum of nine hundred pounds, and on his resignation, he was allowed to reserve for his support an annuity of two hundred pounds from the revenues of his late preferment. He died before the year was ended. Thirlby was translated to Norwich on the first of April. Godwin. de Præsul. 440, 441. Notes.

[s] Life of Bp. Ridley, *ut supra*.

your Lordships," he would say, "this place, by right and custom, is for my mother Boner." When, however, the displaced prelate regained his former station, he made a base return for these acts of kindness and liberality. In ordinary habits, Bishop Ridley was strict, studious, and devout. At five in the morning he left his couch, and being dressed, he spent half an hour on his knees in private prayer. When arisen from these personal appeals to the throne of grace, he proceeded to his study, and there continued until ten o'clock; when he met his household in the chapel. After service, he went to dinner, and having taken a moderate refreshment, he commonly spent about an hour either in conversation, or in playing at chess. His afternoons were usually devoted either to literature or business, and before supper, his family again assembled in the chapel. The evening-meal was also followed by an hour of relaxation, and this being exhausted, the exemplary prelate retired again to his study. At eleven o'clock he went to rest, having first concluded the day, as he began it. To his family assembled for devotion, he daily expounded Scripture, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and proceeding through the whole of St. Paul's Epistles. Indeed so great was his anxiety, to render all who ate his bread acquainted with the words of eternal life, that he supplied every one of his servants able to read with a New Testament, and gave pecuniary rewards to such of them as would commit portions of Holy Writ to memory. In

the scriptural exercises which he thus maintained and encouraged, among his dependents, the thirteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and the hundred and first Psalm were especially distinguished[h].

The metropolis, together with the district ecclesiastically connected with it, being thus excellently supplied with a prelate, the diocese of Winchester came next under consideration. Bishop Gardiner had been visited in his prison, soon after the Common Prayer appeared, by the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Secretary Petre, for the purpose of learning of him officially whether he would express his assent to the new service. If his answer should prove affirmative, it was intimated to him, that he might expect his release. He conducted himself, however, in an evasive manner, demanding a trial if he were charged with any offence, declaring that he would never submit to be schooled while a prisoner in the Tower, and adding, that if he were set at liberty, he would act according to his conscience. "Should my conduct," he concluded, "be then found illegal, I may be punished according to law[i]." As insurrection was at that time raging from one side of England to the other, and as the seditious openly professed the imprisoned prelate's religious opinions, no farther notice was then

[h] Foxe, 1559. It may be worthy of observation, that the venerable martyrologist was ordained deacon by Bishop Ridley, at St. Paul's, on the 24th of June, 1550. *Life of Bp. Ridley.*

[i] Bp. Gardiner's Relation. Foxe, 1232.

taken of him; it being sufficiently obvious, that he was bent upon contravening the new arrangements to the utmost of his power. In the present year, however, the kingdom had attained a high degree of tranquillity, and therefore it was considered, that the Bishop of Winchester's business might be safely resumed. Accordingly it was determined on the 8th of June, that the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Great Chamberlain, and Mr. Secretary Petre, should endeavour to obtain from him, an admission of sorrow for the past, and an engagement, that he would henceforth act agreeably to the religious regulations then in force[k]. This commission was executed on the following day, Gardiner receiving the King's letter, and reading it on his knees[l]. Being requested to forbear this abject ceremony, he entered into conversation with his visitors, but nothing bearing upon the business in hand was elicited, beyond the prisoner's anxiety to parry any admission of having been in fault, and a general expression of his willingness to obey such legal arrangements as might be sufficiently known to him, so far as his conscience would allow. He also embraced the opportunity to observe, that his confinement was unnecessarily rigorous. In consequence of this interview, it was ordered, that a written account of the King's proceedings

[k] Extracts from the Proceedings of Privy Council, 12.

[l] Bp. Gardiner's Relation.

should be transmitted to the Bishop, and that he should be allowed the liberty of walking both in the garden and in the gallery of the Tower, whenever the Duke of Norfolk was in his own apartment[m]. Attempts, however, to bend him to submission, and to obtain from him any decisive answers continued abortive until the 10th of July, when he signed six articles tendered to him; but he refused to sign the preamble to them. This contained an acknowledgement, that he had been suspected of siding with the Bishop of Rome, and of disapproving the King's proceedings; that he had been apprised of the mischief arising from this suspicion, and commanded to clear himself from it in the pulpit; that he had disobeyed this order, to the great encouragement of many disaffected persons, as the council certainly knew; that he was now sorry for his disobedience, and admitted his imprisonment to be a just punishment of it; and that he freely assented to the godliness as well as to the wisdom of his Majesty's proceedings in religion[n]. The six articles

[m] Proceedings of Privy Council, 13.

[n] Gardiner's answer to this article was, "I cannot in my conscience confess the preface, knowing myself to be of that sort I am indeed, and always have been." (Ibid. 17.) This answer appears evasive, for its application is obviously only to the admission required of the prisoner as to the justice of his punishment. He did not, however, pretend to find fault with the book of Common Prayer, as is proved by the following statement. "The Duke of Somerset, with five others of the council, went to the Bishop of Winchester; to whom he made this answer; *I having deliberately seen the book of Common Prayer, al-*

were, that the King is supreme head of the English and Irish Churches, both by God's law, and by the authority of Scripture; that his Majesty's prerogative extends to the regulation of fast and feast days; that the Common Prayer being godly and Christian, is such as the whole kingdom ought to receive; that the royal authority was complete and effective, notwithstanding the sovereign's minority; that the act of Six Articles was properly repealed; and that the crown has authority to make, in ecclesiastical affairs, such alterations as are consistent with God's law, and Holy Scripture. Important as these admissions were at a time when bigotry and disloyalty were sheltering themselves under the most absurd pretences, they were such as no man of sense and station, who had gone along with the late King's proceedings, could refuse to make. It was, therefore, decided that the Bishop's submission could not be considered satisfactory, unless he would give some security for his future conduct by signing the preamble. This, however, although pressed to do it upon two subsequent occasions, and allowed to qualify any expressions which might appear harsh, he positively refused. A new series of articles, twenty in number, was then tendered to him for

though I would not have made it so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfieth my conscience, and therefore, I will both execute it myself, and also see other my parishioners (inhabitants of my diocese) *to do it.* This was subscribed by the foresaid counsellors, that they heard him say these words." King Edward's Journal. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 22.

his subscription. Of these, the purport was, that monasteries and chantries had been justly suppressed; that no marriages unforbidden by the Levitical law need a dispensation from Rome; that pilgrimages were properly abolished; that the personation of saints was a mere mockery [o]; that the Scriptures ought to be allowed in English; that private masses, half communion, and the elevation of the consecrated elements ought to be prohibited; that images and missals had been removed from churches upon good grounds; that inasmuch as God's law leaves marriage free to clergymen, the canons restraining them from it had been justly abrogated; that the homilies, and the new ordinal are good, and ought to be received; that the minor orders, being unnecessary, were well omitted in the new service; that Scripture contains sufficiently all things necessary for salvation; and that the paraphrase of Erasmus had been set up in churches upon good considerations. To these doctrines the Bishop was required, in his Majesty's name, to set his hand, and at the same time, to pledge himself that he would preach and publish them, at such time, and before such audience as his Majesty should require [p]. These articles being prefaced as were

[o] The words are, "That the counterfeiting of St. Nicholas, St. Clement, St. Catherine, and St. Edmund, by children heretofore brought into the church, was a mere mockery and foolishness." This clause relates to those scenic representations, which at some Romish festivals delight all who are children either in age, or in understanding.

[p] Foxe, 1235. These articles were sent on the 15th of July.

the former ones, Gardiner refused to sign them upon that ground. He said, "I have never offended his Majesty in any such sort as should give me cause thus to submit myself. My earnest prayer is to have a fair trial. I desire no mercy. To have justice done upon me is my only wish. If, however, I were set at liberty, it would be seen in what manner I should act respecting the doctrinal articles; but to require of me that I should subscribe them, while in prison, is not reasonable [q]." In consequence of this language, the Bishop was brought before the council on the 19th of July, and the articles being read over to him, he was again desired to sign them. He refused to do so, or even to express a verbal assent [r], although threatened with the sequestration of his bishopric; but he offered to make particular observations upon the tendered articles, if he might be allowed to consider them at his leisure, in prison. "And if my answers," he added, "shall be found illegal, such penalties as I may have incurred may then be inflicted upon me [s]." This evasive offer being rejected, a beginning was made of reading the sequestration, which was headed by a statement of the Bishop's disobedience; and when that portion of the instrument was concluded, he was again asked whether he would submit. His answer was, "I am willing,

[q] Proceedings of Privy Council, 20.

[r] "Whereunto he refused either to subscribe, or consent." Ibid.

[s] Bp. Gardiner's Relation. Foxe, 1233.

nay, most ready to obey his Majesty in all lawful commands; but inasmuch as divers things are now required of me which my conscience will not bear, I do humbly pray your Lordships to have me excused." Mr. Secretary Petre, was then ordered to proceed in reading the sequestration. It set forth, that the Prelate, having been justly imprisoned for his disobedience to the royal commands, continued in his contumacy, to the great encouragement of disaffected persons. It was therefore ordered, that the revenues of the see of Winchester be sequestered for three months, and that if at the end of that time, the Bishop should refuse to accept, allow, preach, and teach the doctrines which had been tendered to him, he should be deprived as incorrigible and unworthy. As, however, Gardiner had displayed in the whole affair a considerable degree of his habitual tergiversation, hopes appear to have been entertained, that the decisive step taken at last against him would overcome his obstinacy. Accordingly, orders were secretly given, that his establishment should continue upon its ordinary footing during the three months[t]. Even when these were expired, and no submission offered by the prisoner, he was allowed the indulgence of another month: soon after the end of which, measures were concerted for his deprivation. For this purpose a commission from the crown was directed to Archbishop Cranmer, the Bishops Ridley, Goodrich,

[t] Proceedings of Privy Council, 23.

and Holbeach, Sir William Petre, Sir James Hales, and some other lawyers. Before these commissioners Gardiner appeared at Lambeth, on the 15th of December; when the proceedings were chiefly formal. The accused, however, made a speech, demanding counsel, which was allowed him, protesting against both the proceedings and his judges, and declaring, that the Duke of Somerset, with others of the council who had been with him in the Tower, had given him to understand that he should hear no more of the accusations against him. This assertion was rebutted at the next session by a letter which was produced, signed by the councillors mentioned on the former day. "The Bishop," wrote these distinguished persons, "defends his cause with untruths. Upon our fidelities and honours, his tale is false. We came to him in the Tower for no other purpose, than to reclaim him[n]." Gardiner struggled hard to prevent the reading of this letter, or at all events to obtain a previous hearing. These endeavours, however, were unsuccessful; but the proceedings against him were conducted with great deliberation, and when the year closed little more had been accomplished in his case, than the adjustment of preliminary formalities.

While the government was engaged in these processes against Bishop Gardiner, it was involved in difficulties with a divine of very different principles. John Hooper, once a Cistercian

[n] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 321.

monk, was a native of Somersetshire[x], who had studied at Oxford with considerable reputation, and there, by the reading of Holy Writ, was led to see the vanity of papal traditions. His academical superiors being offended by the change which had taken place in his opinions, he found himself obliged to withdraw from Oxford, and to accept the appointment of steward in the family of Sir Thomas Arundel. That gentleman was greatly delighted with the talents and fidelity of his dependant, but he observed with regret that his mind was decidedly weaned from the prejudices of his education. In the hope of bringing him back to that unscriptural system which is so boldly pronounced the Catholic faith, Sir Thomas despatched him, upon some plea of business, to the Bishop of Winchester; having first privately begged that prelate to reason with him upon his religious belief. Gardiner never undertook a more hopeless task, for Hooper's mind was amply stored with theological knowledge, and an eminent degree of inflexibility marked his character. Accordingly, after arguments occupying parts of several days, the Prelate dismissed Arundel's messenger unconvinced, but with a testimony to his learning and talents, which is honourable to both parties. The tyrannical act of Six Articles was, however, then in full operation, and Hooper found himself obliged to flee for his life. After a short sojourn in Paris, he ventured to seek

[x] Godwin. de Præsul. *552.*

his native shores again, but his movements being watched, he disguised himself as the master of a vessel sailing for Ireland, and thus escaped once more. While at sea, the ship in which he had taken refuge encountered a tremendous tempest, and for some time he was in extreme danger of perishing. At length he reached the coast of France, and shaped his course for Switzerland. He fixed himself at Zurich, where he formed a close intimacy with Bullinger, and other divines of note, and where he married a native of Burgundy. During his residence in this town, so illustrious in religious history, his application to studies connected with his profession was unremitting, especially to the Hebrew tongue. On King Edward's accession, Hooper returned to England, taking with him the cordial love and regrets of his Helvetian friends. In London his pulpit-eloquence immediately rendered him highly popular. Crowds too great for the churches to contain, hung upon his words as he inveighed against iniquity, and exposed the corruptions of Popery. While thus indefatigably employed in bringing men to the knowledge of sound morality, and unquestionable doctrine, he was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Warwick. That nobleman afterwards recommended him for the see of Gloucester[y], then vacant by the death of Wakeman, who had been its first bishop, and the last abbot of Tewksbury. The English pre-

[y] To this he was appointed by letters patent, dated July 3, 1550. Ibid.

lates had continued to wear the somewhat gaudy vestments, which had been used by their order in the time of Popery. To these robes Hooper objected as having been invented for the purpose of giving a character of magnificence to the celebration of mass. He also scrupled about taking some oaths which were exacted from bishops at consecration. In the hope of being excused from conformity to established usage in these respects, he called upon Cranmer with a letter from his patron, the Earl of Warwick, soon after his nomination to Gloucester. The Archbishop, however, declined any departure from the prescribed course. This rebuff, though coming from the most distinguished holder of his own principles, made no impression upon Hooper. He was a reserved, silent man, repulsive to strangers, discovering an excellent disposition to those who knew him intimately, but in purpose unbending. Accordingly, he then petitioned the King either to be excused from accepting the bishopric, or from undertaking it under circumstances burthensome to his conscience. This application produced a letter of council to the Archbishop [2], enjoining him to omit the obnoxious formalities in consecrating the prelate elect. Still Cranmer refused, thinking perhaps very lightly of Hooper's scruples, and certainly being aware, that the royal authority alone would not excuse him from the penalty of a *præmunire*, to which he would render

[2] Dated August 5.

himself liable by transgressing in this case a parliamentary statute. The Primate, however, felt anxious to satisfy the mind of Hooper, and for this purpose, he requested Bishop Ridley to reason with him. That able prelate readily complied; but his arguments proved unavailing: they merely served to produce a coolness between him and his over-scrupulous friend[a]. Hooper was then summoned before the council, and enjoined to abstain from sowing dissensions among men who had the same great object at heart. He answered by a defence of his scruples, and by a request that he might be allowed to present their Lordships with his arguments in writing. In this he was gratified, and the paper was communicated, as it seems, to Bishop Ridley; for to that prelate was addressed, on the 6th of October, an order of council, requiring his attendance before the board on the following Sunday, bringing with him such things as might be likely to serve him in his reply. Hooper's arguments against the vestments, were, that the use of such dresses would recall the abrogated priesthood of Aaron; that the particular habiliments of the Romish Church were most unfit for Christian ministers, not only because confessedly derived from Jews and Pagans, but also because they have been defiled by Antichrist; and that Christ hung naked on the cross, shewing thereby that his priesthood, being the truth itself, no longer needed coverings

[a] Foxe, 1367.

and shadows [b]. Of Bishop Ridley's reply to these crude, not to say absurd positions, we are unacquainted with any particulars; but it is known, that it led to farther controversy in writing between him and Hooper. Meanwhile the latter received an order of council to abstain from leaving his house, unless with a view of repairing for advice and satisfaction to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or to either of the Bishops Ridley, Goodrich, or Holbeach. This restraint Hooper had rendered necessary by his intemperance, for not contented with arguing upon his opinions among those who were competent to discuss them, he had endeavoured to enlist the popular passions on his side, by declaiming in the London pulpits against the compliances for which he had conceived an aversion so violent [c].

The ferment occasioned by this dispute, apparently so trivial, was augmented by the hospitable protection afforded by the English government to religious refugees from abroad. Of these,

[b] "Neque vero mysterio suo caret, quod Servator noster Jesu Christus nudus in cruce pendebat. Nam Aaronici sacerdotes in suo ministerio vestimentis utebantur, quia sacerdotii ipsorum veritas, Christus ipse, nondum venerat: Christus vero, quando ipse esset sacrificandus, omnibus vestibus exutus, suum ex eo sacerdotium ostendens, quod cum ipsa esset veritas, nullis jam amplius opus haberet velaminibus aut umbris. Ex libro MS. D. Hooperi Reg. Consiliariis ab ipso exhibito. 3 Oct. 1550." Life of Bp. Ridley, 316.

[c] This must be inferred from a letter of Peter Martyr's, in which mention is made of Hooper's "unseasonable, and too bitter sermons." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 307.

a congregation had been formed in London, under the superintendence of John à Lasco, the noble Pole, whom Cranmer had so kindly received on his first escape from continental intolerance[a]. The nave of the fine ancient church, behind Broad Street, in the city of London, occupied under the papal usurpation by a convent of Austin friars, was assigned to this community of conscientious exiles[b]. With a-Lasco were associated in the government of this congregation, four other ministers, and the ecclesiastical authorities were inhibited from molesting these strangers for any want of conformity to the established Church. Thus was a congregation of Protestant Dissenters legally tolerated in the heart of the capital; and to make the boon more considerable, three hundred and eighty of a-Lasco's followers received patents, making them denizens of England. Unhappily their leader did not evince the moderation plainly demanded of him by the circumstances in which he was placed. In Hooper's controversy, not able to content himself with remaining neuter, he wrote against the habits which had acquired such an unreasonable degree of importance. He shewed also his want of sound discretion by writing against the practice of kneeling at the Holy Communion; desiring to see that Sacrament received in a sitting posture[c].

[a] By letters patent, dated July 24, 1550.

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 248. The members of a-Lasco's congregation were chiefly Netherlanders, and French. There were also among them a few Germans. (Ibid. Note.) London

Hooper though restrained from preaching, and even from leaving his house, except under particular limitations, desisted not from endeavours to keep alive the ferment which his obstinacy had occasioned. He did not confine himself at home, and as he was prevented from entering the pulpit, he had recourse to the press, writing and printing a piece, entitled *A Confession of his Faith*. Anxious to terminate this unseemly dissension, Cranmer wrote to Martyr and Bucer, for a statement of their opinions upon the obnoxious vestments. Both these illustrious foreigners, though come from congregations like that in Switzerland which formed Hooper's prejudices, deprived of episcopacy, pronounced that his scruples were needless[g]. They, however, expressed a dislike to the habits under discussion, and a hope that when England should be fully prepared for the change, such relics of the former system would

likewise contained an Italian and a French church, both placed under a Lasco's superintendency. In this year too was a church of foreign Protestants settled at Glastonbury, under the ministry and superintendence of Valerandus Pollanus. The members of this congregation were chiefly French and Walloons: their trade was weaving. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 343. 346.

Proceedings of Privy Council. 28. Hooper's Confession was published on the 20th of December. Life of Bishop Ridley, 322.

[g] Martyr's letter was dated November 4, Bucer's December 8. Martyr, however, though he declared the customary dresses of the Anglican ministry to be matters of indifference, cast a reflection upon them by his own example, for he never would wear a surplice in his attendance upon divine worship, as canon of Christchurch. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 98.

be wholly removed. Calvin, being apprised of this contention, could not resist a disposition to interfere in it, and he wrote to the Duke of Somerset, entreating him to lend Hooper a helping hand under his difficulties[h]. Among those in authority, however, no disposition was evinced for any concession. Accordingly, on the 13th of January, 1551, the refractory divine was again called before the council, and persisting in his refusal to wear the episcopal attire, he was committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury's custody, "there to be reformed, or further to be punished, as the obstinacy of his case requireth[i]." After a fortnight's residence under Cranmer's roof, Hooper continued unchanged; being found anxious rather to prescribe some new course for general adoption, than willing himself to tread in the beaten path. It was, therefore, ordered in council, that he be committed to the Fleet, and there allowed to hold intercourse only with the chaplain of the prison[k]. Hooper at length thought it time to give way, and to accept of consecration under a compromise. It was agreed, that he should wear the usual attire of the episcopal order, when preaching before the King, or upon other occasions of more than ordinary solemnity, but should be excused from that necessity at all other times[l].

[h] Ibid. 91. [i] Proceedings of Privy Council, *ut supra*.

[k] Ibid. 29.

[l] The episcopal dress which caused all this difficulty consists principally of a rochet, and a chimere. The former of these, is a garment of white linen, which has been worn by bishops from

With this understanding, he was consecrated, in the Archbishop's chapel at Lambeth, on the 8th of March[m]. Hooper, being thus admitted to his

a very early age, and in which, the Romish canons bound them to appear, whenever they were seen in public. The chimere is a robe worn over the rochet, and furnished with sleeves of white lawn. The rest of this vestment used to be made of scarlet silk; this, as being thought too gaudy, was changed into black satin, under Queen Elizabeth. The bishops, however, continued to wear scarlet chimeres when they appeared in Convocation. It might seem from Foxe, that Hooper likewise objected to the square cap; which is very probable, for that article of dress became eventually a noted object of Puritanical aversion. The martyrologist honestly confesses, that Hooper was contending for trifles, yet it is easy to see that he only half disapproved of his conduct, for he is very sparing of particulars in the notice which he takes of the dispute, and he mentions the compromise in the following strain of quaint humour: "Wherefore, appointed to preach before the King, as a new player, in a strange apparel, he cometh forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chimere, down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head, he had a geometrical, that is, a four-square cap, albeit that his head was round." (1367.) All this is merely amusing, but when Foxe adds, that Hooper underwent the "contumely and reproach," of wearing this dress for the sake of benefiting the Christian cause, his ideas can hardly escape the charge of absurdity.

[m] "In his linen surplice and cope, the Bishops of London and Rochester (Poynet) assisting in the like habits." (Life of Bp. Ridley, 324.) "He was likewise disentangled from the other difficulty of taking the oath required. This oath which he stuck at before, was the oath of supremacy, and not that of canonical obedience, as is commonly supposed." (Collier, II. 307.) The oath of supremacy, as it stands in King Edward's ordinal, is much more full than that adopted subsequently. The taker of it binds himself to all statutes, "made, *and to be made*," in support of

episcopal trust, executed it with all that zeal and fidelity which his friends had expected him to display. He was an indefatigable preacher, going about to the towns and villages under his jurisdiction, and eloquently dispensing from their pulpits the knowledge of sound religion. When not thus occupied, he was intent upon study or prayer, employed upon the business of his station, or examining the condition of the schools placed under his inspection. Vice he repressed and rebuked to the utmost of his power, sparing it in no rank of life. Nor although many were disobliged by this honest freedom, could any man point to a stain in his morals. In private life, Bishop Hooper was an excellent father and master, forming in all around him such habits of order, piety, and virtue as could hardly fail of rendering them lastingly obliged to his truly paternal care. In alms-giving this exemplary prelate's liberality was only bounded by his means. Every day, during his residence at Worcester, and probably his habit was the same in other places, were some poor inhabitants of the city invited to dine at his hospitable board. Before they took their meal, they were examined

the King's ecclesiastical authority, and in contravention of the papal usurpatiou. Hooper, probably, scrupled at thus binding himself to things unknown, and it is far from unlikely, that he might have brought from Switzerland some of Calvin's opinions upon the interference of civil magistrates in ecclesiastical affairs. The Reformer of Geneva declared himself shocked when he saw the supremacy assigned to King Henry VIII. Life of Bp. Ridley, 313.

either by their kind entertainer, or by one of the dependants, as to their knowledge of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue. Not until his humble guests had concluded this Christian-like exercise, did the Bishop himself sit down to table [n].

In the early part of the year rendered memorable in Bishop Hooper's life by his unhappy dispute about episcopal attire, he had made an attack upon altars. In preaching before the court, he said, "It would be well if the government were to change the altars into tables, according to Christ's first institution; for so long as altars remain, both ignorant people, and ignorant or ill-disposed priests will ever be dreaming of sacrifices [o]." In the primitive Church a plain table of wood was provided for celebrating the Holy Eucharist [p]. This was called indifferently, the Lord's table, the holy table, or the altar [q]. The last term was adopted because upon this table were laid the offerings made by the congregation, and also because by receiving the elements consecrated upon it, men offered up, with praise and thanksgiving, their souls and bodies, an acceptable sacrifice to God. When Rome became Christian under Constantine, the communion-table naturally partook largely of that libe-

[n] Foxe, 1268. The martyrologist testifies the fact last mentioned from his own observation.

[o] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 96.

[p] Cave, Primitive Christianity, 142.

[q] Bingham, I. 301.

rality which was seeking in all directions to dignify the public offices of religion. It was then commonly made of stone or marble; and it is even affirmed, that the first Christian emperor dedicated some altars of silver[r]. These more expensive arrangements for celebrating the Holy Communion were no sooner introduced into the Church, than the clergy warmly patronised them, and at the end of no very long interval after the death of Constantine, it was decreed, that no altar should be consecrated unless made of stone[s].

[r] Bingham, I. 302.

[s] "We find a general decree made in the council of Epone, *An.* 509, *That no altars should be consecrated, but such as were made of stone only.* And this seems to be the first public act of this nature that we have upon authentic record in ancient history. And from the time of this change in the matter of them, the form or fashion of them changed likewise. For whereas before they were in the form of tables, they now began to be erected more like altars, either upon a single foot, or pillar, in the midst, or upon an edifice erected like a tomb, as if it were some monument of a martyr; as Bona tells us there are some such now to be seen in the catacombs of Rome, and other places. It will perhaps be something more material to remark here, that anciently there was never above one altar in a church. *One bishop, and one altar in a church,* is the known aphorism of Ignatius. And Eusebius is supposed upon this account to call the altar in the church of Paulinus at Tyre, μονογενὲς θυσιαστήριον, the single altar, as Habertus truly observes upon it, who ingenuously confesses, that it has ever been the constant custom of the Greek churches to have but one altar in a temple; in confirmation of which he cites Athanasius, Nazianzen, Synesius, Socrates, Theodoret, Evagrius, and many others. Cardinal Bona also owns, he could find no footsteps of the contrary practice until the time of Gregory the Great, and then only in the Latin Church. For the Greeks have always kept to the ancient custom." Ibid.

At length, such an object graced every church [t], and thus, while the belief gained ground that in Eucharistic celebrations was offered a propitiatory sacrifice, men were disposed to view this as the doctrine of primitive times from seeing the provision made for administering the Holy Supper. Nor probably could the popular mind have been weaned from this palpable error without great difficulty, so long as these venerated remnants of the former system every where met the eye. Sensible of this, Bishop Ridley determined upon the removal of altars within his diocese, in the early part of the year. Of this change a conspicuous example was set in St. Paul's cathedral, where it was observed by the congregation assembled on the festival of St. Barnabas, that the high altar was removed, the wall behind it taken down, and a communion-table placed in its room [u]. About the same time Ridley went upon his visitation, and among the injunctions then issued by him was one for the removal of altars. This order gave great offence, and its execution appears, in many places, to have been resisted; for on the 23d of June, Sir John Gates, the sheriff of Essex, was despatched into that county with letters from the court, enjoining him to enforce the

[t] "Yet several of the old wooden altars were retained standing; as Erasmus took notice of a wooden altar in the cathedral of Canterbury, at his being there, dedicated to the Virgin Mary." Staveley's Hist. of Engl. Churches. Lond. 1712, p. 210.

[u] Stow.

Bishop of London's injunctions respecting altars [x]. These injunctions were accompanied by the following reasons for issuing them: that a table is better than an altar, because adapted to root out from ignorant minds the notion of a propitiatory sacrifice; that the defence made for altars upon the ground of their being mentioned in the Book of Common Prayer, is nugatory, because in that book, the terms, altar, table, and Lord's board are indifferently used: that they ought to be removed for the sake of correcting a superstitious belief in their necessity for the due celebration of the Eucharist; that altars were properly used for sacrifices under the ceremonial law; which being abolished, such things as have reference only to it ought to disappear; that Christ instituted the Holy Supper at a table, which example was followed both by the Apostles and the primitive Church; and that doubts as to the interpretation of any clause in the book of Common Prayer are to be referred, according to the preface of that book, to the diocesan [y]. These reasons, however, failed of giving general satisfaction, and altars were resolutely kept up in some places, while in others they were overthrown. Not only was the diocese of London agitated by these contrary proceedings, but the flame spread also to other parts of the kingdom,

[x] King Edward's Journal. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 23.
[y] Foxe, 1211.

and the pulpits every where resounded with the din of controversy upon the sort of convenience proper to be provided for celebrating the Lord's Supper. Among those who took a prominent part in this contention, was Day, Bishop of Chichester [a], who preached in his diocese against the removal of altars, so soon as he thought their permanence endangered. Some of his clergy followed their diocesan's example, and Sussex was thrown into a considerable state of ferment by the agitation of this question. The council being informed of this fact, on the 7th of October, ordered Dr. Cox, the King's tutor, to go into that county, for the purpose of infusing from the pulpit correct opinions into men's minds upon the matters under discussion [b]. This measure was followed by a circular letter addressed on the 24th of November from the council to the different prelates, enjoining them to remove altars within their respective dioceses, and to provide for reconciling the people to this alteration by sending discreet preachers to such places as most required their instructions [b]. Upon this question,

[a] This prelate, who was once Provost of King's College, in Cambridge, "had come over so far as to preach a sermon at court against transubstantiation: in which point, we must suppose, that his conscience was then rightly instructed: yet afterwards, in Queen Mary's reign, he was one who signed the commission, by which Ridley, and his fellow-confessors, were condemned to the fire for holding the same doctrine." *Life of Bp. Ridley*, 329.

[b] Proceedings of Privy Council, 24.

[b] Letter of Council. Foxe, 1211.

however, the Bishop of Chichester had already committed himself in a manner so public and decided, that he could not in decency retrace his steps. He resisted, accordingly, the removal of altars within his diocese, and for this disobedience he was immediately called to account. On the 7th of December, he appeared before the council, at Westminster, and plainly said, that he could not conscientiously adopt the prescribed course; that altars, in his opinion, were of very high antiquity in the Church, were sanctioned by holy fathers, strengthened in their claims to respect by ancient doctors, every where established by immemorial custom, and he thought, even supported by authority of Scripture. "Upon these grounds," he added, "it is out of my power to act as your Lordships require; for I would rather lose all that I ever had in the world than condemn my own conscience." The council, finding him immoveable, debated his case at considerable length, and at last determined upon allowing him two days more for re-considering his decision. If he should then be found refractory, it was resolved to sequester his bishopric [c]. The Scriptures alleged by Bishop Day for the use of altars were a passage in Isaiah [d], and another in the

[c] Proceedings of Privy Council, 27.

[d] "In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt." (Is. xix. 19.) This passage seems to have been truly understood by Bp. Day as prophetic of Egypt's reconciliation to the Christian Church, but the right reverend commentator appears not to have observed, that the Jewish

Epistle to the Hebrews[e]. It was shewn, that

prophets describe the Gospel dispensation in terms properly belonging to that of Moses only. The temple-service was justly considered in ancient Israel as the perfection of religious worship. Among the prophets, accordingly, the termination of Gentile apostacy is prefigured by pictures of the whole Heathen world adopting the rites and ceremonies of Judaism, and even of resorting to Jerusalem for devotional purposes. (Is. ii. 2, 3.) It is surprising, that Romanists in their eagerness to appropriate such texts have not discovered in "the mountain of the Lord's house, to which all nations shall flow," either St. Peter's at Rome, or the Vatican. The text from the 19th of Isaiah, cited by Bp. Day, appears to have been alleged by the second council of Nice as an authority for the worship of images. In the Caroline Books (see Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. I. 20.) the passage is thus explained. "This prophecy is fulfilled by means of Christ, who planted faith in this world, ordinarily designated under the name of Egypt; upon the surface of which are offered to the Lord by his faithful people the sacrifices of prayers, and the drink-offerings of holy deeds; and at the border whereof he placed a pillar, that is, the Gospel, or the Apostolical doctrine, by which the minds of his faithful people are informed as to the performance of good works. *Hanc prophetiam completam fuisse sentimus per Christum Dominum Dei et hominum mediatorem. Qui videlicet fidem in hoc mundo, qui plerumque Ægypti nomine designatur, constituit in cujus soliditate a fidelibus orationum sacrificia, et sanctorum meritorum libamina Domino litantur: juxta cujus terminum titulum posuit, id est, Evangelium, sive Apostolicam doctrinam quibus mentes fidelium ad peragenda bona opera informantur.*" (Opus Illustris. Caroli Magni contra synodum quæ in partibus Græciæ pro adorandis imaginibus stolide sive arroganter gesta est. 1549, p. 196.) This passage is also interesting, because it furnishes a proof, that in the time of Charlemagne, the Romish notion of propitiatory sacrifices offered in the mass had not arisen. The great Emperor speaks of no other Christian sacrifices, than those of a pious mind and a holy life.

[e] "We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat which

neither of these would answer his purpose. That altars were not used in primitive times, was proved by direct negative propositions drawn from Origen against Celsus, and the abuses to which they had recently led were earnestly pressed upon his attention. He was, however, informed that no objection would be made to his regularly terming the Communion-table by the name of altar, such a figurative expression having been used in the early Church[f]. On the 11th of December, the Bishop of Chichester was again summoned before the council, and asked whether he would obey his Majesty's command for the demolition of altars. His answer was, "I am very thankful for the clemency which has been exercised toward me, but I cannot consent to do any thing disapproved by my conscience. I therefore pray

serve the tabernacle." (Heb. xiii. 10.) In this text, the word "altar" plainly means that which is sacrificed upon it, *viz.* Christ. From the benefits of his passion, says the Apostle, those cut themselves off who adhere obstinately to the religion of Moses. The Romish mode of citation recalled to Archbishop Usher's mind an anecdote in Ælian. (Var. Hist. iv. 25.) One Thrasyllus, becoming insane, took lodgings in the Piræus, and while there, kept an account of all the ships which he saw arrive, or sail away, as if they had been his own property. Thus Romanists interpret all prophecies couched in the sacrificial terms of ancient Judaism, as prefiguring the propitiatory qualities assigned to their mass. Upon the same principle, they never see used by any writer of high antiquity, the word, mass, or any other expression current among themselves, without resolutely fixing upon it exactly the same meaning that it bears in the modern formularies of their church.

[f] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 328.

you to do with me what you may think requisite, for I never will give any assistance in the demolition of altars. I think it a less evil, that my body should suffer, than that my soul should be corrupted by a compliance which appears to me criminal." On receiving this reply, the council unanimously determined upon committing the Bishop to the Fleet[s].

In the controversies of this year, Archbishop Cranmer took an effective part, by publishing his *Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ: with a Confutation of sundry Errors concerning the same.* This piece, which is the principal work ever composed for publication by the great restorer to England of a scriptural faith, is divided into five books. Of these, the first is an account of the true eucharistic doctrine, the second is against transubstantiation, the third is upon the manner of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, the fourth treats of receiving his body and blood, the fifth is upon the sacrifice which he offered. In his preface, the Archbishop judiciously observes, that although Englishmen had been delivered from mumbling Latin over beads, from the purchase of indulgences, from undertaking pilgrimages, and from other glaring abuses of the papal system; yet their emancipation from Romanism would be incomplete, and might not prove lasting, so long as its roots held

[s] Proceedings of Privy Council, *ut supra*.

possession of the soil. If, therefore, transubstantiation be still allowed to spread its fibres in the Lord's vineyard, the ground will soon once more be covered by the old errors and abuses. Fully sensible of this truth, and not knowing how he should excuse himself at the last day, the Archbishop adds, if he should fail of using great diligence in labouring to establish the truth, he had undertaken to write that treatise [h]. "And moved," he says, "by the duty, office, and place whereunto it hath pleased God to call me, I give warning, in his name, unto all that profess Christ, that they flee far from Babylon, if they will save their souls; and to beware of that great harlot, that is to say the pestiferous see of Rome, that she make you not drunk with her pleasant wine. Trust not her sweet promises, nor banquet with her; for instead of wine, she will give you sour dregs, and for meat she will give you rank poison. But come to our Redeemer and Saviour Christ, who refresheth all that truly come to him, be their anguish and heaviness never so great [i]."

The Archbishop opens his argument by reciting all the scriptural passages bearing upon it, and by proving that the mention made in them of eating and drinking Christ, is figurative. In treating of transubstantiation, he remarks the difficulty thrown upon the supporters of that tenet from the very Scripture generally cited as its principal authority; which makes it appear

[h] Catholic Doctrine, 4. [i] Ibid. 6.

probable, that both the bread and wine were sent round among the Apostles, before the words thought to effect consecration were uttered [k]. He then proceeds to shew, that transubstantiation is contrary to reason, to the evidence of our senses, and to the writings of the fathers. As for the manner of Christ's Eucharistic presence; it is shewn, that he is not materially in the bread and wine, but spiritually in such as worthily receive those elements [l]. That the wicked are incapable of participation in the Saviour's body and blood, is proved from the necessity of faith, according to Scripture, for the reception of this benefit [m].

Of sacrifices, it is observed, there are two kinds; one propitiatory, the other Eucharistic. Of the former kind, there never properly was more than one in the world; that of Christ upon the cross: all the Mosaical sacrifices being merely types and shadows of this. The latter kind, called by St. Peter, "spiritual sacrifices [n]," are daily offered by all faithful Christians, and God's recorded Word contains not the slightest hint, that the Church founded by his blessed Son will ever offer any other. There are, however, in it many passages proving, that such sacrifices alone will distinguish the Messiah's reign. The doctrine of the Romanists, that their priests offer Christ, is designated as abominable blasphemy; because it arrogates to a mere man that prerogative which belongs exclusively to the Son of God, and detracts

[k] St. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, 28.
[l] Cath. Doctr. 103.
[m] Ibid. 198.
[n] 1 St. Pet. ii. 5.

from the propitiation of Calvary, by representing its application as dependent upon the ministry of sinful mortals. "The Romish notion, that one man, by receiving the Eucharist, may benefit another, is placed upon a par with supposing, that one man may be baptised for another, or that natural hunger may be relieved by procuring a friend to eat in our behalf[o]. The Scriptural citations, and the arguments adduced, are then explained or confirmed by passages from ancient authors of high celebrity, and the whole piece is concluded by some brief reflections upon the frame of mind in which men ought to approach the Lord's table.

The Archbishop's work had no sooner appeared than it was attacked both by Bishop Gardiner and by Dr. Smyth, then residing at Louvain. The treatise first mentioned attracted a considerable degree of notice, and Cranmer lost no time in preparing an answer to it; noticing in his way such of Smyth's arguments as appeared of any importance. This rejoinder was published in the autumn of 1551, under the title of *An Answer, by the Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, unto a crafty and sophistical Cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Bishop of Winchester, against the true and godly doctrine of the most holy Sacrument, of the Body and Blood of our Saviour, Jesu Christ. Wherein is also, as Occasion serveth, answered*

[o] Cath. Doctr. 237. [p] Ibid. 242.

such Places of the Book of Doct. Richard Smyth, as may seem any thing worthy the answering. Nothing could be more fair or fearless than the course adopted by Cranmer in this controversy, for he printed in his own work the whole of Gardiner's tract, commenting upon it piece by piece. At the end of the volume, he placed an answer to Smyth's preface, and some tables, bringing into a single point of view the inaccuracies, inconsistencies, errors and absurdities into which Gardiner had fallen. That prelate defended his production in a piece published in Latin, at Paris, in 1552, under the name of Marcus Antonius Constantius, a divine of Louvain. To this rejoinder Cranmer was anxious to reply, and he had, previously to his martyrdom, composed three books in confutation of it. Of these, the two first perished in Oxford: of the third nothing farther is known, than that it fell into the hands of Foxe [q].

Gardiner, though a man of eminent abilities, was adapted but indifferently for a polemic; his early studies having lain chiefly among the Romish canonists, and his riper years having been devoted to politics, or the routine of episcopal business. He was not even well versed in scholastic theology [r], and Scripture had been generally

[q] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 371.

[r] "Where you speak of the soberness and devotion of the school-authors, whom before you noted for boasters, what soberness and devotion was in them, being all in a manner monks and friars, they that be exercised in them do know, *whereof you be none.*" Cranm. against Gard. 351.

neglected by divines of his party.[1] His prominence, however, in this controversy could very ill be spared, for perhaps the honest bigotry, certainly the tactics of English Romanists, at that time, imperiously demanded a struggle for the mass; and it was upon the Bishop of Winchester mainly that their hopes were fixed. Authorities were supplied for that prelate's undertaking by Dr. Smyth[2], and his labours being thus lightened, he resolutely ventured to controvert the positions of one whose whole span of life from youth to senility, had been assiduously spent in theological research[3]. Gardiner's work is a complete failure, and furnishes irrefragable arguments against the side which he has undertaken to defend. It is,

[1] "It seemeth, that you never read any printed book of Hylarius. Marry, it might be, that you had from Smyth a false copy written, who informed me, *that you had of him all the authorities that be in your book.*" Cranmer against Gardiner, 167.

[2] "I neither willingly go about to deceive the reader in the searching of St. Augustine, as you use to do in every place; nor have I trusted my man or friend therein, as it seemeth you have done overmuch, but I have diligently expended and weighed the matter myself. For although in such weighty matters of Scripture and ancient authors, you must needs trust your men, without whom I know you can do very little, being brought up from your tender age in other kinds of study; yet I, having exercised myself in the study of Scripture, and divinity, from my youth, whereof I give most hearty lauds and thanks to God, have learned now to go alone; and do examine, judge, and write all such weighty matters myself: although, I thank God, I am neither so arrogant nor so wilful, that I will refuse the good advice, counsel, or admonition of any man, be he man or master, friend or foe." Ibid. 323.

indeed, any thing but a favourable symptom of the author's ability to make out a satisfactory case, that he treats his opponent every where with offensive personality. As some pretence for committing such an indecency, he makes an affectation of expressing a doubt as to whether the book published under Cranmer's name was a genuine production of his pen, and hence he takes occasion to speak constantly in a contemptuous manner of his opponent, as "this author." He does not, however, forget to ring changes upon the gradual alteration which had occurred in the Archbishop's religious belief, and to remark sarcastically, that if the book which he is controverting really was written by him whose name appears in its title-page, that eminent individual has unquestionably manifested an extraordinary vacillation of opinion. To this taunt, Cranmer sensibly replies, that having been convinced of error, after sufficient deliberation and enquiry, he is not ashamed to follow the example of St. Paul, and of Augustine, the justly-famed Bishop of Hippo; but is perfectly willing to confess the misapprehensions into which he had ignorantly fallen. In managing his argument, Gardiner displays no mean degree of tactical skill. He dexterously confounds, according to the practice of his sect, the Catholic Church with the Papacy, and assumes invariably, that the doctrines of modern Rome have ever been maintained by the bishops of that see. When, however, he comes to the proof of this assumption, he flies off by

saying, that Cranmer's side of the argument is not completely deducible from ancient authors of high repute [u]. For the fact, so extraordinary upon the Romish hypothesis, that the carnal presence attracted no observation during eight hundred or a thousand years, he does not pretend to account [x]. Nor does he venture to deny, that the term transubstantiation, was introduced into the public formularies at the famous fourth coun-

[u] "No author known and approved, that is to say, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, Irene, Tertullian, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Hilary, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Emissen, Ambrose, Cyril, Hierome, Augustine, Damascene, Theophilact, none of these hath this doctrine *in plain terms*, that the bread only signifieth Christ's body absent; nor this sentence, that the bread and wine be never holier after consecration: nor that, Christ's body is none otherwise present in the Sacrament, but in signification; nor this sentence, that the Sacrament is not to be worshipped, because there is nothing present but in a sign." (Gardiner against Cranmer.) "I will join with you this issue, that neither Scripture, nor ancient author writeth in express words the doctrine of your faith. This, therefore, shall be mine issue, that as no Scripture, so no ancient author known and approved hath in plain terms your transubstantiation; nor that the body and blood of Christ be really, corporally, naturally, and carnally under the forms of bread and wine; nor that evil men do eat the very body, and drink the very blood of Christ; nor that Christ is offered every day by the priest, a sacrifice propitiatory for sin. Wherefore, by your own description and rule of a Catholic faith, your doctrine and teaching in these four articles cannot be good and Catholic, except you can find it in plain terms in the Scripture, and old Catholic doctors; which when you do, I will hold up my hand at the bar, and say, guilty. And if you cannot, then it is reason, that you do the like, *per legem talionis*." Cranm. against Gard. 6.

[x] Ibid. 178.

cil of Lateran. But he asserts, that the doctrine was far older than that council, and that it was then admitted, not on account of the Bishop of Rome's authority, but from the force of truth. At the same time he courteously suggests that a Pope may speak incontrovertible facts, as well as Balaam and Caiphas[y]. Like other Romish polemics treating of the Eucharistic question, Gardiner is much embarrassed by Ratramn. Accordingly, he affects to throw a doubt upon the genuineness of the celebrated piece attributed to him, or at all events, to give the more ignorant and careless Romish readers of his book some pretence for imagining that Ratramn's tract is nothing more than an effusion of some obscure author's brain, which passed unnoticed among his contemporaries[z]. It is also among Gardiner's shifts to elude the force of arguments against Popery drawn from the opposition of Ratramn, and others, to represent, that these attacks led to

[y] Gardiner against Cranmer, 250.

[z] "About 700 years ago, one Bertram, *if the book set forth in his name, be his, enterprised secretly* the like." (Ibid. 6.) "As for Bertram, he did nothing else, but at the request of King Charles, set out the true doctrine of the holy Catholic Church from Christ unto his time, concerning the Sacrament. And I never heard nor read any man that condemned Bertram before this time. For all men, that hitherto have written of Bertram, have much commended him. And seeing, that he wrote of the Sacrament, at King Charles's request, it is not like, that he would write against the received doctrine of the Church in those days. And if he had, it is without all doubt, that some learned man, either in his time, or sithence, would have written against him, or at the least, not have commended him so much as they have done." Cranmer against Gardiner, 7.

no lasting result[a]. Of the blasphemous and disgusting fooleries broached by school divines respecting the consecrated elements, he endeavours to dispose, by saying, that he has not read any such things: an assertion probably correct, and amply sufficient to make superficial Romish readers of his book believe, that no famous doctors of their Church have inserted among their works

[a] "Since Christ's time, there is no memory of more than of six, that have affirmed that doctrine which this author would have called the Catholic doctrine, and yet not written by them of one sort, neither received in belief in public profession. But secretly, when it happened, begun by conspiration, and in the end ever hitherto extinct and quenched. First was Bertram, then Berengarius, then Wickliffe, and in our time Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, and Joachimus Vadianus. I will not reckon Peter Martyr, because such as know him, saith he is not learned: nor this author, because he doth, but as it were, translate Peter Martyr, saying, he roveth at solutions, as liketh his phantasie." (Gardiner against Cranmer.) "Where you say, that since Christ's time, there is no mo but six that have affirmed the doctrine that I have taught, all that have been learned, and have read the old authors of the Catholic Church, may evidently see the contrary: that sithence Christ's time the doctrine of my book was ever the Catholic, and public received faith of the Church, until Nicholas the Second's time, who compelled Berengarius to make such a devilish recantation, that the Papists themselves be now ashamed of it. *And since that time, have many thousands been cruelly persecuted only for the profession of the true faith. For no man might speak one word against the Bishop of Rome's determination herein, but he was taken for an heretic, and so condemned, as Wickliffe, Huss, and an infinite number mo.* And as for Bertram, he was never before this time detected of any error that ever I read, but only now by you. For all other that have written of him, have spoken much to his commendation and praise." Cranmer against Gardiner, 205.

any such matters [b]. Upon no branch of his argument, however, does he seem so much at a loss, as to make it appear, that any propitiatory sacrifice is offered in the mass. When he touches upon this capital article in the Romish creed, he

[b] "Here in this place, *not caring what he saith*, he reporteth such a teaching in the first part of this difference, as I have not heard of before. There was never man of learning that I have read, termed the matter so, that Christ goeth into the stomach of the man that received, and no farther." (Gardiner against Cranmer, 52.) "It is marvel, that you never read, that Christ goeth into the mouth, or stomach of that man that receiveth, and no farther, being a lawyer, and seeing, that it is written in the gloss of the law, *De consecrat. dist. 2. Tribus gradibus*, in these words: *It is certain, that as soon as the forms be torn with the teeth, so soon the body of Christ is gone up into heaven.* And in the chapter, *Non iste*, is another gloss to the same purpose. And if you had read Thomas de Aquino, and Bonaventure, (great clerks, and holy saints of the Pope's own making,) and other school-authors, then you would have known what the Papists do say in this matter. For some say, that the body of Christ remaineth so long as the form and fashion of bread remaineth, although it be in a dog, mouse, or in the jakes. And some say, it is not in the mouse, nor jakes, but remaineth only in the person that eateth it, until it be digested in the stomach, and the form of bread be gone. Some say, it remaineth no longer than the Sacrament is in eating, and may be felt, seen, and tasted in the mouth. And this, (besides Hugo,) saith Pope Innocentius himself, who was the best learned, and chief doer in this matter of all the other popes. Read you never none of these authors, and yet take upon you the full knowledge of this matter? Will you take upon you to defend the Papists, and not know what they say? Or do you know it, and now be ashamed of it, and for shame will deny it?" (Cranmer against Gardiner, 53.) More to the same effect is in p. 66, in reply to a charge of impudent falsehood, which Gardiner boldly throws upon his opponent, for exposing these offensive absurdities of the schoolmen.

becomes immediately lame, verbose, and confused, evidently labouring to bury the truth, and also his own incipient perception of it under a load of cumbrous language [c]. He finds himself driven to allow, that the Saviour's sacrifice was full and perfect [d], hence admitting of no iteration; nor can he manage to fix precisely upon a mode of assigning to sacerdotal Eucharistic sacrifices, a propitiatory character, except by saying, that all religious and moral acts are termed, in Scripture, offerings well pleasing to God. Hence he infers, that a clergyman, by receiving the Sacrament, accomplishes an act at once beneficial to himself, and to the whole body of Christ's Church [e]. Ac-

[c] Gardiner against Cranmer, 81. [d] Ibid. 381.

[e] "All good works, good thoughts, and good meditations may be called sacrifices propitiatory also, for so much as in their degree God accepteth and taketh them through the effect and strength of the very sacrifice of Christ's death, which is the reconciliation between God and man, ministered and dispensed particularly as God hath appointed, in such measure as he knoweth. But St. Paul to the Hebrews, exhorting men to charitable deeds, saith, *With such sacrifices God is made favourable*, or *God is propitiate*, if we shall make new English. Whereupon it followeth, because the priest, in the daily sacrifice, doth as Christ hath ordered to be done for shewing forth and remembrance of Christ's death, that act of the priest, done according to God's commandment, must needs be propitiatory, and provoke God's favour, and ought to be trusted on to have a propitiatory effect with God, to the members of Christ's body particularly, being the same done for the whole body, in such wise as God knoweth the dispensation to be meet and convenient, according to which measure, God worketh most justly, and most mercifully, otherwise than man can by his judgement discuss and determine." Ibid. 387.

cording to this view of the matter, it is well observed by Cranmer, matins must be considered satisfactory as well as mass, and the choristers or organist, by duly performing their respective parts in the public service, must share in offering the satisfaction. "If you had read Duns," writes the Archbishop to his antagonist, "you would have written more clerkly in these matters, than you do[f]." Nothing, again, can be more evasive and unsatisfactory than Gardiner's attempt to make it appear, that wicked communicants partake of the Lord's body, at the Holy Table. His Church did not make this branch of the Eucharistic question, very clear in the deliberations holden at Trent, soon after his book appeared. Among the Trentine divines, however, were some few very superior to Gardiner in the knowledge of such matters, and he, therefore, could not be expected to manage with any tolerable success a point so embarrassing in the system which he undertook to defend. He has, accordingly, said, by way of reply to Cranmer's irrefragable arguments, that, as bad men eat the Sacrament to their own condemnation, their eating may justly be called no eating at all[g]. It appears not to

[f] Cranmer against Gardiner, 392.

[g] "All that ever this author bringeth to prove, that evil men eat not the body of Christ, may be said shortly, that spiritually they eat it not, besides the Sacrament, and in the Sacrament they eat it not effectually to life, but to condemnation. And that is, and may be called, a not eating. As they be said not to hear the word of God, that hear it not profitably. And because the

have escaped the Bishop, at the outset of his hazardous attempt, that he might be reduced, before he had confronted his opponent throughout, to such miserable evasions, and hopeless confusion! He, therefore, deprecates a disposition to examine transubstantiation [h]. Cranmer thus replies, "What hurt, I pray you, can gold catch in the fire, or truth with discussing? Lies only fear discussing. The devil hateth the light, because he hath been a liar from the beginning, and is loth that his lies should come to light and trial. And all hypocrites and Papists be of a like sort afraid;

body of Christ of itself is ordained to be eaten for life, those that unworthily eat to condemnation, although they eat indeed, may be said not to eat, because they eat unworthily, as a thing not well done, may in speech be called not done, in respect of the good effect wherefore it was chiefly ordered to be done. And by this rule, thou reader, mayest discuss all that this author bringeth forth for this purpose, either out of Scriptures, or doctors." (Gardiner against Cranmer, 222.) "When you say, that Christ may be received of the evil man to his condemnation; is this the glory that you give unto Christ, that his whole presence in a man, both with flesh, blood, soul, and spirit, shall make him never the better? And that Christ shall be in him, that is a member of the devil? And if an evil man have Christ in him for a time, why may he not then have him still dwelling in him? For if he may be in him a quarter of an hour, he may be also an whole hour, and so an whole day, and an whole year; and so shall God and the devil dwell together in one house. And this is the crop that groweth of your sowing, if Christ fall in evil men, as good seed falleth in evil ground." Cranmer against Gardiner, 223.

[h] "In the belief of which mysteries is great benefit and consolation, and in the unreverent search, and curious discussion of them, presumptuous boldness, and wicked temerity." Gardiner against Cranmer, 57.

that their doctrine should come to discussing; whereby it may evidently appear, that they be endued with the spirit of error and lying. If the Papists had not feared, that their doctrines should have been espied, and their opinions have come to discussing, the Scriptures of God had been in the vulgar and English tongue, many years ago. But, God be praised, at length your doctrine is come to discussing, so that you cannot so craftily walk in a cloud, but the light of God's Word will always shew where you be [1]."

[1] Cranmer against Gardiner, 59.

CHAPTER VI.

Determination to review the Book of Common Prayer—Bucer's animadversions upon the first service-book—His death—Martyr's animadversions—King Edward's second service-book—Deprivation of Bishop Gardiner—The King's religious zeal—The Lady Mary's inconformity—Bishop Ridley's conference with her—Deprivation of the Bishops Heath and Day—Dying conversations of Dr. Redmayn—Bishop Tunstall upon the Eucharist—The forty-two articles—The sweating sickness—The Duke of Somerset's intrigue—The Queen Dowager of Scotland's journey through England—Trial of Somerset—Bishop Goodrich appointed Lord Chancellor—The royal hall opened at Christmas—Execution of Somerset—and of his associates.

When the Convocation was last assembled, mention was made in the Upper House of some doubts which had arisen respecting certain portions of the Common Prayer. These difficulties appear chiefly to have concerned the retainment of some festivals, and the abrogation of others, the words prescribed at the delivery of the sacramental bread, and some diversities in administering the Holy Communion. Upon these subjects a communication was made by the prelates, to the Lower House. The members of this replied, that not having duly considered the matters in debate, they were unable to form at once a satis-

factory judgment upon them, but that they would be prepared with some proposition upon the subject, in the next session. Whether the ecclesiastical estate ever did resume the consideration of these questions is unknown [a]. The public agitation, however, of doubts respecting the new services could not fail of encouraging such as objected to them. These were a very numerous body. The Romanists, although unable to find any valid reasons for attacking the Liturgy, were naturally hostile to formularies which had superseded their own. Among the more active opponents of papal principles also, there was fast arising a spirit of opposition to every usage incapable of challenging direct authority from Scripture. The continental Protestants, being unfortunately deprived of episcopal succession, felt themselves obliged to carry the great principle of the Reformation into every part of their system. As the New Testament does not very clearly assign different employments to bishops and presbyters, it was assumed, that in the beginning of the Christian Church, these two names meant in all respects the same thing. In vain was it known, that from the first dawn of ecclesiastical history, the priesthood ministered under episcopal inspection. Many of the foreign Reformers were precluded from availing themselves of this venerable arrangement, to all appearance instituted by the Apostles themselves, and they refused to

[a] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 107.

hear in its favour any thing short of plain scriptural declarations. Those who were driven to the necessity of laying the foundations of their religious polity upon a basis so narrow, were bound, in consistency, to carry the same principle into every part of their worship. To them the whole extent of ecclesiastical antiquity became a blank, and not only as regards fundamentals, but also as regards every particular in divine affairs, they mounted at once from their own age, to what could be certainly known respecting that of the Apostles. Among men acting upon this principle, the English Reformation encountered many objections. Calvin, especially, declared, that much remained to be done, before the Anglican Church would lose the stain contracted under the domination of papal Rome. To his judgment many zealous religionists in England deferred [b]. In compliance, accordingly, with the wishes of such conscientious individuals, it was determined, towards the close of the last year, to review the book of Common Prayer. This important business was entrusted, under royal authority, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, and others of the episcopal order [c]. When these prelates met, they determined, that many alterations should be made [d]. It was, indeed, necessary to

[b] Ibid.

[c] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 361.

[d] "Conclusum jam est in hoc eorum colloquio, quemadmodum mihi retulit Reverendissimus, ut multa immutentur." Petrus Martyr, Martino Bucero. Lamb. 10. Jan. 1551. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 899.

decide in this manner for the sake of giving general satisfaction. Even the young King had assented so cordially to the objections urged against the service then in use, that he had declared his resolution to alter it by his own authority, if the Bishops should refuse to do so[e]. The prelates, however, themselves appear to have considered the existing Liturgy as sufficiently unexceptionable, for in the act authorising the new one, it was declared, that the former book contained nothing "but what was agreeable to the word of God, and the primitive Church;" and that "such doubts as had been raised in the use and exercise thereof, proceeded rather from the curiosity of the minister and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause." The revisal was therefore referred to the expediency of making the book "more earnest and fit for the stirring up of all Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God[f]." This concession to the more scrupulous friends of scriptural truth having been agreed upon, Cranmer determined to render it, if possible, thoroughly effective. Accordingly, he desired both Bucer and Martyr to furnish him with detailed opinions upon the existing service. He did not, however, advise with them, as to the best mode of altering the Common Prayer.

[e] "Verum hoc non me parum recreat, quod mihi D. Checus indicavit; si noluerint ipsi, ait, efficere, ut quæ mutanda sint mutentur, Rex per seipsum id faciet; et cum ad Parliamentum ventum fuerit, ipse suæ Majestatis authoritatem interponet." Ibid.

[f] Heylin, *ut supra*.

Most of the changes proposed had, indeed, most probably, been debated before any notice was taken of the foreign professors, and the Archbishop wisely abstained from communicating to Martyr a single particular of what had passed between himself and his brethren[g]. His object in applying to the learned strangers appears to have been no other, than to obtain the fullest information before he acted. Upon the principle of coming thus prepared for the consideration of every question submitted to him, he had proceeded through all the stages of his public life, and to this cautious habit is owing the solidity of the decisions which emanated ultimately from him.

Bucer prefaced his animadversions upon the Common Prayer, by saying, that upon the perusal of it, he thanked God for giving such a measure of grace to the English as had led them to so much purity in their religious offices; and that he found nothing in the book which was not either Scripture, or conformable to it, if fairly interpreted. His criticism, however, extends to eight and twenty chapters. He objects to the separation in choirs of the clergy from the laity, as an antichristian usage; to the Romish habits, as having been abused to superstition; to the use of circular wafers at the Communion, because encouraging a notion, that this form was necessary

g "Sed quænam illa sunt quæ consenserint emendanda, neque ipse (Cranm.) mihi exposuit, neque ego de illo quærere ausus sum." Martyr Bucero, *ut supra.*

for comprising Christ's mystical body; to the receiving of oblations at the holy table from absentees, because likely to make some men fancy, that the devotions of such as bore their offerings would be beneficial to themselves; to the practice of putting the wafer into the communicant's mouth, as comparatively modern, and as tending to keep alive the superstitious conceit, that a layman's hands were unfit to touch the Lord's body; and to the rubric enjoining clergymen to consecrate a sufficiency merely of the sacramental elements, as tending to foster a belief, that the sacerdotal act altered the character of such substances. He finds fault with some gestures used in the mass, and not yet discontinued, though for the most part unauthorised in the new book, such as kneeling, crossing, holding up the hands, and smiting upon the breast. He approves the reading of homilies to congregations unprovided with ministers capable of preaching, and suggests several new subjects upon which such discourses might advantageously be made, but in all cases where the pastor is equal to composition for the pulpit, he pronounces, that the exercise of his talent is likely to prove most beneficial. He excepts against the prayer recommending the dead to the mercy of God, and to that which represents angelic ministry as engaged in the conveyance of human devotions to heaven. In the baptismal office, he suggests, that the use of chrisom [h], and

h "Then the priest shall anoint the infant upon the head,

of the white habit [i] should be laid aside; that the passage asserting the sanctification of water to the mystical washing away of sin, ought to be expunged; and that, when the child is signed with a cross, which he admits to be a practice of high antiquity, the address ought not to be made to him personally [k]. He expresses, also, his disapprobation of exorcising baptised infants [l], and of

saying, *Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerate thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath given unto thee remission of all thy sins, vouchsafe to anoint thee with the unction of his Holy Spirit, and bring thee to the inheritance of everlasting life. Amen.*" King Edward's first Service-book. L'Estrange, 221.

i The immersion, or sprinkling, in case of weakness, being over, and the words of baptism having been pronounced, the godfathers and the godmothers were to lay their hands upon the child, "and the minister to put upon him his white vesture, commonly called his chrisom, and say, *Take this white vesture for a token of the innocence, which, by God's grace, in this holy Sacrament of Baptism is given unto thee: and for a sign, whereby thou art admonished, so long as thou livest, to give thyself to innocence of living; that, after this transitory life, thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting. Amen.*" Ibid.

k "*N.* Receive the sign of the holy cross, both in thy forehead, and in thy breast, in token, that thou shalt not be ashamed to confess thy faith," &c. Ibid. 216.

l "Then let the priest, looking upon the children, say, *I command thee, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out, and depart from these infants, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call to his holy Baptism, and to be made members of his body, and of his holy congregation: therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy sentence, remember thy judgment, remember the day to be at hand, wherein thou shalt burn in fire everlasting, prepared for thee and thy angels, and presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny towards these*

demanding answers in their names from sponsors. He argues that a knowledge of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and the other matters contained in the catechism, is not sufficient for such as come to confirmation; and he recommends, that clergymen should catechise on every Sunday and holiday. The permission to anoint sick persons, at their own desire, he thinks ought to be revoked. In the churching of women he excepts against the chrisom. In the commination, he wishes to have the denunciations follow the order of the Ten Commandments; and this branch of his subject induces him to mention the advantage of having the clergy authorised to rebuke publicly notorious offenders, as a warning to the other members of their congregations. He also recommends, that the number of holidays be diminished, and that bells be not rung except upon some public, or religious account [m].

About the time when he completed this elaborate criticism upon the Common Prayer, Bucer

infants, whom Christ hath bought with his most precious blood, and by this, his holy Baptism, called to be of his flock." (Ibid. 217.) "This form of exorcising was agreeable to the usage of the first Church, who applied it not only to the *Energumeni*, or persons possessed by evil spirits, who were not few in those days, but also to infants, and competents," (converts on the eve of Baptism) "whom they accounted under the dominion of Satan, until he was, by such increpation, expelled. *If the devil hath not children in subjection, what will the Pelagians say, that they are exorcised?* saith Augustine. Of this custom there is very frequent mention in St. Cyprian, Tertullian, and other ancients." L'Estrange, 233.

[m] Collier, II. 299.

presented to the King, as a new year's gift, his treatise *On the Kingdom of Christ*. With this work, Edward was greatly pleased, and in the exuberance of youthful enthusiasm, he began immediately to form schemes of governing according to Bucer's views. The learned and pious foreigner had, however, sketched an Utopian plan of perfection utterly beyond the power of any man to execute, unless entrusted with the governance of a very small community [n]. With this production terminated the author's labours. He died in the beginning of March, apparently not unhaunted by those pecuniary difficulties which commonly make inroads upon the tranquillity of literary men: his last known attempt to write being a short note, scrawled when he could scarcely hold a pen, and intreating Dr. Parker to lend him the paltry sum of ten crowns [o]. The doctor, then Master of Benet College, and eventually Archbishop of Canterbury, was one of Bucer's executors, and preached his funeral sermon. He was buried with every mark of respect, and his other executor, Dr. Walter Haddon, then University orator, afterwards Master of Requests to Queen Elizabeth, pronounced such an eulogy over his remains as drew tears from all around. On the following day, Dr. Redmayn, Master of Trinity College, delivered from the pulpit a discourse

[n] Ibid. 300. Where are introduced some particulars of Bucer's work.

[o] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 357.

upon mortality, which gave him an opportunity of introducing some interesting particulars of the late professor's life. The learned and candid Master adverted with just encomiums to Bucer's sweetness of disposition, an excellence more than even ordinarily manifested to those who differed with him in sentiments. The preacher told his auditory, that his departed friend had induced him to change his opinion in several particulars, and that, probably, in such society, had it been allowed him longer, he might yet have seen reason in some things to retrace his steps [p]. After Bucer's death, kind friends arose to provide for the interests of his widow. From the King was obtained for her a donation of one hundred marks, from the University one of a hundred crowns, her late husband's pension for half a year was paid up to Lady-day, although he died rather before that time, and an allowance was made for sums expended by him in repairs of his house. His books and papers were valued at one hundred pounds. The manuscripts were sold to the King; to the Duchess of Somerset were transferred most of the printed books, and the remainder of them became the property of Cranmer. For his portion, the Archbishop paid forty pounds; but for the remaining two portions, the widow obtained only another forty. A passage, however, to the continent was provided for her and her household, and on reaching Strasburg, where she fixed her

[p] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 264.

habitation, she found herself possessed of two hundred and twenty-six pounds; a remuneration for her husband's services with which she seems to have been perfectly satisfied[q]. Considering, indeed, the shortness of Bucer's residence at Cambridge, and the value of money in his age, his family had no reason, on the whole, to complain, that England had proved illiberal.

Martyr's opinions upon the Liturgy coincided in all respects with those of his friend Bucer. He besides excepted against the rubric enjoining a portion of the consecrated elements to be reserved for the use of any sick persons to whom the Sacrament was to be administered on the day in which that ceremony had been performed at church. The words, he said, rather concerned the recipients than the bread and wine; hence, every thing deemed essential to the service ought to be repeated in the presence of all who are preparing to communicate. He did not even think it necessary, that the words of consecration should ever be uttered twice, on any one occasion; and he, therefore, objected to the direction for pronouncing these words again in case the wine originally consecrated should be found insufficient[r].

When, at length, the reviewed book of Common Prayer appeared, it was found, that most of the alterations suggested by the learned foreigners had been adopted. The service, indeed, was freed from such usages as appeared to many

[q] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 358. [r] Martyr Bucero, *ut supra.*

Christians unnecessarily savouring of Romanism, and it was reduced very nearly to the form in which it has reached our own age. The general confession and absolution were added at the beginnings of both the morning and the evening services. At the opening of the Communion-office[s] were placed the Ten Commandments; a judicious addition to the service which appears to have escaped the compilers of every liturgy but our own[t]. In confirmation, the use of oil, and the sign of the cross were to be laid aside. In visiting the sick, an option was no longer allowed as to the employment of extreme unction. Prayers for the dead were wholly omitted, as were also some passages provided for the consecration of the Eucharist, and the introits, or introductory psalms, in that service. A rubric was added explanatory of the kneeling required of those who receive the Lord's Supper. This posture was said to be enjoined to shew the communicant's humility, not as a mark of adoration to Christ, as if corporally present: "for the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, (for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful

[s] "In Edward's first book, 1549, this office is styled, *The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion commonly called the Mass.* At the review of this book in 1552, the words, *commonly called the Mass*, were expunged, and the title thrown into the form in which it still remains; *The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion.*" Shepherd, 146.

[t] Ibid. 167.

Christians;) and the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body, to be at one time in more places than in one[u]." All appearance of a leaning towards transubstantiation was avoided also by substituting the latter clauses as they now stand in the officiating minister's address to each communicant, for the former clauses, which alone were enjoined in the first service-book[x]. The use of

[u] "Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession, this was laid aside. For it being the Queen's design to unite the nation as much as she could in one faith; it was therefore recommended to the divines, to see, that there should be no definition made against the corporal presence, but that it should remain as a speculative opinion not determined, but in which every one might be left to the freedom of his own mind. And being thus left out, it appears no more in any of our Common Prayers till the last review, (in 1661,) at which time, it was again added, with some little amendment of the expression, and transposal of the sentences." Wheatly, 329.

[x] "As for the words of administration; the first part of them, *viz. The body* or *The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ*, was the only form used in St. Ambrose's time, at the delivery of the bread and wine; to which the receivers answered *Amen*, both to express their desire that it might be Christ's body and blood unto them, and their firm belief that it was so. The next words, *Preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life*, were added by St. Gregory; and these with the former were all that were to be used at the delivery of the elements, during the first Common Prayer book of King Edward VI. But these words, I suppose, being thought at that time to savour too much of the real presence in the Sacrament, which was a doctrine that then was thought to imply too much of transubstantiation to be believed; they were, therefore, left out of the second book, and the following words prescribed in the room of them, *Take and eat this*, &c.

circular wafers was likewise interdicted, and the sacramental bread was merely to be the same, that is ordinarily seen at table, but it was to be made "of the best and purest wheat that conveniently may be gotten." In baptism, besides the unction, were omitted the sign of a cross upon the child's breast, the exorcism, the chrisom, the two last interrogatories[y], and the trine immersion[z]. In the matrimonial office, was omitted the delivery of gold or silver, as tokens of spousage; in that for the churching of women, the individual's offering of her chrisom; in those for the sick, all mention of private confessions[a], and of

or *Drink this*, &c. as in the latter part of our present forms. But these, on the other side, reducing the Sacrament to a bare eating and drinking in remembrance of the death and passion of our Lord; they were in a little time as much disliked as the former. And therefore, upon Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, whose design and endeavour was to unite the nation as much as she could in one doctrine and faith, both these forms were enjoined to be used, as we have them still, to please both parties." Ibid. 312.

[y] "Q. What is thy desire? A. Baptism. Q. Wilt thou be baptised? A. I will." L'Estrange. 219.

[z] "Then shall the priest take the child in his hands, and ask his name; and naming the child, shall dip it in the water thrice; first dipping the right side, secondly the left side, the third time dipping the face toward the font; so it be discreetly and warily done." Ibid. 220.

[a] The rubric in King's Edward's first book, enjoining ministers to recommend confession in cases where they find a sick person oppressed by the consciousness of some specific iniquity, and to absolve such person, if anxious for that satisfaction, thus concludes: "And the same form of absolution shall be used in all private confessions."

reserving portions of the sacramental elements for such persons, incapable of attending at church, as might desire to communicate on days in which the Eucharist should be publickly administered.

These alterations were made after most mature deliberation, the new book not being ready for use until more than twelve months had elapsed from the time in which preparations were first made for reviewing it. To the sound discretion exercised by King Edward's liturgical commissioners, posterity has done ample justice. Objections, indeed, were long urged against their labours, but the censures were never fairly brought to a hearing without rendering it undeniable, that England is provided with a collection of devotional offices, able to defy the hostile criticism of any candid and competent enquirer. By the religious world in general, accordingly, has it been long acknowledged, that our Reformers compiled a system of public worship eminently agreeable to God's Word, and adapted to the wants of men. The Romanist of information is compelled to admit, that our Liturgy comprises the best parts of his own, translated into the vernacular tongue; and that such portions of our service, as are not found in authorised papal books of devotion, are either taken from the Sacred Volume, or are closely conformable to its language and sense. The Protestant embued with sound and rational piety observes with satisfaction, that this admirable service inculcates, in all its parts, the neces-

sity of Divine grace, while it avoids all enthusiastic language. Thus it has happened, that men thinking differently upon abstract theological questions, and far from similar in the fervour of their religious profession, have agreed in pointing to the English Liturgy as a volume of devotion, exactly suited to their peculiar views.

In the early part of this year were brought to a close the proceedings against Bishop Gardiner. The commissioners entrusted with the management of this affair, after twenty-two sessions [b], agreed on the 14th of February to deprive the prisoner of his bishopric. He laboured earnestly to impress all around him, during these protracted formalities, that he was persecuted for his adherence to transubstantiation, and that he was particularly odious to Cranmer on account of having attacked that prelate's work upon the Eucharist [c]. The true reason, however, of the decisive steps taken against Gardiner, appears to have been his own importunity [d]. He had, pro-

[b] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 322.

[c] Gard. agt. Cranm. 2. Gardiner assigns as a reason for his appearance in this controversy, that Cranmer, in his book, had mentioned him by name.

[d] "And as concerning the cause wherefore ye were called before the commissioners, whereas *by your own importune suit and procurement and as it were enforcing the matter*, you were called to justice for your manifest contempt, and continual disobedience from time to time, or rather rebellion against the King's Majesty, and were justly deprived of your estate for the same; you would now turn it to a matter of the Sacrament, that the world should think your trouble rose for your faith in the Sacrament,

bably, confided, that his wariness of conduct, practised acuteness and extensive acquaintance with law would impose insurmountable difficulties in the way of his deprivation. Hence he was urgent for an opportunity of bringing his case to a public hearing. When at length he found, that sentence was about to be pronounced against him, he solemnly appealed from the commissioners to the King, upon the following grounds; that his judges were not impartial, Cranmer having been present at the council-board when he was committed to the Tower, others of them having advised that measure; that the Archbishop, together with the bishops of London and Lincoln had, contrary to the canons, maintained heretical doctrines respecting the Sacrament, and were prejudiced against him, because he had opposed their errors; and that Petre, having formerly pronounced a sentence of sequestration against him, was now, by taking part in the ulterior proceedings, a judge in his own cause[e]. To this appeal no attention being paid, the sentence was read, adjudging the prisoner to "be deprived and removed from the bishopric of Winchester, and from all its rights, authority, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances[f]." The following are the grounds alleged for this decision: "We do evidently find

which was no matter nor occasion thereof, nor no such matter was objected against you." Cranm. agt. Gard. 2.

[e] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 322.

[f] Sentence of deprivation against the Bishop of Winchester. Foxe. 1237.

and perceive, that you Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, have not only transgressed the commandments mentioned," (in papers tendered as evidence) "but also have of long time, notwithstanding many admonitions and commandments given unto you to the contrary, remained a person most grudging, speaking, and repugning against the godly reformations of abuses in religion, set forth by the King's Highness' authority, within this his realm; and forasmuch as we do also find you a notable, open and contemptuous disobeyer of sundry godly and just commandments given unto you by our said sovereign lord, and by his authority, in divers great and weighty causes touching and concerning his princely office, the state and common quietness of this his realm; and forasmuch as you have, and yet do contemptuously refuse to recognise your notorious negligences and misbehaviours, contempts and disobediences, remaining still, after a great number of several admonitions, always more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendment, contrary both to your oath, sworn obedience, promise, and also your bounden duty of allegiance [g]." Gardiner, having heard this instrument read, again appealed to the King, "instantly, more instantly, most instantly," repeating his former exceptions,

[g] Ibid. The individuals awarding this sentence were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops Ridley, Goodrich, and Holbeach, Mr. Secretary Petre, Mr. Justice Hales, of the Common Pleas, Leyson and Oliver, two civilians, and Goodrich and Gosnold, two masters in chancery.

alleging that the punishment awarded was excessive, and that the sentence was unjust, and of no effect in law [h]. On the following day, this appeal was taken into consideration at the council-board, and unanimously rejected, especial notice being taken of an indecency committed by the prisoner in reviling his judges under the names of heretics, and sacramentaries. It was then ordered, that he should be removed to an inferior lodging, that his attendants should exclusively be chosen by the lieutenant of the Tower, that his books and papers should be taken from him and examined, that he should be refused all materials for writing, and that access to him should be denied [i]. Whatever may be thought of these severities, it does not appear, that the government was to blame for Gardiner's deprivation. He had consented to hold his bishopric during the royal pleasure, and had received his dismissal from that appointment upon very sufficient grounds. Unless, indeed, the ministry had been willing to pursue a new line of ecclesiastical policy, such a prelate as Bishop Gardiner could hardly be allowed free enjoyment of wealth and station. In his room

[h] Foxe, *ut supra.*

[i] Proceedings of Privy Council, 29. The last clauses in this order are thus expressed: "That from henceforth he have neither pen, ink, nor paper to write his determinable purposes, but be sequestered from all conference, and from all means that may serve him to practise any way." The real ground of Gardiner's rigorous confinement appears, therefore, to have been an anxiety to prevent him from giving secret advice to his partizans without.

was translated from Rochester Dr. John Poynet, an eminent divine, of scriptural principles, who died in exile, at an early age, during the reign of Queen Mary. The new Bishop of Winchester was not, however, placed in the situation which had been occupied by his predecessor. He received an annual pension of two thousand marks payable from the ample estates attached to his see [k], and he consented to alienate much valuable property as a provision for persons of influence about the court [l]. It is undeniable, that in this case a portion might well be spared from the revenues of the preferment bestowed; but it is most discreditable to the memory of King Edward's successive administrations, that the members of them so constantly used ecclesiastical vacancies as opportunities of providing for themselves, and their friends. This disgraceful rapacity has given a plausible colour to Romish objections against the Reformation, and unquestionably it casts a shade of suspicion over the motives of many laymen who promoted that important event.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the King's attention was ever earnestly fixed upon the religious affairs of his reign. At his time of life the human mind usually recoils from graver subjects, but Edward had learned to view them with the liveliest interest. In his excellent instructors, undoubtedly, must be sought the origin of habits

[k] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 266. [l] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 101.

thus ungenial to the ordinary tastes of early youth. But had not the royal boy possessed a degree of docility joined to a love of seriousness and reflection far from general among the subjects of education, Cox and Cheke might have vainly striven to warm his affections with that ardent zeal for religious truth which embalms his memory. Having, however, a pupil admirably fitted for profiting by their instructions, these able scholars were enabled to store his mind with theological information. Hence the youthful sovereign became thoroughly acquainted with the leading points at issue between the Church of Rome, and her opponents. His mind, in consequence, imbibed an invincible aversion for the Communion-service, as used among modern Romanists, under the name of the mass. He doubted not, that this service is at variance with God's recorded Word, and he, therefore, felt anxious for its utter extirpation from the kingdom entrusted to his governance [m].

[m] It should be recollected, in justice to Edward's tutors, that in the body of the mass human merit is asserted, that all Romish divines interpret certain passages in it as assigning to it the character of a propitiatory sacrifice, analogous to that of the cross, and that the rubrics enjoin the worship of the consecrated elements. It is not denied, that this adoration is idolatrous, if Christ be not, according to Romish assertions, personally present. The Trentine catechism, indeed, being drawn up with eminent caution, makes not this admission directly. But it refers the worship of the bread and wine solely to a belief in transubstantiation. "*Hoc sacramentum adorandum esse, nimirum corpus et sanguinem Domini intelligentes, affirmamus:* (Catech.

To this office, his elder sister, the Lady Mary, remained firmly attached, and among other grounds for continuing it in her house, she alleged a promise made to her cousin, the Emperor, that she should be thus indulged. Nor was Charles backward in confirming this allegation; although in fact, he seems to have succeeded in obtaining nothing beyond an understanding, that his English relative should not be molested for a time, if

ad Par. 188.) Bishop Fisher, however, as usual, speaks out, and plainly confesses, that if the corporal presence be not certain, it is idolatrous to adore the elements. Upon this admission, he builds the following fallacy: the whole Church has adored the sacramental elements during fifteen hundred years; how can such a fact consist with our Saviour's promises of being with his disciples until the end of time, and of bringing all his sayings to the remembrance of his apostles? In the venerable polemic's days, it may be observed, the Eucharistic history had not been unravelled, and the claims of Christians, at enmity with the Papacy, to be considered as the Church inheriting our Saviour's promises, had not been sufficiently elucidated. The following are Fisher's words: "*Nulli dubium esse potest, si nihil in Eucharistia præter panem sit, quin tota Ecclesia jam per XV. annos centenarios, idololatra fuerit, ac proinde quotquot ante nos hoc sacramentum adoraverunt, omnes ad unum esse damnatos. Nam creaturam panis adoraverint Creatoris loco. At istud qui stare potest cum pollicitatione Christi, qui se futurum nobiscum asseruit omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi, quique missurum Spiritum veritatis se recepit, qui suggereret nobis omnia, quæcunque pridem ipse nobis tradidisset? Quomodo verum est, quod Spiritus iste nobis omnem veritatem aperuisset, si nos errore tam pernicioso, et tanto tempore, passus fuisset hallucinari? Aut qui potest integrum esse, quod Christus hoc tempore nobiscum fuit, si miserandam istam cæcitatem a cordibus nostris non effugasset?*" Roffens: contra Œcolamp. Op. 760. Wirceburg. 1597.

the Romish mass were privately celebrated in her own immediate presence. The terms of this compromise, it was discovered, towards the close of the last year, had been violated by Dr. Mallet [n], and another of her chaplains; the former having said mass at New Hall, a house of hers in Essex, when she was absent from it; Barkley, the other chaplain, having done this, confiding in his mistress's protection, at his own vicarage of Badow. Orders being given in council to proceed against Mallet and his friend for these illegal acts, the former absconded, but he was apprehended after a time, and near the end of May committed to the Tower; about the same time, Barkley was pardoned, after an imprisonment of some months. While her chaplain continued in concealment, the Princess was urgent in his behalf, and finding her own influence of little weight, she appealed to the imperial court. Meanwhile attempts to wean her from the prejudices rooted in her breast were made again. A long letter from the council composed, in all probability, by some distinguished ecclesiastic, acquainted her with the comparative novelty of such principles and usages as are peculiar to Romanism, with their utter want of scriptural authority, and with the shameful impostures, which, passing as miracles, had obtained currency

n "By her letter" (that of the Princess,) "it appears, that Mallet used to be sometimes at his benefice, where it is certain he could officiate in no way but in that prescribed by law; so it seems, his conscience was not very scrupulous." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 278.

for these innovations. But Mary had resolutely determined to read nothing adverse to her own prepossessions [o], and therefore every endeavour to enlighten her mind upon religious questions necessarily proved abortive. On the 18th of March, she was called before the King in council, at Westminster, and being told, that connivance hitherto had flowed from an expectation of seeing her ultimately rise above the prejudices in which she had been educated, it was intimated, that she must immediately relinquish her illegal form of worship. In reply, she thus addressed the King; "My soul is God's, my faith I will not change, my opinion I will not dissemble [p]. I therefore desire your Highness rather to take my life, than to restrain me from hearing mass [q]." Edward mildly answered [r], that he desired not to constrain her faith, but that as a subject obedience was her duty, and that her inconformity was injurious in the way of example [s]. On the following day, the imperial minister announced his instructions to declare war, on his master's part, if liberty of conscience should be denied to the Princess. This menace set the question temporarily to rest, for it was in the power of Charles to inflict upon England considerable commercial injuries. The

[o] "As for their books, as she thanked God she never had, so she never would read them." Ibid. 282.

[p] King Edward's Journal. Ibid. Records, 33.

[q] The Lady Mary to the King. Proceedings of Privy Council, 35.

[r] Ibid.

[s] King Edward's Journal, *ut supra*.

council, accordingly, determined at once, that it would be prudent to connive, for some time longer, at Mary's obstinate adherence to the mass. But her brother appears to have been far from easy to convince, that he ought to be guided in such a case by the mere consideration of expediency. Cranmer, at length, with the Bishops Ridley and Poynet overcame his repugnance by representing, that if he consented to grant a licence for acts which he considered sinful, his own conduct would bear that character, but that under particular circumstances, he might excusably connive at things which he could not expressly sanction; only providing at the same time for the early discontinuance of such exceptionable courses [t].

Towards the end of summer, this matter was agitated again; it having been found, most probably, that the Princess's example encouraged others to continue the mass [u]. Her case, indeed, altogether tended to keep alive religious animosities, for suspicions had been entertained, far from groundlessly, that she was meditating a

[t] "March 20. The Bishops of Canterbury, London, Rochester, did consider to give licence to sin, was sin; to suffer and wink at it for a time, might be borne; so all haste possible might be used." King Edward's Journal, *ut supra*.

[u] It appears from King Edward's Journal, under the date of March 23, that some of the royal household had not laid aside the mass. (P. 34.) From the same, under the date of June 24, (p. 40.) it is also evident, that there were "other mass-sayers, and breakers of the order," besides those in the Lady Mary's establishment.

clandestine flight to the continent [x]. Against the realising of such a design, it was deemed advisable to take precautions; nothing being more obvious, than that, if she should succeed in escaping from the kingdom, a great load of odium would fall upon the government. Not contended, however, with blighting her hopes of a passage to the Flemish coast, Edward's administration determined upon enforcing her obedience to the laws of her own country. Four and twenty members of the privy council assembled, accordingly, at Richmond, on the 9th of August, despatched letters to Rochester, Inglefield, and Waldgrave, three of the Princess's chief officers, desiring their attendance, on the 13th of the same month [y]. This order being disobeyed by the gentlemen to whom it was addressed, another summons was immediately transmitted to them [z], which brought them to Hampton Court, on the following day. The council then strictly commanded them to

[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 277.

[y] The following are the alleged grounds of this determination. "The Lords did call to consideration how many and sundry ways the King's Majesty hath travailed with his Highness's sister, the Lady Mary, to have reduced her to conformity of religion, and divine service, established by his Majesty's laws and acts of Parliament. *And considering also, that the long suffering of her and her family to do, as they have done sithence, the making of the said statute, hath been, and yet is a great occasion of diversity of opinions, strife, and controversy in this realm:* and remembring withal how much the King's Majesty's honour might be touched if this matter were not provided for." Proceedings of Privy Council, 31.

[z] King Edward's Journal, 46.

call her chaplains and other members of her establishment into their presence, when returned to the Princess's residence, and to inhibit the former from saying, the latter from hearing mass, for the future. Rochester strove hard to be excused from undertaking this commission, assuring the board, that both he, and his brother officers would undoubtedly be dismissed if they should venture upon a step so displeasing to their mistress. He was answered, that unless he should fulfil the injunction given to him, he would be treated as one who had violated his allegiance, and if he, with the other gentlemen, should be cashiered for their conduct in this affair, they were to remain, notwithstanding, in the Princess's house, and to take care that her chaplains obeyed the law [a]. Mary was then residing at Copt Hall, near Epping, in Essex, a mansion lately belonging to the neighbouring monastery of Waltham, and used by its abbots for occasional retirement. When the gentlemen arrived at this place, on the day after that in which they had appeared before the council, it was evening, a time esteemed improper for acquainting their mistress with their unwelcome intelligence. The following day was Sunday, and the Princess attended mass, or in the language then appearing best adapted for current use, she received the Sacrament [b]. After dinner the three officers delivered

[a] Proceedings of Privy Council, 33.

[b] "The Sunday following, being the 16th of this present, because they understood, that her Grace received the Sacra-

to her the letters entrusted to their charge, and when she had read them, they offered to state verbally the instructions given to themselves. But it was not immediately that she would allow them to do this, and when at length she was prevailed upon to hear them, the blood often mounted into her face, and her whole deportment evidenced strong internal agitation. Their account being concluded, the Princess appeared to be violently offended with them; ordered them on no account to deliver their message to her chaplains or other dependents; and declared, that if they should choose to disobey her in this, they must quit her house and service. The gentlemen, hearing this peremptory language, and fearing, or affecting to fear, that by persisting in the execution of their mission, they should injure their mistress's health, which was far from strong, abstained from addressing the household, according to their orders. They made, however, at the end of a few days, another unsuccessful attempt to shake her determination, and then returned to the council with a letter from the Princess to Edward himself, and with an account of their failure[c]. By the council they were reprimanded for acquainting Mary with the particulars of their mission, before they had given the prescribed inhibition to her household, and they were then or-

ment, for so they termed it, they did abstain to deliver their letters before noon; considering that the same would trouble and disquiet her." Ibid.

[c] Ibid. 35.

dered to return separately, and each of them to address the establishment at Copt Hall in the terms enjoined to them upon the former occasion. They all, however, now refused obedience. Rochester and Waldgrave declared, that they would rather suffer any punishment than undertake such a commission. Sir Francis Inglefield said, that neither his heart nor his conscience would allow him to do as he was desired. On this, the three gentlemen were enjoined to continue in attendance upon the council until it should be decided how to act in their case; and the Lord Chancellor Rich, Mr. Secretary Petre, and Sir Anthony Wingfield, comptroller of the royal household, were ordered to wait upon the Lady Mary, at Copt Hall. These distinguished individuals proceeded to that mansion on the 28th of the month, bearing a kind and pious letter to his sister from the King [d]. This being tendered to the Princess by the Chancellor, she received it on her knees,

[d] "Right dear, and right entirely beloved sister, we greet you well, and let you know, that it grieveth us much to perceive no amendment in you of that which we, for God's cause, your soul's health, and the common tranquillity of our realm, have so long desired: assuring you, that our sufferance hath been much more demonstration of natural love, than contentation of our conscience and foresight of our safety. Wherefore, although you give us occasion, as much almost as in you is, to diminish our natural love, yet we be loth to feel it decay, and meant not to be so careless of you as we be provoked; and therefore, meaning your weal, and therewith joining a care not to be found in our conscience to God, having cause to require forgiveness, that we have so long for respect of love towards you omitted our bounden duty, we do send at this present," &c. Ibid. 37.

and kissing it, said, "I treat this communication thus respectfully because it bears his Majesty's signature. Otherwise, I should use no such ceremony, for the matter, I take it, comes from you of the council; not from my brother." While reading the letter, which she did to herself, she sarcastically said once aloud, "Ah! good Mr. Cecil[e] took much pains here." When she had finished reading, the Chancellor began to speak. "Pray, my Lord," she said, "be short; for I am not well at ease; and I will make you a short answer; although I have already declared my mind plainly to his Majesty, with my own hand." Rich then detailed the results of some late deliberations in council upon her case, and was about to mention the names of those members who were present at the board, when she thus interrupted him: "Oh, I care not for any rehearsal of your names, for I know you be all of a sort." When he had concluded his relation, she said, "I protest, that I am, and ever will be, his Majesty's most humble, and most obedient servant, and poor sister; and I would most willingly obey all his commandments in any thing, my conscience saved, yea, and I would willingly and gladly suffer death to do his Majesty good. But rather than agree to use any other service than was used at the death of the late King, my father, I will lay my head

[e] "He was then secretary of state in Dr. Wotton's room." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 279.) Cecil might, indeed, have written the letter, and partly composed it, but it also bears strong internal marks of the King's own dictation.

upon a block, and suffer death. I am not, however, worthy to suffer death in so good a quarrel. When the King's Majesty shall come to such years as may enable him to judge of these things by himself, he will find me ready to obey his orders in religion. At his present age, although, good sweet King, he has more knowledge than any of his years, he cannot be a judge of such matters. If ships were to be sent to sea, or any other thing to be done touching the policy and government of the realm, you would not think his Highness able to consider what might be best to be done. Much less then, is he now competent to discern what is fit in matters of divinity. As for my chaplains, if they say no mass, I can hear none, nor can my poor servants. But I know that this would be sorely against the wills of my servants, as it would be against mine; for if they would come where it is said, they would hear it with a good will. My priests know what they have to do. The pain of your laws is but imprisonment for a short time[f], and if they shall refuse to say mass for fear of that imprisonment,

[f] Not, therefore, at all upon a par with the penalties awarded under the Act of Six Articles, against those who opposed the Romish mass. It may be said, perhaps, that the framers of that statute, however mistaken, were honestly persuaded, that in disparaging their most important service, a grievous profanation is incurred. Their opponents consider the mass a grievous profanation. They have Scripture, not unwritten tradition, for believing that the worship of visible substances is idolatry, and that the notion of offering up Christ in the mass injuriously misrepresents the sacrifice of Calvary.

they may do therein as they will. None, however, of your new service shall be used in my house, and if any be said there against my will, I shall no longer tarry in the house." A relation was then made to the Princess, of the orders given to her three officers, which was ended by some observations upon the disobedience shewn by these gentlemen to the council. "That council," she then said, "can be none of the wisest which appoints my servants to controul me in my own house. Of such an attempt, however, the people around me know my mind well enough. Of all mankind, I may worst endure to be moved in matters of conscience by those of my own household. You may, therefore, my Lords, for the punishment of these officers, use them as ye think fit. But I must say, that in their late refusal, they have shewn themselves the honester men; for if they had undertaken to deliver your message, they must have spoken against their own consciences." A conversation ensued upon the promise alleged to have been given to the Emperor in her behalf. This she asserted had been once made to her personally, the King and seven members of the council being present at the time. "And though," she added, "you esteem little the Emperor, yet should you shew more favour to me for my father's sake, who made the more part of you, almost of nothing. But as for the Emperor, if he were dead, I would speak as I do. If he were now to give me other advice, I would not follow it. Notwithstanding, to

be plain with you, his ambassador shall know how I am used at your hands[g]." The Princess was then informed, that a comptroller of her household would be sent down in the room of Rochester, who had recently filled that office. Her answer was: "I shall appoint my own officers. I am old enough for that purpose; and if you leave any such man here, I shall immediately go out of my gates; for he and I shall not dwell together in one house. I am sickly, it is true, but I shall not die willingly. I shall do the best I can to preserve my life. If, however, death should overtake me, I will protest openly, that you of the council have brought it upon me. You give me fair words, but your deeds are always ill towards me." She then abruptly left the room, but soon after returning, she knelt, and gave a

[g] Charles's own notions of religious toleration, or at least his practice respecting it, will be best shewn by the following extract. "Richmond, August 9, 1551. And because it appeared by letters from his Majesty's ambassador with the Emperor, that the said Emperor hath required to have his ambassador permitted to use in his house the mass, and other divine services here, after the Popish manner, *and refuseth expressly to suffer the King's Majesty's ambassadors to use in their houses within his dominions the Communion, and other divine service, according to the laws of this realm*, their Lordships thinking that this inequality, if it be suffered, should much touch his Majesty's honour, have therefore agreed eftsoons to write to the King's Majesty's ambassador herein declaring the unreasonableness of this answer: and that the King's Majesty cannot permit the said Emperor's ambassador to use their manner of service, unless the King's Majesty's ambassador may have the like permission to use our service there." Proceedings of Privy Council, 32.

ring into the Lord Chancellor's hands. "I pray you, my Lord," she said, "deliver this to his Majesty, with my humble service. Tell him that I shall die his true subject and sister, and that I shall obey his commandments in all things, except in these matters of religion, touching the mass, and the new service." She then again left the room, having first said, "This message of mine will never reach his Majesty's ears." On her departure, orders were given to the chaplains, and to the rest of the household, that in future no service, except that allowed by law, should be used. After some demur, the clergymen promised obedience, and the unwelcome visitors left the apartments. They did not, however, immediately quit the premises, for one of the chaplains was absent when the charge was given to his brethren, and it was thought desirable to wait a while for him[h]. During this delay, it was told the ministers, that her Grace would speak one word with them at a window. They offered instantly to return, but that was declined, and they were conducted to a spot in the court. Mary then putting her head out of window, thus addressed them, "Pray speak to my Lords of the council, that my comptroller may shortly return. For since his departure, I have been obliged to keep my own accounts, and have learnt how many loaves of bread are made from a bushel of wheat. But I fancy, my father and mother never brought me up to

[h] It does not appear, whether this chaplain was met with before the ministers left Copt Hall.

baking and brewing. And to be plain with you, I am weary of mine office, and therefore if my Lords will send mine officer home, they shall do me pleasure; otherwise, if they will send him to prison, I beshrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good will. And I pray God to send you to do well in your souls, and in your bodies too, for some of you have but weak bodies[i]."

The mixture of dignified firmness and rude petulance, exhibited by the Lady Mary upon this occasion, illustrates both her own character, and the manners of her age. Nor are her observations unimportant, on account of the light which they cast upon prevailing sentiments in politics and religion. It is worthy of remark, that she

[i] Proceedings of Privy Council, 38. From the 23d to the 29th of August, Rochester, Inglefield, and Waldgrave appear to have been imprisoned in the Fleet. On the latter of those days, warrants were issued for their committal to the Tower: where they were to be confined separately, refused materials for writing, and allowed the attendance of a single servant each, who was to be secluded from all intercourse with any one but his own master. (Ibid. 43.) "Sept. 27. Waldgrave being sick in the Tower, his wife had leave to repair to him for his relief, and to provide for the recovery of his health. And Oct. 24, it was ordered, that he should be removed out of the Tower by the Lieutenant to some honest house, where he might be better looked to, for the curing of his quartan ague: remaining still as a prisoner, and to be forthcoming whensoever he should be called for. March 18, Rochester, Waldgrave, and Inglefield had leave to go out of the Tower for their health's sake to their own homes; and April 24, 1552, they were set at liberty, and had leave to repair to the Lady Mary, at her request." Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 458.

does not even hint at any incompetence on the part of the crown to regulate ecclesiastical affairs. She merely gives encouragement to the pretence then bandied about among the disaffected, that religion ought to be left as it was on the late King's demise, until the reigning sovereign should attain an age of maturity. From such a principle must, indeed, eventually follow the necessity of disjoining the ecclesiastical supremacy from the civil. For religious questions are liable to require especial interference during a minority, as well as political ones. Of this truth Edward's reign affords an obvious instance. When King Henry died, the most active spirits, and many of the ablest heads in England, were bent upon rooting out from the land every remnant of the papal system. To restrain this mass of energy and virtuous intelligence from keeping up a constant ferment in the public mind, would have been found impossible, unless by continuing in force the infamous act of Six Articles. In these days no man of acknowledged understanding would openly declare his approbation of such a statute. There are, however, those who loudly and justly condemn the intolerance of Edward's administration. For this, indeed, no apology can be offered, except by pleading the force of inveterate habit. Hitherto dissenters from the established religion had been consigned to the flames; they were now treated as civil offenders. An unrestrained enjoyment of religious liberty was a privilege, upon which the public mind had during

several ages never dwelt. So violent a transition from long established maxims of polity was not, therefore, suddenly to be expected. The Reformers, however, in their intolerance were not only much more merciful than their Romish predecessors, but they were also much more reasonable. The principles to which they demanded conformity, being all fairly deducible from a Record of acknowledged authenticity, were equal to the satisfaction of any candid and impartial enquirer. Whereas the doctrines, to which fire and faggot had been used to lend protection, were unsupported by any thing approaching certainty. If it be disbelieved, that upon St. Peter were conferred the extraordinary privileges attributed to him, that such have descended upon the Popes, that articles of faith were entrusted by the Apostles to mere recollection, and that this important traditionary deposit is vested in the Roman Church; things, indeed, all asserted positively, but no one of them resting upon the semblance even of a proof; then the whole fabric of Popery falls at once.

Of the resolutions ultimately formed upon the Lady Mary's inconformity, we have no knowledge. An application made, early in September, for the release of her officers, by the imperial ambassador, was disregarded, because unathorised by his court[k]. That the Princess, however, at length admitted the new service is by no means probable;

[k] King Edward's Journal. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 48.

but we hear no more of her until early in the autumn of 1552. Bishop Ridley then, in his way from Cambridge, stopped at Hadham, in Hertfordshire, where at that time stood a mansion belonging to the see of London. At Hunsdon, within about two miles of that place, was then residing the Lady Mary. The Prelate paid her a visit there, and was very courteously received. After some ordinary conversation, he was invited to dine with her principal attendants, and his meal being concluded, he was again introduced into her presence. He then took an opportunity of saying, that he had not only come to pay her Grace a visit of dutiful civility, his intention also was to preach before her on the following Sunday, if she would graciously permit him. On this her countenance immediately fell, and after an interval of silence, she said, "As for that matter, I pray you, my Lord, make answer to it yourself." The Bishop replied, that his office and duty required the offer of him. "I can only repeat," added Mary, "your Lordship is able to resolve the question put to me. You surely know my mind therein. If, however, some answer to your proposal must come from me, I can only say, that should you visit Hunsdon on Sunday next, the pulpit of the parish-church will of course be at your service. There you may preach, if you please: but I will not come to hear you, nor shall any of my servants." Ridley then said, "Madam, I trust your Grace will not refuse God's Word." The Princess rejoined, "I cannot tell what you

call God's Word: that which passed as such in my father's time, and that which is now so termed, are different things." She was answered, "God's Word is the same at all times, but in some periods it has been understood and practised better than in others." On hearing this, the Princess angrily said, "You durst not for your ears have avouched, in my father's days, for God's Word, that which you now set forth as such." This incivility was followed by many passionate reflections upon recent ecclesiastical reforms, and by a repetition of the stale pretence, that people were not bound to accept any changes in religion made during the King's minority. When at length her visitor took his leave, Mary said, "My Lord, I thank you for your civility in coming to see me; but for your offer to preach before me, I thank you not a whit." The Bishop then retired into another room, and there Sir Thomas Wharton offered him a glass of wine. This he had no sooner drunk, than he said with an air of concern, "Surely I have done amiss: I ought not to have taken any refreshment in a place where God's Word has been refused. Rather was it my duty to have departed instantly, and to have shaken off the dust from my feet, as a testimony against this house[1]."

In the autumn of this year, the cases of two incompliant prelates, confined in the Fleet, were taken into consideration at the council-board. One of these, Heath, Bishop of Worcester, had

[1] Life of Bp. Ridley, 380.

been a prisoner ever since the new ordinal was completed. He was one of the twelve appointed for the preparation of that book, and he so far concurred with his brother commissioners as to confess, that their work might be safely used in the Church. He refused, however, himself to sanction it by his signature. His fellow-prisoner was Day, Bishop of Chichester, who had never been at large since his opposition to the removal of altars. On the 22d of September, Bishop Heath was brought before the council, and informed, that if he would now consent to subscribe the ordinal, he would immediately be restored to liberty. He answered, "I admit, that my usage in prison has been gentle, more like that of a son than of a subject. I have not, however, seen, during the course of it, any reason to change my opinion as to the services which occasioned me to be placed under restraint. I cannot consent to sign the ordinal; but I am not disposed to act in opposition to it." This conduct appeared so unreasonable [m], that each of the councillors severally made an attempt to shake his determination. He proved, however, immovable, adding that he ob-

[m] "Although he was reasoned withal by every one of the said council in disponing his manner of answer that he would not subscribe it, being every thing in the said book true and good, and being devised by eleven other learned men, to the which he was joined as the twelfth, and received of the whole estate of the realm, agreeing also that he would obey it, but not subscribe it, which contained a contradiction in reason, yet he still as a man not removable from his own conceit refused to subscribe it." Proceedings of Privy Council, 43.

jected to other things as well as to the ordinal; especially to the removal of altars; a measure which could never have his consent. He was then informed, that two more days would be allowed him for reconsidering the matter, and that, if, when they were expired, he should withhold his subscription he would be deprived of his bishopric. His reply was, "I cannot find in my conscience to do as his Majesty desires, and therefore, I shall be well contented to suffer deprivation, or any other pain which it may please his Highness to lay upon me[n]." On the 28th of the month a commission was issued for the settlement of this affair, and of Bishop Day's[o]. No clergyman was named for this purpose, only three lawyers, and three civilians[p], who were empowered to give a final sentence. By these commissioners the two disobedient prelates were deprived, or more properly cashiered, within a month. After their dismissal they were again consigned to the Fleet; where they continued until the following summer. Heath was then committed to the gentle custody of Bishop Ridley, Day to that of Bishop Goodrich, and these truly estimable men were directed to use their deprived brethren, "as to Christian charity should be most seemly." The Bishops of London and Ely well understood how

[n] Proceedings of Privy Council, 43.

[o] King Edward's Journal. Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 50.

[p] *Viz.* Sir Roger Cholmondely, Lord Chief Baron, Sir Richard Read, Goodrick, Gosnold, Oliver, and Ryel. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 329.

to put a practical comment upon this kind injunction[q]. The see of Worcester was conferred in May, 1552, upon Bishop Hooper, to hold *in commendam* with Gloucester; that arrangement being calculated to place a considerable mass of ecclesiastical property within the reach of those rapacious courtiers who so much disgraced this reign by their incessant pillage of the Church. In the same month the see of Chichester was filled by the translation to it from Rochester, of Dr. John Scory[r].

An opportunity occurred in November, of enquiring, under circumstances in which men seldom fail to express the genuine conviction of their minds, into the theological opinions of Dr. John Redmayn. That eminent scholar, like his estimable relative, Bishop Tunstall, had so managed to hold the even tenour of his way through an age of keen and angry controversy, that he was highly respected by each of the religious parties which divided the nation. It was, indeed, even doubted to which of the two he properly belonged. Being overtaken by a mortal illness at his prebendal house in Westminster, some learned friends would therefore not allow his valued life to close, before they had endeavoured to ascertain his judgment upon several interesting questions yet remaining undecided in many honest minds.

[q] "So far more kindly were these Popish Bishops *dealt withal* in this reign, than the Protestant Bishops were *in the next*." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 331.

[r] Godwin. de Præsul. 470. 513.

Redmayn then felt in a manner admitting of no self-deception, that his mortal frame was sinking fast into the grave[s]. His intellectual energy, however, continued unimpaired, affording that striking proof often seen in the last hours of a temperate life, that spirit and matter are not necessarily dependent upon each other. While lingering thus at ease in mind, and unclouded in apprehension, upon the confines of that invisible region so interesting to man, Bishop Ridley and others who knew his worth resorted to the dying scholar's couch. The conversation chiefly turned upon that knowledge from above, to which Redmayn had devoted the most important portion of his earthly course. Of these interviews some particulars have been preserved. At one of them, Dr. Richard Wilkes, Master of Christ's College, in Cambridge, enquired Redmayn's opinion upon transubstantiation, and the worship of the Eucharist. His answer as to the former tenet was, "Because I found the opinion of transubstantiation received in the Church, when I heard it spoken against, I searched the ancient doctors diligently, and went about to establish it by them, because it was received. And when I had read many of them, I found little for it, and could not be satisfied. Then I went to the school-doctors,

[s] "Then I communed with him of his sickness, and the weakness of his body, and said, that though he were brought never so low, yet if it were his pleasure that raised up Lazarus, he could restore him to health again. No, no, saith he, that is past." Relation of Dr. Wilkes. Foxe, 1238.

and especially to Gabriel [t], and weighed his reasons. The which, when I had done, and perceived they were no pithier, my opinion of transubstantiation began to wax feeble. Then I returned again to Tertullian [u] and Irenæus, and when I had observed their sayings, mine opinion as to the truth of transubstantiation was wholly destroyed." His judgment upon Christ's presence in the Eucharist was, that the Saviour is truly there, and is in worthy communicants, not however with all the parts of an ordinary human body, and that the mode of receiving him is in the mind and soul by faith. When asked how he would designate the elements when elevated by a priest at mass, he simply answered, "It is the Sacra-

[t] Gabriel Biel, a famous schoolman, born either in Switzerland, or at Spires, who died about the close of the fifteenth century. It was the usage among scholastic theologians to designate some of their principal authors by the Christian name alone. Thus Lombard was familiarly known in the schools as Peter, Aquinas as Thomas, Biel as Gabriel.

[u] "In commenting upon the clause in the Lord's Prayer, *Give us this day our daily bread*, (Tertullian) says, that we should understand it *spiritually. Christ is our bread: for Christ is life, and bread is life. Christ said, I am the bread of life; and a little before, the Word of the living God which descended from heaven, that is bread. Moreover his body is supposed to be in the bread, in the words, This is my body.* It is evident from the whole tenour of the passage, that Tertullian affixed a figurative interpretation to the words, *This is my body.* In other places, he expressly calls the bread, the *representation* of the body of Christ; and the wine, of his blood." The Ecclesiastical History of the second and third Centuries illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian. By John (Kaye) Bishop of Bristol. Cambridge, 1826, p. 450.

ment." Wilkes rejoined, "But people were wont to worship that which was lifted up." Redmayn then said, "Yea, but we must worship Christ in heaven. Christ is neither lifted up, nor down."

A more detailed account of the theological opinions in which Redmayn died was given to Dr. Alexander Nowell, then master of Westminster school, ultimately Dean of St. Paul's. To this eminent scholar his dying friend affirmed himself to be persuaded, that the Roman see is a sink of iniquities; that the received notions of purgatory are erroneous [x]; that the doctrine of masses propitiatory for the dead is ungodly [y]; that wicked communi-

[x] Redmayn, however, held that opinion respecting purgatory which obtained at an early period in the Church. "He answered, that the subtle reasons of the schoolmen concerning purgatory, seemed to him to be no less vain and frivolous, than disagreeing from the truth: adding thereunto, that when we be rapt up to the clouds to meet Christ coming to judgment, with a great number of angels in all glory and majesty, then every one shall be purged with fire." (Dr. Young to Sir John Cheke. Foxe, 1240.) Of this notion, which has been thought to receive encouragement from some difficult texts of Scripture, it is sufficient to observe, that nothing can be farther than it is from the modern Romish doctrine of purgatory. Through this fire, as yet unkindled, it is assumed, will pass not only the sinful mass of men, but also those Popish saints, whose superfluous merits the Roman Bishop undertakes to retail as the means of relieving persons actually suffering purgatorial pains.

[y] This judgment only excludes the doctrine of offering propitiatory sacrifices for the dead. Redmayn, as we learn from Dr. Young's letter, approved of praying for them, and cited the book of Maccabees, as his authority. This book, he was disposed to consider as canonical, in deference to various writers: although he admitted that Jerome held a different opinion.

cants receive not the body of Christ; that our Lord's body is received not corporally, but spiritually, nevertheless, however, truly; that justification flows from faith alone, but such a faith as is productive of good works[z]; and that sacerdotal marriages are agreeable to God's law[a]. These facts are important, because they shew the conclusions to which a learned, able, and conscientious divine, nurtured in Romish prejudices and most unwilling to shake them off, was driven by a long course of professional study assiduously and honestly prosecuted. Dr. Redmayn had been engaged during more than twenty years in theological research[b]. His original object in undertaking these laborious enquiries was to confirm himself and others in the religious principles long implicitly admitted by European scholars. He lived in a time when men educated in his own prepossessions, and illustrious for professional attainments, had arisen to astonish their contemporaries by declaring, that the learned world had long laboured under a palpable delusion; the established theology being alien alike from Scripture, and from ecclesiastical antiquity. These unexpected assertions were, indeed, ordinarily met by

[z] "I lament and repent, said he, beseeching God forgiveness of the same, that too seriously and earnestly, I have withstood this proposition, *That only faith doth justify*; but I always feared, that it should be taken to the liberty of the flesh, and so should defile the innocency of life which is in Christ." Dr. Young's Letter, *ut supra*.

[a] Foxe, 1239.

[b] Dr. Young's Letter, *ut supra*.

abuse and declamation. Those who stigmatised current opinions as pernicious innovations were decried as heretics, apostates, and sensualists, As an answer to their positions, it was loudly insisted, that the Catholic Church and the Roman Church are convertible terms, and that the Roman Church has taught exactly the same doctrines even from her first foundation. But Redmayn knew, that all this indecent and senseless clamour, although sufficient for the purposes of prejudice, indolence, imbecility, interest, and ignorance, would at last fail of protecting the cause which he loved. He, therefore, applied himself to confute, in a scholarly manner, the statements to which eminent scholars had lent the sanction of their names. The result was, that he found himself obliged to admit the truth of nearly all the principles which he had reckoned upon proving false [c].

[c] Redmayn, "was from his infancy devoted to literature, which he cultivated first in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, under the first President, John Claymond, a man of singular erudition and generosity. From Oxford, Redmayn went for a time to study in Paris, and then fixed himself in St. John's College, Cambridge; coming thither so adorned with the knowledge of Cicero and the purest authors of antiquity, that Cheke, then a young man there, was fired with emulation, and in a short time, through their united pains and example, that seminary acquired the fame of being more than a match for a whole foreign university." (Archdeacon Churton's Life of Dean Nowell, 15.) Dr. Redmayn died very soon after the interesting theological conversations recorded of him; for they took place at the beginning of November, and his prebend of Westminster was conferred upon Nowell, on the 27th of that month. Ibid. 18.

Redmayn's illustrious kinsman, Bishop Tunstall, occupied himself in this year upon the composition of a treatise on the Eucharist. The venerable prelate had attained his seventy-seventh year [d], but he felt, that the religious prejudices which had remained unquestioned in superior life until he reached a middle age, were now so formidably assailed, that his services in their defence, as he had not risen above them, were urgently required. His piece is written in a style of elegant Latinity, but it wholly fails to make out any case in favour of the Romish mass. The excellent author, indeed, evidently doubted as to the wisdom displayed by the fourth Lateran council in dogmatising upon the question of transubstantiation [e]; but he considers men obliged, such a step having been solemnly taken, to receive that doctrine implicitly, because it is affirmed by the Church; a term meaning as usual among writers of his sect nothing more than the Papacy. Tunstall's principal position is taken, of course,

[d] Tunstall, de Ver. Corp. et Sang. Do. in Euch. 122.

[e] "An vero potius de modo quo id fieret curiosum quemque relinquere suæ conjecturæ, sicut liberum fuit ante illud concilium, modo veritatem corporis et sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia esse fateretur: quæ fuit ab initio ipsa Ecclesiæ fides; an fortasse melius de tribus illis modis supra memoratis, illam unam eligere, quæ cum verbis Christi maxime quadraret, et cæteros modos abjicere, ne alioqui inter nimis curiosos illius ætatis homines, finis contentionum non fuisset, quando contentioso illo sæculo linguis curiosis silentium imponi alio modo non potuit: justum existimo ut de ejusmodi, quia Ecclesia columna est veritatis, firmum ejus omnino observetur judicium." Ibid. 46.

upon our Lord's words "*This is my body.*" These, he assumes, are to be understood literally, and by way of rendering a reason for that assumption, he says, that figurative language in the Gospels, of which the meaning is not obvious, is usually explained either by Christ, or by the Evangelists. Now of our Lord's paschal words no interpretation is expressly recorded in the Gospels; a fact from which it is inferred, that no interpretation was needed, because the words were to be taken literally[f]. After this example, of leaping to conclusions, so little to be expected from a mind trained amidst the exact sciences, the au-

[f] "Si Joannes in illis verbis, *Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur, hic est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis funditur;* quæ ab aliis Evangelistis scripta comperit, subesse tropum aliquem putasset, id plane explicuisset; quod tamen non fecit. Quandoquidem verba Christi, non sub figura, sed germano sensu, non modo ad interiorem hominem pascendum, sed etiam ad exteriorem prolata existimavit." (Ibid. 13.) The Bishop proceeds to cite from St. John, that discourse of our Lord's which is recorded in the sixth chapter, and which supplies the very information which, he says, is to be expected in case that the paschal words of Jesus are figurative. Christ there says, that the believers on him are those who feed upon him, that such as thus feed will attain everlasting life, and that this principle of eternal vitality is purely spiritual. (St. John vi. 47, 48. 63.) As for the necessity of explaining the paschal words to the Apostles, it did not exist, because the Apostles were Jews, bred up from infancy to look for a spiritual meaning in the passover. Any detailed exposition of his meaning was, therefore, wholly superfluous, on our Lord's part, in his institution of the Eucharistic feast: especially as his object had been rendered intelligible in a former conversation, perhaps in many conversations, and as the Holy Spirit was to recal every thing needful to the recollection of the Apostles.

thor's management in other particulars will appear the less surprising. It was commonly said, that transubstantiation overthrows the nature of a sacrament, which is a type of some holy thing. This objection, the Bishop of Durham informs his readers, is considered insurmountable by persons whom he designates "illiterate and stupid, ignorant of the truth[g]." His own mode of refuting it is the following: "A sign and the thing signified, though sometimes different from each other, may be, and often are, the same thing. Thus loaves in the window of a baker's shop, or mercery goods in that of a mercer's, are both signs, that such articles are upon sale within: they are also the articles themselves[h]." Another argument of the Swiss divines was drawn from our Lord's words, "Now I am no more in the world[i]." This declaration was interpreted as expressing, that after the ascension, Christ's human body would be withdrawn from the earth. Tunstall, however, stigmatises that explanation as flowing from the impudent rashness of man, or

[g] "Homines illiterati, et idiotæ, veritatis ignari." Ibid. 16.

[h] "Nam sicut signum, et res ipsa, aliquando possunt esse diversa, ita sæpenumero, et in multis possunt eadem esse, sed respectu diverso: veluti exempli gratia. Panis in signum in fenestra pistoris prostans, et signum est ibi haberi panum copiam, et ipse panis prostans esui est aptus. Similiter pannus, aut sericum, in mercatoris pergula ad indicandum expositum, et signum est ibi pannum et sericum in copia haberi, et pannus, et sericum ipsum pro signo positum, in quemvis usum sumi potest." Ibid.

[i] St. John xvii. 11.

rather from satanical perverseness[k]. He then proceeds to mention, that our Lord promised his presence among his disciples[l], even amidst two or three of them met together[m], until the end of time. These promises, it is admitted, may be understood of the Divinity, but then, it is added, they may be also applied to Christ's bodily presence; the Saviour not having interdicted himself in any Scripture from appearing corporally among men, all power being given to him both in heaven and on earth, and his human frame not being retained at the Father's right hand, as if imprisoned there until the second Advent. Having thus stated our Lord's power in these particulars, the Bishop concludes by saying that he can see nothing more insane and impious than the denial of it[n]. But he does not cite any passages from the writings of his opponents denying such powers

[k] "Quid sibi non arrogat impudens humana temeritas, imo vero satanica perversitas?" Ibid. 17.

[l] St. Matt. xxviii. 20. [m] Ibid. xviii. 20.

[n] "Ubi tametsi de præsentia secundum Divinitatem possit intelligi, non tamen negatur de præsentia corporali: quando Christus nusquam in Scripturis sibi terris interdixerit, aut quasi in cœlis ad dexteram Patris residens libertatem non habeat corporis sui præsentiam ubi volet in terris exhibere; cum resurgens a mortuis Christus apparens discipulis testatus sit datam sibi omnem potestatem in cœlo et in terra. At in omni potestate, præcipue continetur potestas in terris ubique se ostentandi cum volet: neque enim corpus Christi ad dexteram Patris sedens, cœlo velut carcere clausum, aut coercitum est, ut terris amplius apparere, usque ad secundum adventum nequeat: quo quid magis insanum, aut impium dici possit, non video." Tunstall, 17.

to Christ, nor does it appear to have entered his head, that arguments upon transubstantiation are concerned with what God is known to have promised, not with what the Almighty will is able to effect. It was also urged at Zurich, that when our Lord verbally commanded any miraculous change, his power was attested immediately by the event. Thus, when he said to a blind man *Receive thy sight,* the individual saw; when to a dead man, *Arise,* the corpse revived; when to a leper, *Be thou cleansed,* the loathsome disease departed. When, however, he said *This is my body,* and *This is my blood,* the Apostles could see nothing but bread and wine, the same in all respects as they were before the Saviour had uttered the words over them. This objection is denounced as betraying the stupidity of those who advance it, such theologians being plainly unacquainted with the difference between visible and invisible miracles. This latter kind, which is pronounced the greater of the two, being adapted for a society rooted in the faith; the former for one which needs conversion [o]. It is far from pleasing to ob-

[o] "Hoc loco nimium crassos theologos hi se produnt, qui tam stupida scribunt, ignorantes plane quid intersit inter visibilia miracula, quæ oculis cerni possunt, et invisibilia, atque eo majora miracula, quæ fide credenda sunt. Miracula visibilia signa sunt infidelibus, non fidelibus: fideles vero jam radicati in fide signis ad credendum non egent. *Itaque visibilia miracula jam diu in Ecclesia desierunt.*" (Ibid. 25.) The learned and excellent Bishop Fisher agrees with his venerable brother of Durham as to miracles. "*Nemo est qui jam aut dæmones corporaliter ejicit, aut sanat morbos.* Inanis igitur erit promissio Christi? Nequa-

serve, that Tunstall garnishes his work with a copious allowance of abusive declamation, especially levelled at Œcolampadius, a man not inferior to himself in amiableness of manners, and integrity of life, and probably greatly his superior in theological knowledge. The celebrated foreigner is represented as an antichrist, devoid of grace and truth, an impudent asserter of lies [p]; a blasphemer against Christ, and the Holy Ghost, anxious to gain a great name for himself among the impious, by shamelessly calling from the lower regions heresies long buried in oblivion [q]; an apostate who, deserting God, and being possessed by the spirit of fornication, has foundered upon

quam. *Non enim voluit Christus promissionem hanc* (S. Marc. xvi. 17, 18,) *efficaciam habere perpetuam, sed pro tempore nascentis et adolescentis Ecclesiæ.* Quod tamen ex ipsis Evangeliis haudquaquam didicimus, sed ex usu, interpretatione patrum duntaxat. Communiter enim in ipsis Ecclesiæ primordiis a vere credentibus hæc facta sunt ad corroborandam Evangelii fidem. *At postquam fuerat Evangelica doctrina per totum orbem usquequaque diffusa nihil deinceps opus fuit ejusmodi miraculis.*" (Roffens. contra Capt. Babyl. Op. 229.) Prince Hohenlohe, Mr. Butler, certain individuals exercising episcopal functions among the Irish Romanists, and other modern supporters of Popery give us, however, a very different account of this matter.

[p] Tunstall, 31.

[q] "Hic manifeste cernis Œcolampadium summa impudentia, eandem impietatem, easdemque blasphemias eructantem, et contra Christum, et contra Spiritum Sanctum, quas ante illum Origines evomuit: nec quicquam eum pudet longa oblivione sepultas hæreses ab inferis evocare, quo sibi apud impios, cum summo Verbi Dei, et ipsius Christi contemptu, nomen grande faciat." Ibid. 33.

the same rock that anciently shipwrecked Origen[r]. Wearied at length, and it may be hoped, somewhat ashamed of this "constant barking[s]," as the author not inaptly terms it, he proceeds to display, in his second book, a series of ancient authorities, in support of the opinions which he had adopted. These corroborations, however, are chiefly rhetorical passages from the fathers asserting the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but not explaining whether that assertion is made of a spiritual presence to the faithful alone, or of a carnal presence to all communicants indiscriminately. From the whole work, indeed, nothing conclusive is to be learnt, except that the spiritual presence has ever been maintained in the Church; (a position admitted by the author's opponents;) that transubstantiation was defined at Rome, perhaps imprudently, at a period comparatively recent; and that having been so defined, it must now be resolutely maintained as an integral member of the Catholic faith.

The mass of polemical activity at this time in such full operation imperiously demanded of those who directed ecclesiastical affairs, that the renovated Church of England should be furnished with an authentic exposition of her religious belief. Even under the Apostles it was usual to require of converts something more definite than

[r] "Hic Œcolampadius apostata Deum deserens, postquam spiritus fornicationis arripuit illum in possessionem, impegit in illud saxum, in quod ante illum Origines." Ibid. 55.

[s] Ibid. 56.

a general assent to the truth of Scripture. There was "a form of doctrine[t]," or "of sound words[u]," as St. Paul expresses himself in another place, which the first teachers of our holy faith delivered to their disciples. It is not, however, probable, that these early confessions were in all places exactly alike. If any particular formulary had been prescribed by the Apostles, or by their immediate successors, it is hardly doubtful, that we should have found it either in Scripture, or in the earliest uninspired records of the Catholic Church. As no such document is in existence, it seems reasonable to infer, that the main principles of belief proposed in primitive times to converts for their assent were not invariably expressed in the very same words. A discretion as to the language of such formularies might be safely left in the hands of individual bishops, while the Church continued a small society of persecuted religionists enlightened by the converse of men who had received instruction orally from the Apostles, warmed by the wide diffusion of genuine piety, and intent upon humbly searching the Scriptures. But when multitudes assumed the name of Christians, and the Church had acquired professed members presenting every variety of human character and condition, it was found necessary to prepare a definite confession of faith. Constantine assembled, accordingly, the first council of

[t] Rom. vi. 17. [u] 2 Tim. i. 13.

Nice, in 325, and that illustrious body agreed upon a summary of religious belief which might serve as the standard of orthodoxy. Subsequent councils adopted a similar course, and the foreign Reformers early found themselves obliged thus to embody the leading articles of their belief. Cranmer had long been anxious to assemble a general council composed of delegates from such Christian societies as rejected the traditions of Romanism. Upon this design Melancthon often fondly meditated even before the year 1542, and it furnished matter for correspondence between him and the Archbishop at the beginning of King Edward's reign[x]. The plan was now communicated to Calvin, and he cordially approved it. The admirable youth also who graced the English throne offered facilities within his own dominions for convening the projected council[y]. It was found, however, impossible to wait for an event so much to be desired. So long as the Anglican Church should continue unprovided with a public declaration of her tenets, it was evident that discordant opinions would resound from her pulpits. This evil it was now resolved to obviate, but care

[x] Abp. Lawrence's Bampton Lectures, 229.

[y] "Deinde scio non ita unius Angliæ haberi abs te rationem, quin orbi simul universo consules: Regis quoque Serenissimi non modo generosa indoles, sed etiam rara pietas merito exosculanda, quod sanctum consilium de habendo ejusmodi *conventu* favore suo prosequitur, et locum in regno suo offert." Calvinus Cranmero, apud Nichols. Defens. Eccl. *Angl. Lond.* 1707, p. 120.

was taken to impose nothing upon the conscience which is not capable of proof from Scripture. The doctrinal articles, therefore, of the Church of England, and such formularies as embody the peculiarities of Romanism, stand upon grounds wholly different.

Of the articles now framed Archbishop Cranmer must be considered as the sole compiler. An order from the King in council imposed upon him, in the present year, the task of preparing such a formulary[z]. He obeyed in his usual manner. Passages illustrating the points requiring his consideration were collected from the most approved authorities, in order that his decisions might be made upon the fullest and the safest information. These collections which vouch so satisfactorily for the diligence and sound discretion of that admirable prelate who prepared for England a summary of Scriptural religion are now in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. While the Archbishop was employed upon this important labour, it seems likely that he consulted his friend Ridley, and that he obtained from him many notes[a]. It is, however, certain, that the Bishop

[z] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 390.

[a] This may be inferred from Bp. Ridley's examination at Oxford. Foxe's relation, however, as to this point is confused. The articles were published in Latin at the end of a catechism recommended by the royal authority. Ridley was charged with publishing these two pieces together. He denied, that either of them was his work; but the coupling of the two together has introduced some confusion into his answers, as we find them upon

of London was not actually concerned in preparing the articles, as Cranmer when examined at Oxford took upon himself the whole responsibility of that work [b]. His production seems in the first instance to have been considerably shorter than it was when ultimately before the world. In fact, there is reason to believe, that the Archbishop originally composed little more than certain articles levelled against Romish errors [c]. These articles when completed were transmitted to the several prelates, but no farther particulars respecting them are certainly known until May, 1552, when Cranmer received an order to lay them before the privy council [d]. About this time the King openly recommended these articles, and in consequence, although it was a private act of the sovereign, some of the prelates endeavoured to obtain subscriptions to them from their clergy. These endeavours appear to have been far from unsuccessful; but in this there was little solid

record. It is, however, evident that the following answer must refer to the articles alone, because mention of subscription is connected with it. "I grant, that I saw the book: but I deny, that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it. So I consented to the book. I was not the author of it." Foxe, 1317.

[b] "As for the catechism, the book of articles, with the other book against Winchester, he (Cranmer) granted the same to be his doings." (Ibid. 1704.) The catechism here meant must be that which the Archbishop published from the German.

[c] This appears from a contemporary publication cited by Abp. Lawrence, Bamp. Lect. 235.

[d] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 390.

satisfaction: for the subscriptions being neither compulsory nor public, clergymen were found to sign the doctrines tendered to them, often perhaps, with very little knowledge of their import, certainly with no great disposition to embrace them in earnest [e]. Such indolent courtesy, or unblushing dissimulation was not, however, universal. Bishop Hooper encountered in two prebendaries of Worcester an unbending opposition to the proffered articles. Jolliffe and Johnson were the names of the clergymen who thus resisted their diocesan. Desirous of overcoming their objections by argument, Hooper held in October a disputation with the two prebendaries. Harley, soon afterwards Bishop of Hereford, assisted him upon this occasion; but it was found impossible to satisfy the objectors. They seem, indeed, to have been such men as are seldom convinced by calm discussion, for one of them treated the pre-

[e] "For the love of God cause the articles, that the King's Majesty spoke of when we took our oaths, to be set forth by his authority. I doubt not but they shall do much good. For I will cause every minister to confess them openly before their parishioners. For subscribing them privately in the paper I perceive little availeth. For notwithstanding, they speak as evil of good faith as ever they did before, they subscribed." (Bp. Hooper to Mr. Secretary Cecil: dated July 6, 1552. (Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 871.) It is plain from the following passages in Bp. Hooper's answer to the two prebendaries, cited by Abp. Lawrence, *ut supra*, that subscriptions were pressed upon the King's authority. "Quæ in articulos *regios* scripsisti. Quid hic de *Regis Majestate, qui mihi author fuit, ut hæc suis omnibus, tam qui in clero sunt, quam in promiscua multitudine proponerem*, suspicamini, aliis divinandum relinquo."

late and his friend with haughtiness and disrespect [f]. Additional importance was given to this spirit of resistance by the persevering activity of Bishop Gardiner; who, continuing to watch in his prison, with anxious attention, the movements of his party, composed replies to Hooper's arguments [g]. Meanwhile it was determined to frame the articles of religion upon a more extended scale, and in September, 1552, the Archbishop was again employed upon them. He now arranged afresh the former matter, appended titles to the different divisions, and made the work more complete by various augmentations. For this labour he must have been already prepared, since he sent the amended articles to Cecil and Cheke, on the 19th of the same month; entreating these eminent persons to give them a serious consideration. So thoroughly did Cranmer, indeed, confide in the learning and judgment of his two excellent friends, that in case they should approve of what he had written, he wished them to lay it at once before the King. They did not, however, choose to undertake this office, and therefore waited until the

[f] "I have sent the matters that these two canons, Johnson and Jolliffe, dislike in writing. Whereby ye may understand what is said of both parts. The disputation Mr. Harley can make true relation of, and how unreverently and proudly Jolliffe used both him and me." Bp. Hooper to Mr. Secretary Cecil; dated October 25, 1552. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix. 873.

[g] These replies, together with the answer to Jolliffe and Johnson, were published by one of those clergymen, at Antwerp, in 1564.

Archbishop himself came to court. By him the articles were formally presented to the sovereign, and they were then submitted to certain of the royal chaplains. These ecclesiastics made some alterations in them, and this occasioned them once more to be sent to Cranmer. He was then at Ford, near Canterbury, where he gave to the work another day's consideration. On the 24th of November, he returned it to the council as fit for inspection by the Convocation, and he accompanied it by a letter, suggesting, that subscription to it ought to be made obligatory upon the whole clerical body [h].

King Edward's articles, which are in number forty-two, chiefly derive their origin from Lutheran formularies. Some of them are drawn from the confession of Augsburg, others from that framed at Wittemberg in June, 1551, by a congress of ecclesiastics holden for the purpose of preparing such a declaration of the reformed faith as might be presented to the council of Trent. The production of these ministers is commonly known as the Saxon Confession, and it is professedly drawn up in strict accordance with the Confession of Augsburg [i]. The first four English articles relate to the Godhead; teaching the Trinity in unity, and the Son's incarnation, crucifixion, sufficient sacrifice for sin both original

[h] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 391.

[i] "Hanc commemorationem doctrinæ nunc factam congruere cum confessione Augustæ exhibita, anno 1530, sentimus." Confess. Sax. Syll. Conf. 280.

and actual, descent into hell, resurrection, and ascension [k]. In the three articles next in order are laid down the standards of a Christian's faith. It is asserted, that Scripture contains every doctrine obligatory upon the conscience, in opposition to Romanists; that there is no repugnance between the Old and New Testaments, in opposition to various holders of antinomian opinions; and that the three creeds are to be thoroughly received, in opposition to several well-known heresies. The twelve following articles embrace the leading truths of revealed religion. Against Pelagians and Anabaptists original sin is asserted. Men are declared incapable of doing works pleasant and acceptable to God without the aids of divine grace; the operation of which is by softening the heart, not by constraining the will. Justification by faith alone is asserted, as that doctrine is laid down in the homily, and the scholastic notion of congruous merit is expressly repudiated. Works of supererogation, it is said, cannot be taught without arrogance and iniquity, nor are such per-

[k] The first article asserting the Trinity, and the second asserting the incarnation, crucifixion, and sufficient sacrifice of Christ are taken with very little variation from the Augustan Confession. The third and fourth articles treating of our Lord's descent into hell, his resurrection, and ascension, are more diffuse, than the corresponding portions of the Augustan Confession. The fifth article, according to the present arrangement, that, namely, relating to the Holy Ghost, was added in 1562. Specimens of the agreement between the English articles and the Saxon Confession may be seen in Abp. Lawrence's notes to his second Bampton Lecture.

formances reconcilable with our Saviour's words[l]. This article strikes at the root of that profitable figment upon which Romanists build their disgraceful doctrine of indulgences. The next, asserting that Christ alone was born free from sin, contradicts the silly conceit entertained by many members of the papal Church, as to the Virgin Mary's immaculate conception. An opinion broached by the Novatians in the third century, and recently revived by some of the Anabaptists, as to the unpardonableness of sins committed after Baptism[m], is condemned. Men, it is pronounced, may fall from grace received, and yet, notwithstanding, recover God's favour by means of repentance. Some of the fanatics appear to have considered post-baptismal transgressions as sins against the Holy Ghost. In order, therefore, to guard against this error, these irremissible iniquities are said "to be committed, when any man, out of malice and hardness of heart, doth wilfully reproach and persecute, in an hostile manner, the truth of God's Word manifestly made known unto

[l] St. Luke xvii. 10.

[m] Such sins were not pronounced by the Novatians absolutely hopeless of God's pardon. The doctrine of the sect was rather, that the Church had no power to re-admit the sinners. This obviously is the tenet aimed at in the article; which condemns those who "deny *the place of penance* to such as truly repent." *The place of penance* means that course of penitential discipline which the Church prescribes to such as have forfeited their right of communion, and desire to regain it.

him[n]." Predestination to life[o] is declared to be God's everlasting, deliberate purpose to save those whom he hath chosen out of mankind; who, being thus elected, are enlightened by the Spirit, justified and adopted by their Almighty Father, made to resemble the Saviour, lead religious and virtuous lives, and finally attain immortal happiness[p].

[n] This article was expunged in 1562. The Church of England, therefore, as now established, does not undertake to define what is the sin against the Holy Ghost: she merely denies that designation to every transgression wilfully committed after Baptism.

[o] Nothing, it should be kept in mind, is said of predestination to eternal misery, or reprobation.

[p] "Predestination unto life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel (he hath constantly decreed by his own judgment. Collier, Records, II. 76. From the articles imprinted by John Day, 1553. *suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit)* secret unto us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose, by his Spirit working in due season, they through grace obey the calling, they be justified freely, they be made sons by adoption; they be made like the image of the only begotten Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity." (Art. xvii. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 293.) As neither of the parties which have contested the meaning of this clause denies the infinite prescience of God, the whole controversy turns upon one question, *viz:* do these words assert, that God decreed the salvation of individuals from his foreknowledge of their characters, or from his own mere pleasure? Now of this last ground for the Divine decrees not a hint is given, but the former ground seems intimated plainly

This article, in fact, asserts, that God has foreseen from all eternity the character of every moral

enough. Counsel, or judgment implies consideration, the Latin *consilium (a consulendo)* does the same. The deliberate judgments of wise and good men are not, however, irrespective; much less, then, ought this to be presumed of counsels emanating from wisdom and goodness infinite. From Cranmer's character, besides, from the known opinions of his most esteemed continental friends, and from the circumstances of the time in which the articles were framed, it is most unlikely, that he had taken those forbidding views of the Deity which are presented by some Christians. The Archbishop was singularly mild, modest, and charitable. His German friends had long abandoned that attachment to the predestinarian hypothesis which appeared in Saxony at the outset of the Reformation. Luther appears to have altered his opinion upon that subject so early as the year 1527, when a form of doctrine was drawn up for the Saxon churches, in which the opinions, known now as Calvinistic, are disclaimed. Melancthon spoke of the disputes upon predestination agitated among his friends when they first turned their backs upon Romish traditions, as "horrid and Stoical." Calvin's doctrine of the Divine decrees was indeed only beginning to attract notice when the English articles were framed. Bolsec, a reclaimed Carmelite, had inveighed at Geneva in 1551, against Calvin's opinions respecting predestination. This attack induced the Reformer of Geneva to defend himself upon paper, and his first tract upon predestination appeared in January, 1552. (Abp. Lawrence's Bampt. Lect. 246, 255, 256.) It is possible, certainly, that this piece might have reached Cranmer before the articles were completed in the autumn of that year. But there is no appearance warranting a belief, that the Archbishop ever acted upon the authority of Calvin: and it is most unlike all the known course of Cranmer's conduct, that he should have hastily adopted a doctrine long since abandoned by the divines with whom he had been in the habit of acting and thinking, because it had been revived, but not yet thoroughly developed, by a theologian with whom he was merely upon terms

agent in the great human family; and that he has mercifully determined upon guiding through earthly goodness, to heavenly joys, those who are fitted for the operations of his grace. Latitudinarians who maintain that religious systems are immaterial, if men lead moral lives, and act up to their particular principles, are denounced as accursed and detestable; it being observed, that Scripture reveals no means of salvation but the name of Jesus Christ. Fanatics professing themselves sufficiently directed by internal illumination,

of civility. It is not, indeed, improbable, that Cranmer might have introduced the article upon predestination from knowing that the subject was then beginning to agitate foreign polemics. But if such were his object, he seems rather to have aimed at restraining other men from dogmatising upon this obscure subject, than to have ventured upon such a step himself. His definition, accordingly, takes no notice of reprobation; rather applies to the election of societies, than to that of individuals; and is worded so as to imply that the Divine decrees are founded upon a foreknowledge of circumstances. This definition is then followed by a brief statement of the operation assignable to the doctrine under consideration. To pious and virtuous persons the thought of predestination is said to be comfortable and encouraging; to persons of an opposite description it is described as a source of desperation, and a temptation to carnality; and it is added, that in speculating upon God's promises we must adhere closely to Scripture. This caution will effectually extinguish presumptuous controversies upon predestination. In Scripture we find reason for believing both the Divine foreknowledge, and man's free-agency. Upon the manner in which these two things are completely reconcilable with each other, the Bible is silent; and fitly so, for the subject appears above the span of human intellect. It is evidently among "the deep things of God," which finite creatures are not concerned to know.

and therefore not bound to fashion their lives according to Holy Writ, are declared unworthy of attention; the ceremonial and political arrangements only of the Law having been abrogated, while its moral injunctions remain in full force.

Twelve articles follow, chiefly levelled against Romish corruptions. The visible Church is defined as a congregation of faithful men among whom the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments are duly administered according to Christ's institution. It is added, both the Eastern Churches, and that of Rome have erred, even in matters of faith. The Church, though a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ, is pronounced incompetent to decree any thing at variance with the Record, to expound one passage in it so as to contradict another, or to impose articles of faith not derived from it. The right of assembling general councils is claimed for princes alone, and it is added, such assemblies, being composed of fallible men, are liable to error, nor have any articles of faith sanctioned by them strength or authority, unless it can be proved, that such articles are drawn from Scripture. Purgatory, indulgences, the worship and veneration of images and relics, also the invocation of saints, though taught by school-divines, are treated as follies, idly devised, not only unsupported by Holy Writ, but even repugnant to it. The right of preaching and of administering the Sacraments publicly, is denied to all who have not received a commission for such purposes from those members of the

Christian congregation to whom has been entrusted by public authority the office of ordaining and regulating the ministers of religion. It is pronounced most fit, and most agreeable to God's Word, that nothing be publicly read in the congregation in a language not understood by the people. The contrary practice, it is observed, was forbidden by St. Paul, unless an interpreter were at hand. Sacraments, it is taught, are the very few, the most easy, and the excellently significant institutions of Christ, whereby he united his followers into a single society. Baptism and the Lord's Supper alone are mentioned[q]. These ordinances, it is added, were not intended by Christ for processions, nor do they operate, according to the superstitious and unscriptural doctrine of the schools, indiscriminately upon all who receive them, provided that no obstacle be opposed. On the contrary, such as receive them unworthily, purchase condemnation to themselves, as we are assured by St. Paul. Nor again, are Sacraments mere badges and tokens of the Christian profession. Upon those who receive them worthily, they have a wholesome effect and operation, they testify the good will of God, and are significant of that invisible working whereby He quickens, strengthens, and confirms the faith of

[q] Of the five other ordinances esteemed sacraments by Romanists nothing is said. A clause, however, expressly denying the sacramental character to them was introduced into the articles of 1562.

those who truly believe in Him. It is denied, in opposition to the ancient Donatists, and some Anabaptists of the day, that unworthy clergymen are unable to administer valid sacraments. This article also condemns obliquely the Romish doctrine as to the necessity of the priest's intention to do what the Church intends: it being declared, that the effect of Sacraments depends upon the recipient's faith. Baptism is designated as a sign and seal of regeneration; an instrument, as it were, by which those who receive it rightly are engrafted into the Church, obtain the pardon of sin, are adopted into the heavenly family, are strengthened in faith, and acquire an augmentation of grace. The Baptism of infants is pronounced a commendable ecclesiastical custom, which ought by all means to be retained. The Lord's Supper is described not only as a sign of the mutual love which ought to prevail among Christians, but also rather as a Sacrament of man's redemption by the Saviour's death; in which those who receive it rightly, worthily, and with faith, are made partakers of Christ's body and blood. Transubstantiation is condemned as repugnant to Scripture, the occasion of many superstitions, and inconsistent as well with the real humanity of Jesus, as with the declarations of Holy Writ respecting the actual situation of his body in heaven *. The

* In the Articles of 1562, the argument built upon the heavenly residence of Christ's human frame was omitted. It was also distinctly said, that the manducation of the Saviour's body is spiritual. Two articles also were added, at the end of this;

Lord, it is added, did not ordain that the Sacrament of his Holy Supper should be reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped. The sacrifice once offered by Christ is declared to have been a perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world both original and actual. And as there is no other satisfaction for sin, the propitiatory virtues attributed to masses are denounced as impious fictions, and dangerous deceits. The ministers of religion are asserted to lie under no necessity by God's law to vow celibacy, or to abstain from marriage.

After these, follow four articles relating particularly to the Church of England. Excommunicated persons, it is said, ought to be avoided, and considered by the faithful as heathens and publicans, until openly readmitted into the Church by the judge authorised for that purpose. Ecclesiastical traditions, it is taught, need not be in all places exactly alike, nor is it necessary, that rites and ceremonies remain constantly unchanged; care being taken to enjoin nothing at variance with God's Word. Individuals, therefore, wilfully resisting ecclesiastical arrangements established by competent authority, and agreeable to Scripture, are pronounced obnoxious to public rebuke. The Homilies, Book of Common Prayer, and Ordinal, are declared to contain pious

one denying, that unworthy communicants eat the body of Christ, the other asserting the necessity of communion in both kinds.

and wholesome doctrine, fit for universal acceptance.

In the three articles next in order, are treated some questions in which religious and political considerations are mingled together. The ecclesiastical supremacy is declared inherent in the crown. The Bishop of Rome's claim to jurisdiction in England is wholly denied. Of civil magistrates it is asserted, that being ordained by God, they are to be obeyed, not only as a matter of prudence, but also as one of conscience. The power of awarding capital punishments is claimed for human laws. Governors are pronounced competent to authorise the use of arms, and to undertake wars. The Anabaptist notion as to a community of goods among Christians is contradicted. The allowableness of taking an oath before a magistrate is maintained.

The four concluding articles, which refer to some fanatical opinions afloat at the time when this body of doctrine was compiled, were all omitted in 1562. In them it is asserted, that the bodies of men will arise at the last day; that the soul remains in the interval between that time, and its separation from the body in a state of consciousness; that to revive expectations of a millenium, is to run headlong into Jewish dotage; and that a belief in the final redemption of all men indiscriminately is pernicious, and worthy of condemnation[1].

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 288. Collier, Records, II. 75.

In this year the sweating sickness paid one of its desolating visits to England; first shewing itself at Shrewsbury, in the middle of April, and being last heard of in the North, at the beginning of October. This contagious malady is believed to have made its earliest appearance in our island, in the year 1486 [u], and thence to have found its way to the continent. Foreigners usually called it the English Sweat, and it is said to have

[u] "Then beheld as a presage of that troublesome and laborious reign which after followed: the King being for the most part in continual action, and the subjects either sweating out their blood or treasure." (Heylin, Hist. Ref. 111.) In the same spirit, Sanders speaks of the sweating sickness raging in 1551. He introduces his observations with his usual accuracy, by saying, that the disorder had been hitherto unknown to the medical world. (*Sudatorius quidem pestifer morbus, nunquam antea medicis cognitus.* De Schism. Angl. 233.) His inference, of course, from this statement is, that the pestilence was a judicial visitation of Providence intended to warn England of her enormous sin in spurning the unwritten traditions of interested men as a foundation for articles of faith. (*Nec tamen ullam pestis naturam referebat, sed plane miraculo prodigioque datum est; quo Dei bonitas Anglos admonere voluit peccati maximi quod in ipsum peccaverunt.* Ibid.) These passages have been extracted chiefly with a view to shew an author's imprudence in attributing particular events to an especial Providence. Objections have been made to the former volumes of this work, because the hand of God has not been confidently traced in some of the leading transactions which they record. Inspired historians, however, alone have a right thus to dignify their pages. Of other writers it may be sufficient to say, that in mentioning a Divine agency, they are wielding a two-edged sword equally fitted to support and to invalidate their own opinions.

seized upon English constitutions more readily than others. Persons attacked by it burst out into a violent perspiration, attended by a burning thirst, and an overpowering drowsiness. If, however, they yielded to sleep, they awoke no more; nor was it esteemed safe to drink a larger quantity than nature absolutely required. It also appeared indispensable for safety, that nothing should be done likely to close the pores. Hence immediately after a seizure by the epidemic, people were hurried to bed, there carefully covered up, and retained in the same position until the paroxysm abated. While thus awaiting a favourable change, if a patient, oppressed by a sense of intolerable heat, thrust his hand or foot from beneath the clothes, his indulgence was generally fatal. In the course of twenty-four hours the disorder usually had reached its height, and those who were so fortunate as to struggle through that space of time, seldom failed of becoming convalescent. The principal victims of this epidemic were men in the prime and vigour of life. Females, boys, and old men appeared to be very little susceptible of the contagion[x]. Among males, however, of adult age, and robust constitutions, the ravages of this pestilence were frightful: especially in London, which being crowded by a population of no very cleanly habits, and being then but ill supplied with conveniences for

[x] Godwin, Annal. 98.

carrying off offensive matters, was fatally adapted for the nurture of a contagious virus. In the metropolis, accordingly, was passed a summer of unceasing anxiety and grief. On the 10th of July, one hundred persons were there hurried out of life. On the following day, one hundred and twenty fell[y], and a single week numbered eight hundred with the dead[z]. Of residents in the country whom this malady consigned to an early tomb, the young Duke of Suffolk and his brother were the most illustrious. These noble youths were at the Bishop of Lincoln's house, at Buckden, when the fatal epidemic seized the peer. Within four and twenty hours of his decease, the younger brother died upon the same bed, a victim to the same disorder[a]. The dukedom of Suffolk was now extinct; a circumstance which appears to have given a new impulse to the Earl of Warwick's towering ambition. The King was a good deal alienated from the Lady Mary in consequence of her obstinate adherence to Romanism. He was, therefore, not unlikely to receive an impression, that having been solemnly pronounced illegitimate in Parliament, she was of right incapacitated from inheriting the crown. It was, indeed, true that the Lady Elizabeth had never shewn any disposition for a traditional creed, but upon her birth also had been cast a legislative stigma. Besides, it was now pro-

[y] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 491.

[z] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 284. [a] Strype, Eccl. Mem. *ut supra.*

posed to remove her out of the way, by means of a marriage with the King of Denmark's eldest son [b]. After his daughters, the late King had bequeathed the crown to the posterity of his two nieces, by the French Queen; an arrangement which he was empowered to make under an act of Parliament. Of these ladies, Frances, the elder, was married to Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset; Eleanor, the younger, to Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. The Marchioness of Dorset had three daughters, the Ladies Jane, Catharine, and Mary. The eldest of these young females was the heir to the crown under the late King's will, after the two Princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. For it is remarkable, that Henry limited the succession to the heirs of his two nieces, passing by those ladies themselves. If, therefore, legislative authority were obtained for excluding from the succession the bastardised daughters of the last monarch, (an object which powerful influence might reasonably calculate upon effecting, in those obsequious times,) the Lady Jane Grey might advance very plausible pretensions to the throne. Upon this amiable and accomplished person, accordingly, Warwick now fixed his attention. At once to gratify and elevate her family, he first obtained for her father the title of the Duke of Suffolk, recently borne by her mother's brother [c]. His own importance was augmented by his advancement, upon the same

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 285. [c] Ibid. 286.

day [d], to the dukedom of Northumberland. Three of his sons were already married, but his fourth, now become the Lord Guilford Dudley, was at liberty. For this youth Northumberland resolved upon demanding as a wife the Lady Jane Grey, and thus, he flattered himself, that in case of the King's demise, his own family would easily mount to the honours of royalty.

Nothing, however, was more evident than that Somerset might prove a serious obstacle in the way of realising these ambitious visions. That nobleman enjoyed opportunities of access to his royal nephew, and a high degree of popularity, which rendered him a dangerous political rival; especially as there was reason to believe, that he constantly fed himself with hopes of regaining that ascendancy from which the artifices of faction had driven him. In the April of this year he appears to have entered upon some intrigues for getting the King again into his power, and there is little doubt, that he was engaged in laying plans for resuming the protectorate when the Parliament should reassemble [e]. Aware that such designs could not succeed while Northum-

[d] October 11. Henry Percy, the last Earl of Northumberland had died without issue, and since that event the title had lain dormant: the children of Thomas Percy, the Earl's brother, being incapable of inheriting, because their father had been attainted for his share in the Yorkshire rebellion.

[e] "Which the Earl of Rutland did positively affirm, and the Duke did so answer it, that it is probable it was true." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 287.

berland's influence continued unimpaired, Somerset was naturally bent upon removing that aspiring peer out of his way. The mode in which he thought of accomplishing this is uncertain. Probably, his plans never approached maturity, for the lynx-eye of Northumberland's ambition attended every movement, and marked him for a prey so soon as he should fairly come within reach. As a prelude to his fall rumours were spread abroad, attributing to him treasonable, or rather insane designs. It was reported even, that he had caused himself to be proclaimed king in several counties[f]. The malice of his enemies found, however, no feasible means of attacking him effectually until the 7th of October, when Sir Thomas Palmer, who had been in his confidence, acquainted Northumberland with some of his indiscretions. This gentleman charged the Duke with having purposed, in the last spring, to raise an insurrection in the North, and with plotting to murder Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and some other persons of distinction, at an entertainment. Four days afterwards, Palmer was examined again, and he then related, that Sir Ralph Vane held two thousand men in readiness for Somerset's use; that Sir Miles Partridge had concerted with him a plan for raising the London apprentices, and seizing the great seal; and that a general slaughter of the *gens d'armes* was in agitation[g]. It also appeared, that

[f] Hayward, 320.

[g] King Edward's Journal. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, II. 52.

the Duke's chamber, at Greenwich, had been guarded through the night by a number of armed men[h]. Upon the whole it was evident enough, that Somerset was intent upon overthrowing his rival's influence, and it is highly probable, that he had let slip, in the course of unguarded conversation, hints of some among the various absurd and criminal designs attributed to him. That Northumberland should have been truly rendered uneasy and incensed by these disclosures was natural; nor could such a man be expected to meditate any thing short of destruction for so dangerous a rival. Unhappily for Somerset, his conversational indiscretions afforded grounds for alienating the King's affections from him. Edward, himself the model of youthful integrity and mildness, was shocked to hear his uncle accused, with some probability, of harbouring such cruel and treacherous intentions[i]. The Duke, accordingly, was unhesitatingly abandoned to his fate, and on the 16th of October, he was committed to the Tower[k]. About the same time were apprehended also several persons charged with being privy to his designs.

Men's attention was unexpectedly diverted from Somerset's calamities by the splendid reception given to the Queen Dowager of Scotland. That Princess was driven by stress of weather into the harbour of Portsmouth, on the 22nd of October, in her way from France[l]; whither she

[h] Ibid. 55.
[i] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 287.
[k] King Edward's Journal, 53.
[l] Ibid.

had gone for the avowed purpose of visiting her daughter, and her own family; but really for the sake of concerting means to overthrow the Hamilton influence, now paramount in North Britain [m]. Having escaped the fatigues and dangers of a sea voyage, she felt unwilling to encounter them again, and, therefore, she sent from Portsmouth notice of her intention to travel through England. This intelligence was no sooner received at the seat of government, than preparations were made for giving her a royal welcome. She was conducted with great parade and hospitality to Hampton Court, where she was accommodated for two days in princely magnificence. On the 2d of November, she proceeded to London, and was lodged there, during four days, in the Bishop's palace; entertainment being provided for her at the expence of the city [n]. During this residence, she rode in a chariot attended by a gorgeous cavalcade, to Whitehall, where the young King received her in state, and entertained her amidst all the pomp of royalty. On the 6th of the month, a gay procession of lords and ladies, guards and attendants escorted her through the city to Shoreditch. There the courtiers took leave, and she continued her journey to Waltham Cross, attended by one hundred gentlemen of Middlesex, on horseback. A similar escort, headed by the sheriff, was waiting for her on the borders of every shire through which

[m] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 258.

[n] Hayward, 314.

she passed, and entertainment was provided for her, in some of the noblest mansions lying near the road [o].

On the first of December the Duke of Somerset, having been previously indicted at Guildhall [p], was brought to trial in Westminster Hall. William Paulet, lately known as Earl of Wiltshire, and raised to the title of Marquess of Winchester, in the recent distribution of honours, acted as High Steward upon this occasion. This nobleman was then Lord Treasurer, and with him were associated as judges twenty-seven other peers [q]. The crimes objected to Somerset were stated in three indictments [r], embracing the following alle-

[o] King Edward's Journal. Proceedings of Privy Council, 46.

[p] Collier, II. 313.

[q] *Viz.* The Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the Marquess of Northampton; the Earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntingdon, Rutland, Bath, Sussex, Worcester, and Pembroke; the Viscount Hereford; the Barons Abergavenny, Audley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Borough, Zouch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Stourton, Windsor, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray. (King Edward's Journal, 59.) Among these noble persons, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, were parties to the charge against the prisoner. They ought certainly, therefore, to have excused themselves from sitting in judgment upon him.

[r] Collier, *ut supra*. King Edward, in his journal, says that the indictments were five in number. But this is contrary to the record. Probably he means, that the charges were esteemed to comprise five articles. These are thus given by Heylin: 1. That the prisoner had designed to raise an insurrection in the North, and to assemble men at his house for the purpose of assassinating the Duke of Northumberland. 2. That he had

gations: that the prisoner had aimed at the King's deposition; that he had intended with the aid of others, instigated by him, to seize and imprison the Duke of Northumberland; and that he had incited divers of the King's subjects to rise against the government, with a view of placing Northumberland under personal restraint.[*] In arguing the case, it was maintained by the crown lawyers, that to provide armed men for such an attempt, as the murder of privy councillors, was treason; to assault the lords, or contrive their deaths, was felony; to take measures for resisting an attachment, was felony; and that to raise the Londoners, was treason. The charges were supported in a very unfair manner, depositions being brought forward instead of witnesses. Of this, the accused complained bitterly, pressing particularly upon the character of his former confidant, Sir Thomas Palmer, who was a principal source of this written evidence. As, however, his objections were over-ruled, Somerset found him-

resolved to resist his attachment. 3. That he had plotted to massacre the *gens d'armes*. 4. That he had intended to raise the Londoners. 5. That he had devised the deaths of certain peers. (Hist. Ref. 115.) It is probable, indeed, that Somerset was charged directly or indirectly with all these crimes; but still Heylin's enumeration cannot be accurate, because the first indictment ran thus: "*quod false, malitiose, et proditorie per apertum factum circumivit, compassavit, et imaginavit, cum diversis aliis personis, Dominum Regem de statu suo regali deponere et deprivare.*" Now no mention is made in the articles above of any design upon the King.

[*] Collier, *ut supra*.

self obliged to enter upon his defence. In this, he protested, that he had never intended to raise London; that he had provided armed men about his person, for his own defence, and with no view of resisting an arrest; and that he never had resolved upon murdering Northumberland, with his political friends. The unfortunate Duke's integrity would not, however, allow him to deny, that he had talked of this nefarious project[t]. Upon this head, accordingly, his admissions, aided by the evidence, placed him within the lash of the law: it having been provided by an act of the reigning sovereign, that the making of any arrangements for executing such a design was felony[u]. The trial being concluded, the peers withdrew for a considerable time, and in the course of their debate, Northumberland entreated them to pronounce no design against his life treasonable. At length they re-entered the hall, and acquitted the prisoner of treason, but declared him guilty of felony[x]. Their verdict was unanimous[y], and Somerset did not complain of it as unjust. On the contrary, he thanked his judges for their conduct towards him, and entreated the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke to pardon him for having harboured evil designs against them. He then expressed his hopes, that his life would be spared, his wife and children

[t] King Edward's Journal, 60.
[u] Collier, II. 315.
[x] King Edward's Journal, *ut supra*.
[y] Collier, *ut supra*.

preserved from ruin, and his creditors satisfied. When he appeared without the hall, the anxious crowd observed with infinite pleasure, that the fatal axe, which used to be carried before peers charged with high treason, on their way to trial, was removed. It was, in consequence, immediately concluded, that the favourite was acquitted, and such a shout of joy was raised as resounded to Charing Cross [z]. The popular exultation was, however, of but short continuance, it being soon understood, that the instrument appropriated to the execution of noble traitors was withdrawn, merely because the Duke's offence rendered him liable to the more ignominious punishment of hanging.

Somerset's condemnation appears to have been legal, and not unjust. For he had entertained schemes likely to produce bloodshed. Nevertheless, as his object was merely to place his rival under arrest, and to overthrow a political party, the execution of his sentence was not generally expected. Northumberland, however, could scarcely fail of desiring this severity, and means, accordingly, were taken to annihilate the convicted Duke's influence. Edward was persuaded, that his uncle's admissions, before he left Westminster Hall, amounted to a complete acknowledgment of his intention to assassinate the three peers. In the young monarch's eyes the depravity of such a design was rendered more hateful,

[z] King Edward's Journal, *ut supra.*

by the prisoner's asseverations in the early part of his trial, that he had never entertained it[a]. Information also reached the royal ears, that Somerset, in talking with some persons of distinction in the Tower, had admitted the hiring of a man named Bertiville for the purpose of assassinating the lords[b]. While the young king was thus assiduously plied with accounts and representations to his relative's prejudice, that unfortunate person was carefully deprived of means to counteract such a mass of prejudice. His principal political friend was Lord Rich, the Chancellor; but that nobleman had not sitten upon his trial, and on the 21st of December, he surrendered the great seal[c]. Ill health was assigned as the reason of this resignation[d]; and indeed, it

[a] "He asked pardon of the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, whom he confessed he meant to destroy, although before he swore vehemently to the contrary." King Edward to Barnaby Fitzpatrick: dated December 20, 1551. Collier, II. 315.

[b] King Edward's Journal, under date of December 3.

[c] Ibid. 61.

[d] Ibid. The following is given by Bp. Burnet, and other historians, as the reason of Lord Rich's resignation. "The Duke of Somerset was using means to have the King better informed and disposed towards him, and engaged the Lord Chancellor to be his friend; who thereupon sent him an advertisement of somewhat designed against him by the council, and being in haste, wrote only on the back of his letter *To the Duke*; and bid one of his servants carry it to the Tower, without giving him particular directions to the Duke of Somerset. But his servant having known of the familiarities between his master and the Duke of Norfolk, who was still in the Tower, and knowing none be-

appears, that Rich had laboured under some degree of indisposition for a considerable time past[e]. There is, however, also reason to believe, that the Chancellor was not sufficiently pliant for Northumberland's purposes. In the last September, he had received an order, signed by eight members of the privy council, requiring him to affix the great seal to a certain instrument. At this order he demurred, and sent it back to Warwick, as Dudley then was called, with a written request, that it might be returned to him signed more numerously. Rich's caution gave great offence to the party then dominant at court, and a letter of reproof was addressed to him from the King[f]. On the day after his resignation, the great seal was entrusted temporarily, during his sickness, to Bishop Goodrich, of Ely[g]. On the 19th of the following month, that prelate was appointed Lord Chancellor, on account of the inconvenience, as Edward alleges in his journal, of keeping the great seal, during the session of Parliament, in the hands of an officer who was empowered to use it in ordinary cases alone. Bishop

tween him and the other Duke, carried the letter to the Duke of Norfolk. When the Lord Chancellor found the mistake at night, he knew the Duke of Norfolk, to make Northumberland his friend, would certainly discover him; so he went in all haste to the King, and desired to be discharged of his office, and thereby prevented the malice of his enemies: and upon this he fell sick, either pretending he was ill, that it might raise the more pity for him, or perhaps the fright in which he was really did cast him into sickness." Hist. Ref. II. 293.

[e] Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 513.

[f] Ibid.

[g] King Edward's Journal, 61.

Goodrich's elevation to this high legal dignity occasioned considerable animadversion. It was represented by some of the reforming party as an ominous return to the papal system of entrusting secular employments to clergymen. Romanists viewed it as a proof, that the objections urged against placing ecclesiastics in offices alien from their profession, had been merely the splenetic effusions of men hitherto hopeless of seeing their own clerical friends thus dignified [h]. The Bishop of Ely's appointment was, however, probably considered at first, as an expedient merely temporary for the despatch of public business. His continuance in office may be easily accounted for by reflecting upon his own character, and the political aspect of the times. Goodrich was a prelate of tried moderation and long experience; among the leading Reformers he was perhaps the one least obnoxious to the Romish party; that his abilities were of the highest order appears far from likely, nor had he displayed any indications of a restless ambition. Obviously such an individual was eminently fitted to become a principal officer under a statesman in Northumberland's circumstances.

The determination of Somerset's enemies to deprive him of life was discovered plainly enough in the pains taken to divert the young King's attention from serious affairs. On the 4th of December, Edward was entertained by Northumber-

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 294.

land, Winchester, Northampton, Pembroke, and some other persons of distinction, with a splendid muster of their armed men. Youth is generally captivated by military parade, and fine horses. These attractions, accordingly, seem to have taken fully as much hold upon the royal boy's mind as could have been desired by the artful contrivers of the shew [i]. His imagination was then set to work upon the festivities of Christmas. For the first time it was determined, that he should open his hall at that jovial season, and keep up the round of mirth and revelry which had then usually prevailed in the English court [k]. For this exhilarating purpose he removed to Greenwich, on the 23d of December. He there found a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn installed as Lord of Misrule, and this laughter-inciting personage exerted himself with great success, during the holidays, to make all the younger, and the more thoughtless members of the royal Christmas party forget every thing save the sports around them [l]. These pastimes were diversified by tilting-matches and a masque. A youth of Edward's grave and conscientious habits would not, however, have been satisfied if all his time had been dissipated in these amusements. His mirth, accordingly, was interrupted by a few intervals of business; but this, excepting only a

[i] King Edward's Journal, 60.

[k] "I began to keep holy this Christmas, and continued till Twelve-tide." Ibid. 62.

[l] Grafton. Stow.

wrangle with the imperial ambassador about the Lady Mary's mass, was merely routine. It is, indeed, obvious from the King's journal, that his thoughts were thoroughly engrossed by the festivities and amusements which crowded upon his notice. Nor when, on the 7th of January, he broke up the joyous hall, was he permitted quietly to recruit his spirits for any duties of importance. On the 17th of that month another tilting-match was run before him [m], and thus an indisposition for graver subjects, the natural result of any considerable relaxation, continued to enervate the royal mind.

The 22nd of January, 1552, was appointed for executing the Duke of Somerset, by decapitation, upon Tower Hill. As that unfortunate nobleman's popularity was well known, orders were issued to the different householders in London, that they should keep their several dependants within doors until ten o'clock in the morning of that day. But it being understood, that the people's favourite was to suffer at an earlier hour, Tower Hill was crowded with anxious spectators before seven o'clock, and every window commanding a view of the fatal spot was occupied [n]. At eight, the noble prisoner appeared, cheerful in countenance, firm in voice, and treading the scaffold with unfaltering step. He then knelt down, lifted up his hands to heaven, and remained awhile engaged in prayer. After this he arose,

[m] King Edward's Journal, 64.

[n] Hayward, 324.

turned himself to the eastern side of the platform, and thus addressed the pitying multitude: "Dearly beloved friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, although I never offended against the King either in word or deed, and I have been always faithful and true to this realm, as ever was any man. But forasmuch as I am by a law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereunto. I therefore willingly offer myself to suffer death, in testimony of the obedience due from me to the laws; and I thank God most heartily, that he hath not called me away by sudden death, but hath allowed me mercifully time for repentance before my departure hence. As to one thing, dearly beloved friends, I feel no cause for repentance. While in authority, I constantly and diligently set forth and furthered the Christian religion, to the utmost of my power. In these my doings, I now rejoice, having the satisfaction to know, that the state of Christ's Church among us is very closely conformable to that of the primitive Church. This I esteem a great benefit conferred by God, both upon you and me. Therefore, I most heartily beseech you all, that this religion, now so purely set forth among you, may be accepted and embraced by you with becoming thankfulness; producing that effect upon your lives, which must flow from it, if you would escape the wrath of God." At the conclusion of these words, a violent movement among the people arrested the speaker's attention. A sudden noise had been heard, which

appeared to the excited imaginations of the populace, as if caused by an explosion of gunpowder. The desire of self-preservation immediately overpowered in many of the spectators an anxiety to witness the consummation of their favourite's melancholy fate, and several streets leading from the Tower were filled at once by a tumultuous rush. The panic, it soon appeared, arose from the noise caused by a troop of horse, which, having been summoned on duty that day, and finding itself too late, came galloping towards the place of execution. No sooner were the horsemen discerned, than they were hailed on every side as the bearers of a reprieve. Caps were exultingly tossed in the air, and "A pardon, A pardon; God save the King;" resounded through the assembled populace. Somerset, however, himself appears to have entertained little or no expectation of escaping his doom. His position, during the tumult, continued unchanged, and his countenance lost nothing of its grave composure. At length, order being restored among the crowd, he waved with his hand for silence, and thus resumed. "Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope and believe. It seemeth good to Almighty God, whose ordinances require absolute submission from us all, that I should suffer. Wherefore, I pray you, look on in quietness, and be contented with my death; which I am most willing to undergo. First, however, let us join in prayer to God for the preservation of the King's Majesty, to whom

I have ever shewn myself a true and faithful subject. In his affairs both at home and abroad, I have always been most diligent. Nor have I been less industrious in seeking to benefit all the realm." The people all around, in mournful attestation of these words, exclaimed: "It is most true." Somerset then proceeded to invoke blessings upon his royal nephew, and upon the council, to inculcate the duty of obedience to constituted authorities, to entreat the pardon of any who might have cause to complain of him, to express his own forgiveness of all who might have injured himself, to declare that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, and to intreat that all who heard him would assist him with their prayers. After this address, he knelt again, and while in this posture, Dr. Cox, who attended as his religious adviser, put into his hand a brief confession of faith in writing. This being read, the Duke arose once more, still retaining full possession of his firmness and serenity. He then shook hands with the two sheriffs, the lieutenant of the Tower, and all others upon the scaffold, bidding them an affectionate farewell. His last touching offices of courtesy were concluded by a pecuniary present to the executioner. He then threw off his gown, and kneeling, untied the strings of his shirt. The executioner now advanced, and turned his collar down, with such other parts of his dress as appeared likely to impede the fatal blow. The Duke, being thus prepared, after once more lifting up his eyes to heaven, with his own hands fastened

a bandage over them. Immediately a hectic glow was observed to flush his cheeks, but otherwise, as he laid himself along, no symptom of agitation was discoverable. Scarcely was he composed to meet a faithful Christian's last great enemy, when, for the executioner's greater ease, he was desired to rise and divest himself of his doublet. Having promptly obeyed this order, he resumed his former position, repeating "Lord Jesu, save me." While uttering these words, for the third time, a single stroke of the axe deprived him of life [o]. This termination of Somerset's earthly course was contemplated by the surrounding crowd with horror and indignation. Many persons even pressed forward to steep their handkerchiefs in the blood which streamed from the headless trunk. A female, in all the insolence of triumph, displayed one of these relics to Northumberland, as he passed, after no long interval, through the city, a prisoner for treason. "Behold," said she, addressing the fallen statesman, "the blood of that worthy man; the good uncle of that excellent king; which was shed by thy malicious practices. It plainly now begins to revenge itself on thee [p]."

At the end of something more than a month

[o] Foxe, 1247. From the relation "of a certain noble personage, who not only was there present at the deed doing, but also in manner next unto him on the scaffold, beholding the order of all things with his eyes, and with his pen also reporting the same."

[p] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 118.

after Somerset's execution, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Partridge, having been convicted of participating in his designs, followed him to the scaffold. Of these gentlemen the two first named suffered decapitation, the last two were hanged. They all protested, at the point of death, invoking God as the witness of their veracity, that they had never entertained any treasonable design against the king, or any murderous intention against the lords. Vane added, that, "his blood would make an uneasy pillow for Northumberland[q]." That nobleman, indeed, had no sooner thus gotten rid of his most active enemies, than obloquy was poured upon him from every quarter. Those confederates in the recent cabal who had furnished the depositions which consigned their associates to an ignominious death were soon afterwards allowed to go at large. Sir Thomas Palmer, the principal informant against Somerset, was even admitted among Northumberland's intimate associates. A friendship so suspicious engendered a suspicion in the public mind, that the favourite Duke had been persuaded by Palmer to surround himself with armed men, under an apprehension of personal danger, and then betrayed by his insidious confidant into the grasp of his aspiring rival[r].

[q] Ibid. 117. [r] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 299.

CHAPTER VII.

Proceedings in Parliament—Deprivation of Bishop Tunstall—The forty-two articles authorised—The Reformatio Legum—The royal progress—Attacks upon Archbishop Cranmer—Pillage of the Church—Reassembling of the Trentine council—The pacification of Passau—Herman of Cologne—The revised service brought into use—Decline of the King's health—A new Parliament—Subscription to the forty-two articles—Intrigues to obtain the Lady Mary's disinherision—The King's death.

On the day following that of Somerset's execution, the Parliament entered upon its fourth and last session. One of the earliest affairs which occupied the Lords was a bill against recusancy. As very many of the people still remained attached to the rites and principles of that seductive religion in which they had been educated, it may readily be supposed, that the new service was often but thinly attended. Such conduct on the part of subjects appeared, however, inexcusable in an age unacquainted with any country enjoying a free toleration; and accordingly, the Peers made little difficulty in passing a bill to compel the attendance of parishioners in their respective churches*. The Commons were found much

* The bill was sent down passed on the 26th of January. Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 304.

less expeditious, and the measure lay long before them; not having passed their House until the 6th of April. The Earl of Derby, the Bishops Aldrich and Thirlby, together with the Lords Stourton and Windsor were dissentients. In this act the Commons included the provisions of another bill, sent down from the Upper House, and enjoining the use of the Common Prayer, as altered at the last review. The statute was not to take effect until the feast of All-Saints next ensuing. After which day, those who should absent themselves from their parish churches were to incur ecclesiastical censures, and those who should refuse to receive the new service-book were to be liable to the same penalties that had enforced the reception of the former book, three years before[b]. Orders were given, that the revised Liturgy should be translated into French, and the Governor of Guernsey was enjoined to see it used within his jurisdiction[c]. Thus in the Norman isles, those last remaining fragments of the extensive continental territories once subjected to our monarchs, were securely laid the foundations of a scriptural faith. Happily the care of Edward's administration was not in vain. The islanders abandoned the vain traditions of Romanism, and profiting by their connexion with a nation which spurned a religion incapable of advancing any solid ground for confidence, acquired such principles as are fitted for the growth of manly intelligence and

[b] Ibid. [c] Hayward, 319.

rational piety. To Wales, a similar care was not extended until the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign[d]. That principality has not, however, suffered from the comparatively late enjoyment of a liturgy which its whole population could understand. An unrestrained licence in theological speculation does, indeed, unsettle serious minds in that interesting portion of Britain. But as the Welch were more slow and reluctant than their neighbours in stooping to papal tyranny and innovation, so has their emancipation from these intolerable evils been much more complete. In England, the peasant is rarely tainted with that debasing superstition which, during five centuries or more, enthralled his ancestors. In Wales such a misfortune is almost unknown. Upon Ireland, unhappily, the experiment of offering to her people a service universally intelligible, was never made. In that important island, also, Popery was late in superseding a purer system; but the English government possessed very imperfect means of acquainting the semi-barbarous population with evangelical truth, at the time when that blessing was restored to the sister-country. The arduous task was hence attempted in a manner incomplete and ineffectual. Time has increased its difficulties; a long course of sacerdotal artifice, and political animosity, having riveted the mass of Irishmen in a blind persuasion that their traditional creed is of Apostolic ori-

[d] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 122.

gin; and that it has descended to them, with no material variation, from those holy missionaries who first bore the glad tidings of salvation through the isle.

Another bill introduced in this session of Parliament was intended to guard against incendiary libels, and treasonable practices. In the Upper House this proposition was readily entertained, Lord Wentworth being the only dissentient. Among the Commons it encountered an animated opposition, and gave occasion to many severe reflections against individuals then in power. At last the bill failed, and a new one, esteemed less exceptionable, was passed in its room. By this it was enacted, that to call the King, or any of his heirs, as named in statutatory provisions of the late reign, heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper, should render the person so offending liable, for the first offence, to forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during pleasure; for the second, to a *præmunire*; for the third, to attainder as a traitor. Evidently these denunciations attest the prevalence of a disposition among discontented Romanists to try the effect of inflammatory speeches as an engine for the restoration of exploded abuses. Another clause in this act discovers, that even long before the present lettered age, a salutary dread was entertained of evils in the power of a licentious press. All who should advisedly calumniate the royal person in the manner before mentioned, either by writing or printing, were to be adjudged traitors

for the first offence; as were all who should retain possession of any castles, artillery, or ships, belonging to his Majesty, six days after being required to surrender them by lawful authority. The rigour of these edicts was, however, somewhat mitigated by a proviso, that unless he should have made a voluntary confession of the crime, no man was to incur the penalties of treason under this statute, without having been confronted with two witnesses; and by another, that none of these offences should be legally cognizable unless committed within three months of the time when information of them might be formally given[e]. These provisions look something like an act of posthumous justice to the Duke of Somerset's memory; that unfortunate peer having been condemned upon written depositions alone. Obviously such a mode of investigating offences offers great advantages to a corrupt accuser, because he escapes the eyes and the cross-examination of the supposed criminal. It is hence a device for removing an obnoxious person excellently fitted for the purposes of an unprincipled party. This could hardly fail of striking observers of discernment at a time, when, in defiance of national feeling, such means had recently been used by an interested faction, for the purpose of despatching a rival, against whom, even with this management, nothing more serious could be proved than some indiscreet preparations for the commission of a felony.

[e] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 306.

An act passed in this session provided for the religious observance of such festivals and days of abstinence as are marked out for this purpose in the Liturgy [f]. No other days were to be kept holy. Knights of the Garter, however, were allowed to celebrate the feast of their patron saint, the redoubtable St. George; a hero in the Popish mythology, or hagiography, as it is called, whose exploits are so thickly shrouded in envious oblivion that many sceptics have even questioned his existence. Of the days devoted by this act to religion, it was declared, that they were not thus appropriated "for the matter and nature either of the time or day, nor for any of the saints' sake whose memories are had on those days, (for so all days and times considered are God's creatures, and all of like holiness,) but for the nature and

[f] The days specified in the statute are, all Sundays in the year, the feasts of the Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, St. Matthias, the Annunciation, St. Mark, St. Philip and St. James, the Ascension, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Michael, St. Luke, St. Simon and St. Jude, All Saints, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, Christmas, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, the Innocents, Easter-Monday and Tuesday, and Whit-Monday and Tuesday. The days of abstinence are the same that were mentioned in an act passed in the third year of the current reign: *viz.* Fridays and Saturdays, the Ember-days, and other days commonly called Vigils, Lent, and any other day commonly reputed as a fish-day. To the festivals, St. Barnabas, and the Conversion of St. Paul were added subsequently. These two holidays were probably omitted under King Edward because the saintly personages whom they commemorate were not among our Lord's original Apostles. Burn's Eccl. Law, I. 593, *et sequ.*

condition of those godly and holy works wherewith only God is to be honoured, and the congregation to be edified, whereunto such times and days are sanctified and hallowed, that is to say, separated from all profane uses, and dedicated and appointed not unto any saint or creature, but only unto God, and his true worship [g]." Offenders against this enactment were to be punished by ecclesiastical censures, but to these it was pronounced, that none should be liable who might undertake harvest-work, fishing, or any other necessary labour on such holidays. The Legislature in this proceeding had evidently the double object of restraining superstitious idlers from keeping all the Popish festivals, and of rescuing the sounder creed now established from the imputation of disregarding those opportunities of popular instruction which were afforded by occasional breaks in the routine of worldly labours. Happily, the latter object has been attained to a very great extent in England. Habits of extended activity have, indeed, rendered ordinary holidays of little religious utility to the great mass of Englishmen. But their Sundays, though shamefully profaned in some comparatively few instances by travelling or dissipation, are generally so observed as to promote effectually religion and morality. This complete appropriation of one day in seven to a provision for man's everlasting interest forms a gratifying contrast between our island, and her

[g] Burn's Eccl. Law, I. 593, *et sequ.*

Romish neighbours on the continent. It is one of the many substantial benefits for which we have to thank the Reformation; and it may be added, so long as England duly hallows the day sacred to rest and piety, her population will continue virtuous, and her intellectual eminence unimpaired.

On the 5th of March, a bill was brought into the House of Lords to provide for the relief of the poor. As this was in fact a proposal to lay a tax upon the people, it appears that the motion should rather have originated with the Commons. The bill passed, however, both Houses, and by its provisions, churchwardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions for the relief of indigent persons; and were enjoined to present to the ordinary all who should refuse to contribute, or who should persuade others thus to refuse. Against such individuals proceedings were to lie in the ecclesiastical courts[b]. This act was, therefore, a decisive step in that system of relieving paupers which had been so long growing up in England, and which, if administered with equity and discrimination, is calculated to confer important benefits upon the country.

By another act passed in this session of Parliament, an additional sanction was afforded to clerical marriages. This rational and equitable measure drew a protest from the Earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Rutland, and Bath, and from the

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 308.

Lords Abergavenny, Stourton, Monteagle, Sandys, Windsor, and Wharton. At this time it may appear surprising, that, in a very limited assembly composed of individuals possessing access to the best information, so many persons could be found anxious to perpetuate an absurd, unauthorised, and tyrannical regulation which had notoriously proved the means of overwhelming with infamy their own cherished priesthood, from the tri-crowned pontiff down to the chantry-priest or begging friar. But these peers only gave utterance to the sentiments ordinarily entertained by Romanists. The cautious manner in which clerical marriages had been authorised under a former statute, had indeed, given occasion to representations from admirers of papal celibacy, that the Legislature had never intended to place such connexions upon a respectable footing, but had merely connived at them, upon the same grounds as usury and other things are tolerated, for the sake of avoiding greater evils. Many persons acted upon this illiberal impression, viewing a married priest with scorn and disgust, and representing that his issue was illegitimate. The present statute, however, was framed so as to silence these illiberal objectors, for it pronounced, that clerical marriages solemnised according to the book of service were completely legal, and that children born in them were entitled to inherit[1].

[1] Ibid.

An act was also passed intended to confer additional security upon the marriage contracted some years before by the Marquess of Northampton. By this, that marriage was declared lawful, "any decretal, canon, ecclesiastical law, or usage to the contrary, notwithstanding." Upon this occasion the Earl of Derby, the Bishops Aldrich and Thirlby, and the Lord Stourton dissented. Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich, would not even agree to another bill, of which the object was to prevent any person from marrying a second wife during the life of a former one, unless he should have been regularly divorced from her. This prelate, however, held that a divorce was not a release from the matrimonial tie. In the Lower House this bill fell to the ground, it being considered there, that existing laws against double marriages were sufficiently severe[k].

At this time legislative authority was obtained for suppressing the see of Westminster, and for the reunion of its diocese with that of London[l]. Another act rendered it illegal to take any interest for money. By this, a statute passed under the late King, and allowing an interest of twenty

[k] Ibid. 309.

[l] This arrangement rendered the diocese of London somewhat larger than it had ever been before, the peculiar jurisdiction once attached to the abbey of St. Alban's having been annexed to it by letters patent, dated April 1, 1550. At the dissolution, this jurisdiction was annexed to the see of Lincoln. Bishop Ridley appointed an archdeacon to preside over it, but to that dignitary no stall in the choir of St. Paul's has ever been assigned. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 121. Le Neve, 198.

per cent. was repealed. The legislators now said, that this permission was not given "for the allowing of usury, but for preventing further inconveniences: and since usury is by the Word of God forbidden, and set out in divers places of Scripture, as a most odious and detestable vice, which yet many continued to practise for the filthy gain they made by it; therefore, from the 1st of May, all usury, or gain for money lent, was to cease; and whosoever continued to practise to the contrary were to suffer imprisonment, and to be fined at the King's pleasure[m]." It may, however, be doubted whether the Parliament was not mistaken in pronouncing, that usury in the large sense of that word, is absolutely forbidden in Scripture. The Jews were, indeed, prohibited from receiving interest for money lent to those of their own nation[n], and in several pas-

m Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 310. This act, being found injurious to trade, was little regarded, and in the 13th of Elizabeth it was repealed, when the legal rate of interest was fixed at ten *per cent.* By the 21st of James I. the legal rate of interest was fixed at eight *per cent.* with a proviso, that the statute assigning this limitation "shall not be construed or expounded to allow the practice of usury in point of religion or conscience." The act of Elizabeth rendered such as might exceed the limitation liable to ecclesiastical censures. A statute, however, passed in the 12th of Charles II. admitted a new view of this case: it fixed the legal rate of interest at six *per cent.*, and set forth no proviso. By the 12th of Anne, the legal rate of interest is fixed at five *per cent.*, and the penalties awarded to transgression are merely civil. Burn's Eccl. Law. II. 502.

n Exod. xxii. 25. Lev. xxv. 36, 37. Deut. xxiii. 19.

sages of the Old Testament this mode of gain is mentioned with reprobation [o]. Still it is not pronounced, under any circumstances, criminal. On the contrary, the Israelites were allowed to take interest of foreigners [p]. Nor was this permission, upon the face of it, unreasonable. The Jews were an agricultural race whose coasts were occupied by some opulent mercantile communities of Heathens. Among themselves, money would rarely be wanted by a neighbour unless he were in difficulties; among the Tyrians, or other Gentile traders, those who might borrow money of a thrifty Jew would generally do it with a view of increasing the capital in their own business. In the former case, it was obviously a pious Israelite's duty to assist a straitened brother; in the latter, there was plainly no reason why a man should be wholly prevented from sharing in profits made by the application of his own capital. In this point of view, interest for money lent, if restrained within moderate bounds, is fair and unobjectionable. It is, however, manifest, that loans made to necessitous persons do not stand upon grounds precisely the same [q]. In many

[o] Ps. xv. 5. Prov. xxviii. 8. Ezek. xviii. 13.

[p] Deut. xxiii. 20.

[q] "Use or interest, by the civil law, is divided into lucrative and compensatory. Lucrative is, when it is paid where there hath been no advantage made by the debtor, and no delay or deceit in him: and this is condemned by the civil law. Compensatory is, when it is given, where the thing lent hath been advantageous to the debtor, and disadvantageous to the creditor, that he was not sooner paid; and this is permitted by that law."

cases, it might be the obvious duty of a religious man possessing the means to render assistance either by gift, or by a pecuniary advance for which no return was expected. On some accounts, however, it is undesirable, that facilities should exist for the borrowing of money; and many such loans are negociated under disreputable circumstances. Upon the trade of a money-lender, accordingly, a stigma was early cast among Christians. The first council of Nice enacted, that clergymen taking interest for money lent should be degraded from their order[r]. The fourth council of Carthage joins usurers with seditious persons, and declares individuals, liable to these imputations, incapable of holy orders[s]. Other councils use the same severity in such cases; and the council of Elvira decrees, that even laymen, having been admonished upon the subject of usury, and still persisting in the practice of it, shall be excommunicated[t]. In England, a similar principle prevailed at a very early period. The laws of King Alfred ordained, that the chattels of usurers should be forfeited to the crown, their lands and inheritances escheat to the lords of the fee, and their bodies denied burial in the sanctuary[u]. By the provincial constitutions made under Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the thirteenth century, it may be

(Burn, 501.) The rate of interest in ancient Rome was twelve *per cent.* or one *per cent.* demandable every month.

[r] Bingham, I. 202.
[s] Ibid. 146.
[t] Ibid. 202.
[u] Burn, 502.

plainly seen, that such as derived advantage from pecuniary loans were then considered in the light of offenders against religious duties. It is enacted, that no man who has received land, cattle, or any thing yielding produce, in pledge for money lent, shall detain such deposit after having derived from it the principal of his advance, and his expenses. All gain beyond these things is pronounced usury [x]. Thus the Reformers found an abhorrence of usury, under every form, to have prevailed constantly in the Catholic Church, and they knew that it received considerable encouragement from Scripture. The foundations of England's commercial importance were then scarcely laid, and the speculations now forming into the science of political economy had entered into no man's head. Loans were little known except for the purpose of assisting meritorious individuals in need of them, or of affording facilities to the prodigal and vicious for continuing in their evil courses. Such accommodation to persons coming under these last characters, it was deemed unadvisable to supply. The class first named was thought to have claims upon the liberality of such Christians as possessed a superfluity of worldly goods.

A bill was brought in during this session against simoniacal agreements, and it passed both

[x] "Inhibeatur frequenter ne pignus retinere quispiam contendat postquam de fructibus sortem percepit, deductis expensis; quoniam usura est." Const. Prov. S. Edm. Archiep. Cantuar. 144.

Houses: the Earls of Derby, Rutland, and Sussex, the Viscount Hereford, and the Lords Monteagle, Sandys, Wharton, and Evers dissenting. For some reason unknown this measure did not receive the royal assent[y]. Nothing certainly is more important to the interests of religion, and therefore to the permanence and utility of an ecclesiastical establishment, than that the proceedings of patrons as to preferment in their disposal should be narrowly watched. Ministerial duties in this country being usually provided for by portions reserved from the rents of landed estates, it is reasonable, that the representatives of those who agreed originally to this appropriation, should possess the right of selecting a clergyman for the performance of offices thus compensated. But it is obvious, that such appointments interest highly the community at large. In fact they lay no slight degree of moral responsibility upon the party making them. To regard ecclesiastical patronage, therefore, merely as a source of influence or emolument, or as the means of providing for a dependent, be his qualifications what they may, can be creditable to the religious feelings of no man. Evils among us arising from this cause are, indeed, grossly over-rated, both as to number and magnitude, by malice and ignorance. Of such evils, however, instances are not unknown. That they are not more frequent is attributable to the laws against simoniacal transactions.

[y] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 311.

By the provisions of a statute made at this time, it appears, that recent changes in religion continued in some cases to produce indecent railing, in others, open violence, even in the house of God. It was enacted, that "if after the first day of May next coming, any person shall by words only quarrel, chide, or brawl in any church, or churchyard, it shall be lawful to the ordinary, after proof of the offence by two witnesses, to suspend such offender for a time discretionary with himself, if a layman, from entering the church, if a clerk, from his ministerial functions." It was farther enacted, that if any person shall lay violent hands upon any other, either in the church, or church-yard, he shall be deemed excommunicate. But "if any person should maliciously strike with any weapon in any church or church-yard, or draw any weapon with intent to strike another; such offender, being convicted by the verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by two lawful witnesses, before the justices of assize, justices of oyer and terminer, or justices of peace, in their sessions, was to have one of his ears cut off; and in case he should have no ears, he was to have the letter F burnt upon his cheek to mark him for a fray-maker, and fighter; and over and above, he was to stand *ipso facto* excommunicated [z]."

The Parliament did not separate before it had given vent unequivocally to the respect generally entertained for the late Duke of Somerset's me-

[z] Collier, II. 322.

mory. That nobleman had strangely procured the passing of an act for disinheriting the posterity of his first marriage, and for settling his honours and estates upon the issue of that imperious dame who had become his second wife. This act it was now sought to repeal, and the bill for that purpose was sent to the House of Commons, signed by the King, on the 3d of March. Unusual as was such a recommendation, it failed to expedite the business. During fifteen days the measure was warmly discussed, and it did not pass, even, though somewhat modified, until the day before the Parliament was dissolved. Another bill for voiding a matrimonial contract between Somerset's son [a], and the Earl of Oxford's daughter, was lost in the Lower House, on the 28th of March, in a division of sixty-eight against sixty-nine [b].

On another occasion the court party was foiled during this session of Parliament. Bishop Tunstall, though a prelate of eminent candour and moderation, had evinced through the long course of his public life an intention of carrying to his

[a] Then about thirteen years of age. To this young person were granted by royal letters patent, in September, 1552, certain portions of his father's estates. Queen Elizabeth created him Earl of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, &c. In 1621, the title of Marquess of Hertford was conferred upon this family, and soon after the Restoration it was farther honoured by being allowed to resume the hereditary distinctions obtained by the Protector. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 119. Help to Engl. Hist. 297. Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. 543.

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 313.

grave the bulk of those prejudices which he had imbibed in youth. The papal usurpation he had, in common with every Englishman of note, abandoned early, and as it seemed, cordially. He had also discountenanced some of the grossest popular superstitions. But he was anxious to go no further in enlightening the public mind, and in building the national creed upon a basis which could bear examination. All attempts, accordingly, to disencumber the Anglican Church of pernicious innovations gradually accumulated under the management of a corrupt hierarchy during the middle ages, and to restore the principles and usages of primitive antiquity were firmly resisted by him in his place as a lord of Parliament. Ecclesiastical arrangements, however, which had received legislative authority were not afterwards impeded by his overt opposition, being invariably enforced among the clergy of his diocese [c]. But notwithstanding this outward submission to the religious policy of his country, no man could doubt the Bishop of Durham's anxiety for a change of counsels. A factious person, accordingly, named Ninian Menville, communicated to him about July, 1550, some plan for raising an insurrection in the North. Tunstall not only concealed his acquaintance with this treasonable intention [d], but even answered the

[c] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 313.

[d] The charge against him appears to imply, that he gave direct encouragement to the plot. "Whereas the Bishop of Duresme, about July, *in an.* 1550, was charged by Ninian Menville *to have*

letter concerning it. Menville then wrote to him again, and subsequently betrayed him. Upon this, he received an order to appear before the privy council; but it was found impossible to decide upon the case for want of his letter to Menville, which seemed to be mislaid. Under this difficulty, the Bishop was enjoined on the 20th of May, 1551, to remain within his own premises at Cold Harbour, in Thames-street[e], until he should receive farther orders. In the following August, he was indulged with permission to walk in the fields[f]. This easy durance was abruptly terminated on the Duke of Somerset's apprehension. That unfortunate statesman was very far from agreeing with Tunstall in religious opinions, but he heartily respected his good qualities, and he rejoiced in an opportunity of rendering him a service. Having obtained, accordingly, the Bishop's indiscreet, or it may be, criminal letter to Menville, he secreted it, and it was not until his own papers were ransacked, that the long-lost document came to light. It was then found in one of the Duke's caskets, and on the 20th of the last December, Tunstall was again called before the privy council. His letter to Menville was now shewn to him, and he was asked whether it was in his hand-writing. He confessed that it was, and having but little to say in his justifica-

consented and been agreeable to a conspiracy in the North for the making of a rebellion." &c. Proceedings of Privy Council, 47.

[e] Stow.

[f] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 414. From the Council-book.

tion, he was committed to the Tower to await his deliverance by process of law[s].

Probably no very strong case, after all, could be substantiated against the venerable Bishop of Durham; for he was not brought to an open trial. A bill of attainder against him was, however, introduced into the House of Lords on the 28th of March, and on the 31st it passed. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who never deserted an honest man, inveighed against this arbitrary measure with so much severity, that Northumberland, who was anxious for its success, never afterwards looked upon him with a favourable eye. Although his opposition failed of influencing the House, Cranmer was so resolute in defending an individual with whom he had long differed upon points of importance, but whom he had never ceased to value as a pattern of moral excellence, that he entered his protest against the bill upon the journals of the House. In this he was joined by Lord Stourton, a peer who very rarely coincided with him in opinion, being an active enemy to the Reformation. No other lord, either clerical or lay, paid this homage to the Bishop of Durham's character; a remarkable fact, when coupled with the known prevalence of Romish prejudices. The Commons acted in this affair with great

[s] Proceedings of Privy Council, 47. The following is the entry in the King's Journal relating to this affair. "The Bishop of Duresme was for concealment of treason written to him, and not disclosed at all till the party did open him, committed to the Tower."

spirit and propriety. Nothing but written depositions being laid before them, they voted, that the Bishop and his accusers must be heard face to face, before any farther progress could be made with the attainder. This equitable course being declined by the court, the bill was lost. Besides thus mortifying Northumberland, the Lower House also shewed no disposition to grant a pecuniary supply. Under these circumstances, it was determined to dissolve the Parliament, and to try by an appeal to the people whether the Dudley interest might not be made to eclipse that acquired by the late Duke of Somerset. The dissolution took place on the 15th of April[h].

Although the bill of attainder against Tunstall failed, the intention of ruining him was not abandoned. Accordingly, on the 21st of September, a commission was issued directed to the Lord Chief Justice, and others, whose names are unknown, to sit in judgment upon the Bishop of Durham's case. Eight written documents were submitted to these commissioners, and about the middle of October, the prelate was, by their act, deprived, and his property confiscated. A supply of money was, however, granted to him towards the end of the month; and he was detained a prisoner in the Tower, under a restraint tolerably easy, until the accession of Queen Mary[i]. Upon the grounds of his deprivation nothing is certainly known; but that severity may be rea-

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 314. [i] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 413.

sonably attributed to his concealed acquaintance with Menville's treasonable intrigue. As he had consented to hold his bishopric during pleasure, his dismissal from it, under all the circumstances of the case, appears to have been far from incapable of justification.

While the Convocation was sitting, it gave authority to the forty-two articles of religion. Whether this body of doctrine was discussed by the whole ecclesiastical estate is unknown, the acts of Convocation having been lost. It is, however, inferred from the title affixed to these articles on their publication, that they were examined by a committee merely of the two Houses. They were said to have been "agreed upon by the bishops, and other learned men[k]." The heading of Queen Elizabeth's articles is much more general. It states them to have been "agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the Convocation holden at London."

Towards the close of the last autumn effective preparations were made for supplying the reformed Church of England with a body of canon law. Eight individuals[l] were then commissioned

[k] "Articuli de quibus in synodo Londinensi, Anno 1552, inter episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat ad tollendam opinionum dissentionem, et consensum verè religionis firmandum, regia autoritate in lucem editi." Collier, II. 325.

[l] *Viz.* Two prelates, Abp. Cranmer and Bp. Goodrich; two divines, Dr. Cox and Peter Martyr; two civilians, Dr. May and Dr. Taylor; two common lawyers, John Lucas and Richard Goodrick. Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 316.

to prepare matter for the consideration of two and thirty, upon whom the work was ultimately to devolve. For this important labour Cranmer was fully prepared, having made a very large collection of authorities upon the subject of ecclesiastical legislation. This voucher for his competency to the task imposed upon him is preserved in the Lambeth library. He was indeed esteemed one of the best canonists in England, and there is reason to believe, that the system of jurisprudence compiled at this time was principally the fruit of his indefatigable application[m]. Thus in every step of his enquiries as to the English Reformation, does the student find triumphantly refuted a calumny by which Romanists assail our national defection from their pontiff and their traditions. It was to mere politicians, they tell us, that we owe this emancipation. But when the facts are examined, it appears, that secular authorities merely lent civil sanctions to principles established by the labours of an eminent divine. The Archbishop was, in February, placed at the head of a commission in which thirty-two persons altogether were included[n], and this

[m] It is said of him in the preface to the published work, "*Summæ negotii præfuit.*" Ibid.

[n] Eight of these commissioners were prelates, *viz.* Archbishop Cranmer, the Lord Chancellor Goodrich, the Bishops Ridley, Poynet, Coverdale, Barlow, Hooper, and Scory. Coverdale was the pious scholar who had been engaged in translating the Bible. (Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. II. 105.) His diligence in the great cause of true religion had been rewarded by his pre-

body was employed upon the projected canons during several months. When the work was completed, Dr. Haddon, Regius professor of civil law at Cambridge, and Sir John Cheke, were commissioned to translate it into Latin. These elegant scholars took the Pandects of Justinian as their model, and thus avoiding the unclassical terms used by papal canonists, they produced a mass of Latinity worthy of an age long past. The work, however, was not ready for a final examination until the King's health began to decline. Hence it was never sanctioned by authority, nor, indeed, discussed beyond the circle of those who were employed in preparing it. The

ferment to the see of Exeter, on the resignation of Voysey, a resolute traditionist, in August, 1551. (Le Neve, 83.) All the eight prelates entertained scriptural principles. Another eight of the commissioners were employed as divines, *viz.* Dr. John Taylour, Dean of Lincoln, Bishop Latimer, Dr. Cox, and Sir John Cheke, the King's tutors, Sir Anthony Cooke, Peter Martyr, John a-Lasco, and Dr. Matthew Parker, Master of Benet College, Cambridge. Another eight were employed as civilians, viz. the two secretaries of state, Petre and Cecil, Sir Thomas Smyth, Dr May, Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Rowland Tailor, Rector of Hadleigh, Dr. Lyel, Mr. Traheron, and Mr. Skinner. Eight more were common lawyers, *viz.* the Justices Hales and Bromley, Brook, Recorder of London, Goodrick, Gosnald, Stamford, Carel, and Lucas. (Strype, Mem. Cranm. 388, from an original document.) The King's list, in his journal, omits Latimer's name among the divines, and places that of Rowland Tailor in its room. Seven civilians only are mentioned, Sir Thomas Smyth being omitted, Mr. Read standing in the place of Dr. Tailor, and Mr. Coke in that of Dr. Lyel. Among the common lawyers occurs the name of Gawdy, in lieu of the Recorder's. This entry in Edward's journal bears date February 10.

principles, therefore, which it lays down must merely be considered as the deliberate opinions of certain illustrious persons. Even in this point of view the compilation is important. For among these commissioners were individuals to whose judgment England has long gratefully deferred. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, this work was published under the title of *Reformatio Legum*. The whole compilation is digested under fifty-one heads, and is concluded by a supplementary chapter upon the rules of administering justice.

The first head asserts the doctrine of the Trinity, and denounces the penalty of death, with confiscation of goods, against such as should deny the Catholic faith. The canonical books of Scripture are enumerated, those termed apocryphal being omitted, but these are pronounced useful for edification, though not for the proof of any doctrine. It is declared, that ecclesiastical authority is subjected to Scripture, that the first four general councils are to be received, and that the works of the fathers are to be highly respected, but that the decision of no council or father is to be admitted, unless found in unison with Holy Writ.

In the second place, certain opinions upon the Trinity, the Saviour, the Scriptures, original sin, justification, the mass, and purgatory, are pronounced heretical. Thus our Reformers boldly retorted the charges of Romanists upon themselves, and ranked religious opinions incapable of proof from Scripture among heresies. They also censured such as taught the unlawfulness of the

magistracy, the community of goods or of wives, the universal right of assuming the pastoral office, the merely symbolical nature of sacraments, the unlawfulness of infant baptism, the impossibility of salvation to the unbaptised, transubstantiation, the unlawfulness of marriage, especially in the clergy, the papal power, and apologies for a vicious life drawn from predestination.

The third and fourth divisions relate to the punishment of heresy and wilful blasphemy. Prosecutions for these offences were to be instituted in the diocesan courts, with liberty of appeal to the Archbishop, and from him to the King. Persons accused were to stand committed until trial, in default of giving security for their appearance when called upon. If they refused to appear after a lawful citation, they were to be excommunicated and committed. In case of recantation, they were publicly to renounce their heterodoxy, to swear against a relapse, and to profess their belief in the contrary doctrine. If after conviction they should refuse to do these things, they were to be delivered over to the secular arm. If a clergyman were convicted of heresy, his recantation was not to recover his preferment for him.

The fifth division asserts, that Baptism and the Lord's Supper alone are properly sacraments; directs the imposition of hands in consecrating Bishops, and ordaining inferior ministers, the public solemnization of marriages, the confirmation of such as are capable of giving an account of their baptismal vow, and the visitation of the sick by parochial ministers.

The sixth imposes punishment at the ordinary's discretion upon persons admitting the practice of idolatry, witchcraft, and the like. Restitution also was to be made to any who might have been injured by these practices. Those who might refuse to submit, after conviction of such offences, were to be excommunicated.

The seventh respects preachers, of whom two sorts were to be allowed; one licensed to particular parishes, the other to a whole diocese. Bishops were to take care that both sorts should be sufficiently examined before a licence was conferred, and to summon the itinerants before them, once in every year, in order to learn from them what parts of the diocese most needed spiritual direction. All preachers were to avoid novelties of doctrine or expression, needless questions, and superstitious conceits. Laymen, especially persons of consideration, are charged to be constant in attending sermons; and any who should disturb a preacher in the exercise of his duty were to be repelled from the church and Communion, until they should have given satisfaction to him.

The three following divisions relate to the intercourse between the sexes. Marriages were to be celebrated in the church after banns asked on three following Sundays or holidays, and were to be invalid unless solemnised according to the form in the book of Common Prayer. Seducers were to be excommunicated, unless they married their victims; or if that were impracticable, they were to confer upon them the third part of their

goods, maintain the fruit of their amour, and undergo a discretionary punishment. The marriage of minors, unless allowed by parents or guardians, was to be invalid; but if the parties applying for such consent should encounter any unreasonable difficulty, they were to have the liberty of appealing to the ordinary. The impediments to marriage are enumerated, and that state is declared free to all, but it is recommended, that in contracting it, a great disparity of years should be avoided. Polygamy is condemned as contrary to the first institution of marriage recorded in Genesis. Forcible marriages are pronounced null. Women are recommended to suckle their offspring, and preachers are directed to censure the contrary practice. The prohibited degrees are settled according to the Levitical law, and spiritual kindred, or the imaginary relationship derived from baptismal sponsors, is declared no bar to marriage. Adultery was to be punished in clergymen by the forfeiture of their benefices, banishment, or imprisonment for life, and the confiscation of their goods for the use of their wives and children, if they had any, if not, for that of the poor. A layman convicted of this crime was to restore his wife's portion to her, and to augment it by the half of his own fortune. Adulteresses were to forfeit their jointures, and all other pecuniary advantages accruing to them from marriage; besides being banished or imprisoned for life. The innocent party was to have the liberty of marrying again: but if there appeared a rea-

sonable hope of amendment on the offending side, it was recommended that a reconciliation should be attempted. The criminal was to be restrained from a new marriage. Separations between married persons were not to be allowed until a divorce had been legally pronounced. This remedy was conceded in cases of adultery, desertion, long absence, deadly enmities, and cruelty. But mere separation from bed and board is pronounced unreasonable, and contrary to Scripture.

The next three divisions concern the clergy. Bishops were to be very particular in examining the qualifications of all coming for holy orders. Patrons were to consider their rights as a trust, not as a source of unworthy gain. Simoniacal contracts were to void the benefice, disqualify the clerk from holding another, and deprive the patron of that turn. Before admission to livings, clergymen were to be examined by the Archdeacon, with the assistance of triers appointed by the bishop. Pluralities were to be wholly forbidden in future. Residence was to be strictly enforced, unless reasonable grounds for excusing it could be shewn to the Bishop. Within two months of institution a clerk was to fix himself upon his benefice. Bastards, unless eminently qualified for the sacred function, were to be excluded from ordination, but on no account was a patron's presentation to a benefice of his own illegitimate son to be accepted. Natural infirmities, unless such as incapacitate the party from duly officiating, were not to disqualify for orders. Among such

disqualifications, however, is placed highly-offensive breath. Before institution, clergymen were to swear, that they had made no simoniacal contract, nor would make any, nor abide by any made for them, and that they would do nothing to the prejudice of their church: also that they would adhere to the received doctrine and discipline, that they would renounce the Pope, and acknowledge the King as supreme earthly head of the national establishment.

The fourteenth division provides, that persons injured in character by slanderous reports, or acquitted in a court of justice merely from insufficient evidence, were to come forward and clear themselves, or be excluded from the church. Such individuals were to make an affidavit that they were innocent of the crime imputed to them, and to bring, as compurgators, men of their own particular condition, and of unblemished fame, to swear that they considered this affidavit truly sworn. Those who suffered in reputation from frequenting any particular house, were to be inhibited from going thither. Duelling, however, and superstitious ordeals of every kind, were forbidden.

Under the three following heads are arranged various regulations for the management of ecclesiastical property, and of capitular, and collegiate bodies. The eighteenth division discovers a picture of rapacity in the patrons of benefices amply sufficient to account for the extreme poverty which overwhelmed many clergymen in those

days. Some mercenary trustees for the spiritual advantage of a parish appear to have presented a clerk under an agreement that they were to have all the profits of a benefice; a paltry stipend alone being promised to the degraded presentee. Others bargained, that their clerk should retain the tythes, but give up the glebe; others reserved the parsonage-house for their own use; but the bulk of these unworthy traffickers appear to have agreed that they should receive an annual pension from preferments in their gift. All these contracts were pronounced void; and whenever the ordinary should have reason to suspect the existence of such, he was to delay institution, until the presentee should clear himself of the imputation by the prescribed forms of canonical purgation. Any such agreement discovered after a clerk was in possession of a benefice was to render him liable to ejection from it, and incapable of ever taking another.

The nineteenth regulates public worship. In cathedral and collegiate churches the Common Prayer was to be said every morning; to which the Litany was to be added on Wednesdays and Fridays, and the Communion-service on holidays. The evening prayer was to be said every day, and all persons maintained by the revenues of the church were to be constantly present at these services, unless they could fairly excuse their absence. In these large churches the Communion was to be administered on every Sunday and holiday, and the Bishop, together with all the

inferior members of the establishment, was to receive it. The service was to be performed in a plain manner, without needless refinements in the music, so that the people might understand it, and join in it. Sermons were to be preached only in the afternoon, lest they should draw the people from their own parish-churches. In these, unless the parish were very large, was to be no sermon except in the morning. In the afternoon, an hour was to be spent in explaining the catechism. After evening prayers, the minister was to consult with his principal parishioners upon relieving the poor, censuring scandalous livers, and exercising penitential discipline. Persons desirous of receiving the Communion were to come, on the day before its administration, to the minister, in order to give an account of their consciences, and their belief. Divine service was not to be said, or the sacraments administered in private houses without necessity, unless in the families of peers, or in other very large establishments.

The twentieth concerns the ecclesiastical order. Unmarried clergymen were not to retain as housekeepers any women under sixty years of age, unless their own near relations. A rural dean was to be chosen every year for each deanery, who was to lay the behaviour of both clergy and laity within his district before the diocesan. The archdeacon was always to be a priest resident within the archdeaconry, who was to visit twice in every year, and to report the results of his observation

to the Bishop, within three weeks after his rounds were completed. Deans were to reside constantly at their cathedrals, unless excused by the bishop, and were to take care that every thing within their jurisdictions should be properly conducted. Prebendaries were to read in their respective cathedrals some portion of Scripture, thrice in every week, or at all events they were to procure some divine to do this for them. The bishop was to preach in his cathedral; not to ordain either at random, or for reward; to receive complaints against irregular clergymen, and to deprive such persons, if necessary; to reconcile quarrels between his clergy; to visit his diocese once at least in every three years, and to overlook the moral conduct of all classes of persons within the limits of his authority. He was to admit into his family serious and sober people alone; to make his house, as did the primitive prelates, a kind of seminary for the instruction of his diocese; his wife and children were to be moderate in apparel, and correct in demeanour; and every thing likely to draw down upon him an imputation of levity, luxury, or pride, was to be carefully avoided. He was to reside within his diocese, unless when called away by urgent affairs of Church or State; and when disabled by age or infirmity from discharging the duties of his function, a coadjutor was to undertake his business. The archbishop was to visit his whole province once, if practicable: he was to perform the diocesan's duties during the vacancy of a see, to receive appeals,

to inspect the management of his suffragans, reconcile their quarrels, and deprive them, if necessary. Any disagreement arising between him and them was to be decided by the King. He was also to convene provincial synods, to which all his suffragan bishops were bound to come, or to send their proxies. The bishops were to convene diocesan synods annually at the beginning of Lent, at which were to be examined all religious controversies, and clerical irregularities. Every clergyman present was to be asked for his opinion upon any difficult question, and the Bishop was to report the judgment of the most learned, but to decide the point himself.

The four following divisions relate to churchwardens, universities, tythes, and visitations. The twenty-fifth division prescribes rules concerning testamentary matters. The privilege of making a will is denied to married women, slaves, children under fourteen years of age, insane persons, and those who are deaf and dumb, unless there is sufficient reason to believe that they understand what they are doing; also to heretics, to persons under sentence of death, or of imprisonment, or banishment for life, to those who refused to part with their kept mistresses until just upon the point of death, to libellers, strumpets, pandars, and usurers. Individuals thus proscribed were, however, allowed to bequeath money to charitable uses. With respect to disinherision, a father was not to inflict this penalty upon his son, unless the latter had assaulted him, had purposely done

him some signal injury, had subjected him to a judicial process out of mere malice, had been engaged in any dangerous practice against either of his parents, had debauched his mother-in-law, had calumniated, or nearly ruined his father, had refused to be his bail, or had hindered him from making his will.

The twenty-sixth division treats of ecclesiastical censures; concerning which it is laid down as a rule, that where no particular punishment is assigned, offences are to be visited at the judge's discretion. Commutation of penance was not to be allowed unless in extraordinary cases, on the occurrence of which the money paid was to be distributed among the poor. In case, however, of a relapse into fault, no pecuniary penalty was to skreen the guilty party from undergoing personally the exposure appended to his transgression.

The twenty-seventh and two following divisions treat of suspension, sequestration, and deprivation. This last penalty, when awarded against a bishop, was to proceed from the metropolitan, assisted by two bishops, whom the crown was to nominate for the purpose of trying the cause.

Under the thirtieth head it is asserted, that the power of excommunication is scripturally conferred upon the Church for the avoiding of great scandals. By it guilty persons were to be cut off not only from the public worship and sacraments of God, but also from the ordinary intercourse of society, until they should have repented of their

evil courses. But as this penalty is extremely severe, it was to be inflicted only on great emergencies, and never upon a whole society, forasmuch as guilt could hardly attach to such a body in all its parts, and it is not reasonable that innocence should be confounded with criminality. When the ordinary had thoughts of excommunicating any person, he was to send for the minister of the offender's parish, together with two or three clergymen of reputation, and a justice of the peace in his neighbourhood. After mature deliberation by this assemblage, the sentence of excommunication was to be pronounced, engrossed, and a copy of it delivered to the party affected by it, on his demand. It was then to be certified to his parish and neighbourhood, and read in his church on the following Sunday, when the clergyman was to animadvert upon his offence, in order that all intercourse with him might be broken off. If, after these severities, the offender continued unmoved during forty days, the excommunication was to be certified into chancery, and a writ issued for his imprisonment. If his caption were delayed by the corrupt connivance of the sheriff, or any other officer, that person was to be amerced in treble the costs of the process, for the benefit of the poor. A continuance of such delay was to render public functionaries liable to double the same fine. A pardon from the crown after a capital conviction was not to excuse any person from undergoing ecclesiastical censures. When, after excommunication, an in-

dividual became penitent, he was to dress himself according to the ordinary's direction, and present himself at the door of his parish-church. There the minister was to receive him with words combining reproof and encouragement. The penitent then, either kneeling, or lying prostrate, was to confess his unworthiness, and implore God's grace to protect him from a relapse. This being done, he was to be led to a conspicuous place, for the purpose of acknowledging his offence to the congregation, of intreating their pardon, and their consent to communicate with him again, and of praying to God that his ill example might not prove injurious to others. It was now to be enquired of the people whether they were willing to readmit this repentant sinner among them, and on an affirmative answer being given, the priest was to lay his hand on his head and absolve him [o]. He was then to embrace him, salute him on the cheek, and lead him to the Communion-table; where an hymn was to be sung, and a thanksgiving offered for his recovery [p].

The remaining divisions in this work are devoid of general interest, being chiefly directed to

[o] In the following words: "Ego te coram hac Ecclesia, cujus mihi administratio commissa est, te tuorum pœna delictorum, et excommunicationis exsolvo vinculis, per authoritatem Dei, potestatem Jesu Christi, et Spiritus Sancti: consentientibus hujus Ecclesiæ præsentibus membris, et etiam ordinario suffragante: tibique rursus pristinum in Ecclesia tuum locum, et plenum jus restituo."

[p] Collier, II. 526.

the regulation of ecclesiastical courts. The whole compilation bears evident marks of a mind intent upon the antiquities of the Christian Church, and estranged from the ordinary habits of secular thinking. In these days, all parties out of Spain will concur in reprobating the capital punishments awarded against heresy and blasphemy. But those who framed the *Reformatio Legum* lived in an age of fierce intolerance, and they remark in vindication of their own severity, that blasphemers were stoned under the Mosaic law. Had no extraordinary rigour been denounced in cases outraging the Catholic faith, it is, indeed, scarcely doubtful, that the Romish party would have represented our Reformers as indifferent to the vital interests of Christianity. Nor, whatever may be thought of death as a punishment for glaring offences against true religion, will serious men generally deny, that such transgressions are properly visited by civil inflictions. There is evidently no good reason why daring profaneness should be overlooked in offering publicly those insults to God against which the magistrate is ready to protect man. And it is most important, that youth and ignorance should be shielded from exposure to the contact of such baneful opinions as undermine the best principles. These considerations, however, will afford no apology for Popish persecutions; for there is a wide difference between punishing men, even capitally, for horrible blasphemies, or for venting heresies, acknowledged as such by the most venerable autho-

rity; and thus punishing them for disobeying the Pope, or for contemning some tradition. The moral discipline proposed for England, in the *Reformatio Legum*, is obviously unsuited for a national Church. It is derived from the earliest records of ecclesiastical antiquity, and is adapted only for a community very limited in extent. From such a society every member might be excluded who should be found unwilling to exemplify the Christian character in all respects. Any attempt, however, to render a community so regulated co-extensive with a numerous people, would lead at once to intolerable tyranny, and would quickly fail altogether. But with Cranmer, although the bow of study and reflexion was ever bent, yet considerations merely political were almost a blank. He had read in his closet with deep admiration accounts of that innocence and devotion which adorned the primitive Church. He pondered the discipline under which the once despised followers of Jesus attained to these exalted qualities, and he sighed for the return of such golden times among his awakened countrymen. Any of his coadjutors, who might have seen that some of his proposed regulations, however excellent, were impracticable, probably sanctioned them in the confidence, that when the whole compilation came to be debated among mere politicians, all parts of it unsuited to a national Church would be unsparingly retrenched.

At the beginning of April, the King was attacked by the measles, and before he was tho-

roughly recovered of that malady, he fell sick of the small-pox. These disorders shook his constitution. For the sake, accordingly, of invigorating his frame by exercise, and of amusing his mind by novelty, one of those cumbrous pieces of state, known in his time as royal progresses, was planned for the fine season. Edward left Hampton Court for Oatlands, on the 7th of July, and after spending a few days at that residence, he travelled to Guilford. He thence proceeded through Western Sussex, the greater part of Hampshire, and portions of Wilts, and Berks; ending his tour at Windsor Castle on the 15th of September. During this progress he was entertained at some of the principal seats which lay in his way, and upon the whole he seems to have received a considerable degree of gratification. It was originally designed, that the royal youth should travel with unusual splendour, and he entered Sussex attended by nearly four thousand horse. However gratifying might be the spectacle of this enormous retinue to mere observers, the occupiers of land along its route, being exposed to the evils of purveyorship, contemplated it with dismay. While the King was at Petworth, it was represented, that his train was "more than sufficient to eat up the country," and he transferred, accordingly, his quarters to Cowdray, with an escort of no more than one hundred and fifty chosen horse; the remainder of his mounted attendants being sent back[q]. Pecuniary resources

[q] King Edward's Journal, 87.

were provided for this progress by means of money coined on purpose[r].

While his royal master was thus pleasantly engaged in travelling, Archbishop Cranmer resided at Croydon[s]. He there received a letter of no gratifying import from Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, who was then with the King. In the first year of Edward's reign, the Archbishop had obtained from the crown, for a valuable consideration, certain manorial, landed, and tythe properties in the counties of York and Nottingham, formerly parcels of the endowments attached to the monasteries of Arthington, Kirkstall, and Welbeck. Of these estates, the parsonages of Whatton and Aslacton appear to have passed, almost immediately after the acquisition, to Thomas Cranmer, the purchaser's nephew, and the head of his family: for that gentleman died in possession of them before the end of this reign[t]. The other property was intended probably, by the Archbishop as a provision for his own family; and in that point of view, it seems to have been nothing more than justice absolutely required. Upon the known fact that Cranmer had made this acquisition, some envious and rapacious followers of the court appear to have indulged, during the royal progress, in reflections upon the wealth and avarice of the episcopal order, especially of the Primate. Cecil, grieved to hear such representations, wrote privately to Cranmer, in-

[r] Hayward, 323. [s] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 392.
[t] Thoroton's Nottinghamshire by Throsby.

forming him of the unpleasant topics of discourse which found their way to the King's ears, and admonishing him as a friend to keep clear of affording any colour for these imputations. "Let me remind you," said the Secretary, "of St. Paul's words, *They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare*[u]." Thus wrote the calumniated prelate in reply. "As for your admonition, I take it most thankfully, having ever been most glad to be admonished by my friends, and esteeming no man so foolish as he that will not hear friendly admonishers. But as to the text from St. Paul, I fear it not half so much as I do stark beggary. For I took not half so much care of my living, when I was a scholar of Cambridge, as I do at this present. For although I have now much more revenue, yet have I much more to do withal; and have more care to live now as an Archbishop, than I had at that time to live like a scholar. I have not so much as I had within ten years past by one hundred and fifty pounds of certain rent, besides casualities. I pay double for every thing that I buy. If a good auditor were to examine my accounts, he would find no great surplusage to wax rich upon. And if I knew any bishop that were covetous, I would surely admonish him. But I know no one. They are all beggars, except it be one[x]; and yet I dare well say, he is not very rich. If you know any,

[u] 1 Tim. vi. 9.

[x] "He probably was Holgate, Archbishop of York." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 402. Note.

I beseech you to advertise me, for peradventure, I may admonish him better than you. To be short, I am not so doted to set my mind upon things here, which I can neither carry away with me, nor tarry long with them[y]."

A similar attack was made upon Cranmer's reputation during King Henry's reign. Sir Thomas Seymour, then one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber[z], stood foremost in the work of mischief. His first measure was to circulate a whisper about the court, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, although selling woods and taking fines to an unusual extent, had greatly departed from the hospitality of his predecessors, being intent only upon realising a fortune for his family. These reports were so notoriously false, that some members of the royal household quarrelled with Seymour for spreading them abroad. The Knight, however, persisted in his tales, and one day he contrived to make the King acquainted with them. Henry observed, "I do marvel, that it is said my Lord of Canterbury doth keep no good hospitality: for I have heard the contrary." Then uttering some high commendations of the Archbishop, he abruptly broke off the discourse. Within a month afterwards, as the King was dressing for dinner, he said to Sir Thomas, then attending with the ewer: "Go ye straightways

[y] The Archbishop of Canterbury to Sir William Cecil, dated from Croydon, July 21. Ibid. Appendix, 908.

[z] The same that was executed in King Edward's reign, being then a peer, Lord Admiral, and brother to the Protector.

unto Lambeth, and bid my Lord of Canterbury come and speak to me at two o'clock in the afternoon." The messenger immediately crossed the water, and enquiring for the Archbishop, was led by the porter towards the hall. No sooner had he reached the skreen, than stricken by the manifest falsehood of the tales to which he had lent himself, he started back*. Within the spacious room were ranged three principal tables, handsomely provided, besides inferior ones liberally supplied. "Cannot I go to my Lord's apartment through the chapel?" asked the Knight. "That way, Sir," said Mr. Neville, the Archbishop's steward, who now came forward, "is not open at dinner-time, the door being locked. You must, therefore, let me lead you into his Grace's presence, through the hall." On hearing this, Seymour followed his conductor, and soon found himself in an apartment where the Archbishop was dining in a manner suited to his station. The King's message being delivered, Cranmer insisted that his visitor should share his repast. Sir Thomas remained but a short time at table; being anxious, as he said, to return, and wait upon his Majesty. He reached the royal

* Cranmer's "daily custom at Lambeth was to dine in a room above, where all noblemen and persons of better quality that came to dine with him were entertained. Here he was very honourably served, both with dishes and attendants. In the hall, the table was every day very plentifully furnished, both for household servants and strangers, with three or four principal head-messes of officers: besides the relief of the poor at his gates." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 648.

presence before dinner was removed, and Henry said immediately: "Will my Lord of Canterbury come to us?" The reply was, "He will wait upon your Majesty at two o'clock." The King asked again: "Had my Lord dined before you came?" "No, forsooth: I found him at dinner:" answered Seymour. "Well," rejoined the King, "what cheer made he you?" Sir Thomas then fell upon his knees, and said, "I hope that your Majesty will pardon me." "Why, what is the matter?" asked Henry. "I do remember," replied the supplicant, "having told your Highness, that my Lord of Canterbury kept no hospitality correspondent unto his dignity. I now perceive that I did abuse your Highness with an untruth. For besides your Grace's house, I think, he be not in the realm, of none estate or degree, that hath such a hall furnished, or that fareth more honourably at his own table." The King then said: "Ah, have you spied your own fault now? I knew your purpose well enough. You have had among you the commodities of the abbeys, which you have consumed: some with superfluous apparel, some at dice and cards, and other ungracious rule. And now you would have the bishops' lands and revenues to abuse likewise. If my Lord of Canterbury keep such a hall as you say, being neither term nor Parliament, he is metely well visited at those times, I warrant you. And if the other bishops kept the like for their degree, they had not need to have any thing taken from them, but rather to be added-to and

holpen. Therefore, set your hearts at rest, there shall no such alteration be made while I live [b]."

It is, indeed, evident when the necessary expences of Cranmer's station are considered, that very moderate means of providing for a family could have been placed within his reach. He was, besides, liberal beyond the unavoidable calls of his elevated post, as numerous learned foreigners experienced. The Reformation of the national Church also, which graced his primacy, compelled him to entertain almost constantly persons to assist him in his labours [c]. Nor is there any reason to doubt, from the noble sympathy which he evinced at one of his residences in Kent, for the wounded soldiers returning from Boulogne [d], that he was beneficent in a very high degree. His resources, however, did not equal those of his predecessors, having been compulsorily curtailed to a serious extent during the late reign [e]. So far, therefore, was it from being in his power to accumulate wealth, that it

[b] Relation made by Morice, Cranmer's secretary, for the use of Abp. Parker. (Strype, Mem. Cranm. 623. Foxe, 1692.) The alteration meant by the King, was a plan then agitated among his mercenary courtiers, to deprive the prelates of their landed properties, and to assign them pensions for their maintenance.

[c] "Almost for the space of sixteen years together, his house was never lightly unfurnished of a number both of learned men and commissioners from time to time, appointed for deciding of ecclesiastical affairs." Foxe, 1692.

[d] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 648.

[e] Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. II. 594.

may readily be supposed, as he wrote to Cecil, he could not compare his income and expenditure together, without a painful feeling of anxiety. But under Edward's rule he had escaped pillage. Hence such mercenary persons as possessed political influence represented him as unbecomingly rich, and longed to make him their prey. The practice of acquiring fortunes from the Church's patrimony had, indeed, arisen to such a shameful height, that every unsated expectant appears to have considered an ecclesiastical estate as lawful plunder. Whenever a see fell vacant, a large sacrifice of income was invariably demanded of the new possessor. The bishopric of Westminster was not suppressed until the bulk of its revenues had come into the disposal of the crown[f]. Worcester was holden *in commen-*

[f] "The lands of Westminster so dilapidated by Bishop Thirlby, that there was almost nothing left to support the dignity: for which good service he had been preferred to the see of Norwich. Most of the lands invaded by the great men of the court; the rest laid out for reparation to the church of St. Paul; pared almost to the quick in those days of rapine. From hence first came that significant bye-word, as is said by some, of *Robbing Peter to pay Paul.*" (Heylin, Hist. Ref. 121.) "The Lord Wentworth, being a younger branch of the Wentworths of Yorkshire, had brought some estate with him to the court, though not enough to keep him up in equipage with so great a title. The want whereof was supplied in part by the office of Lord Chamberlain, now conferred upon him; but more by the goodly manors of Stebunheath, commonly called Stepney, and Hackney, bestowed upon him by the King, in consideration of his good and faithful services before performed. For so it happened, that the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, lying at the mercy

dam with Gloucester for the sake of admitting spoliation. Holbeach was hardly settled in the see of Lincoln, when he alienated to the crown six and twenty highly valuable estates [g]. Poynet surrendered several noble estates, immediately after he had taken possession of Winchester [h]. Other prelates, being suspected of secretly favouring Romanism, were compelled to purchase a freedom from molestation by great sacrifices of revenue [i]. Bishop Salcot *alias* Capon, of Salisbury, granted long leases of some of the best

of the times, as before was said, conveyed over to the King the said two manors; on the the 12th day after Christmas now last past, (1549,) with all the members and appurtenances thereunto belonging. Of which, the last named was valued at the yearly rent of 41*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* The other at 140*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.* And being thus vested in the King, they were by letters patent bearing date the 16th of April, then next following, transferred upon the said Lord Wentworth. By means whereof he was possessed of a goodly territory, extending on the Thames from St. Catharine's, near the Tower of London, to the borders of Essex, near Blackwall; from thence along the river Lea to Stratford le Bow: and fetching a great compass on that side the city, contains in all no fewer than six and twenty townships, streets, and hamlets, besides such rows of building as have since been added in these latter times." (Ibid. 85.) What would Heylin have said if he had seen the manors of Stepney and Hackney in their present state?

[g] Bp. Holbeach was elected to the laborious see of Lincoln on the 9th of August, 1547. The immense alienation recorded above was effected on the 26th of the following month. Godwin. de Præsul. 300. Note.

[h] Some of these estates were subsequently recovered for his see by Bishop Gardiner, when Lord Chancellor. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 101.

[i] Ibid. 100.

farms and manors appended to his see[k]. Bishop Sampson supplied chiefly from the property belonging to his see of Lichfield and Coventry, a baronial estate for Lord Paget[l]. By Kitchen, *alias* Dunstan, was alienated nearly the whole patrimony settled upon the see of Landaff, which was thus rendered, though lucrative before, probably the poorest in England[m]. Voysey, *alias* Harman, a prelate of considerable merit, but a staunch Romanist, who long filled the see of Exeter, dissipated to an immense extent the property which had descended to him from his predecessors. He took possession of twenty-two manors, and fourteen mansions handsomely furnished. He left on his resignation only seven or eight of the worst manors, and even these not unburthened, together with a single residence wholly stripped of furniture[n]. From these statements, and more such might easily be subjoined, it is evident, that the reports of episcopal opu-

[k] "Known afterwards most commonly by the name of *Capon's feathers.*"

[l] Ibid. Paget was born of obscure parentage in London, and educated at St. Paul's School. Part of the fine fortune which he accumulated in Staffordshire for himself and his descendants, was obtained from the dean and chapter of Lichfield. This eminent stateman's career of splendid gratifications was somewhat chequered by his expulsion from the order of the Garter: a mortification inflicted on him as being born a gentleman neither paternally nor maternally. King Edward's Journal, 72.

[m] *Fundi nostri calamitas*, is the feeling description by which Kitchen's successor, Bishop Godwin, introduces that eminent dilapidator to the notice of his readers. De Præsul. 612.

[n] Ibid. 416.

lence communicated by Cecil to the Primate, must have been unfounded; and that they could only have proceeded from that spirit of cupidity and detraction which prompts so many men to envy every thing not in their own possession, and to misrepresent all above their reach. The spoliations, indeed, to which the superior clergy had been exposed under King Henry were carried beyond all reasonable bounds[o]. His successor carried this pillage still farther. It was reserved for Queen Elizabeth to complete the work of confiscation, and to leave for the English Church nothing more than is absolutely necessary to render her clergy efficient members of a learned profession. A body unable to assume this character, however adapted for ordinary parochial ministrations, is neither fitted to exert an influence upon persons in superior life, nor to repel effectually objections urged by theological assailants of high attainments.

When Archbishop Cranmer found himself called upon by Cecil's letter to vindicate his reputation, he was much indisposed; having been attacked by an intermittent fever. No sooner had his malady abated, than he resumed those habits of application to which posterity is so much indebted. A relapse, however, again obliged him to intermit his useful labours, and he seems at one time to have considered his life in danger. Under the pressure of illness, his

[o] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. II. 593.

principal concern appears to have arisen from the suspension of his important undertakings. "However the matter chance," he wrote to Cecil, "the most grief to me is, that I cannot proceed in such matters as I have in hand, according to my will and desire: this *terrenum domicilium* is such an obstacle to all good purposes [p]." Amidst his uneasinesses, the Archbishop was gratified by news from Germany. Cecil sent him a copy of the pacification lately concluded in that country [q], and Cranmer could not contemplate an arrangement so happy for his continental friends, and so advantageous to the best interests of mankind, without lively feelings of pious exultation.

Every cardinal, on entering the conclave which raised the reigning Pope to his dignity, swore that in case of his own election, he would take measures for assembling that sort of deliberative body which the papal and imperial partizans might designate as a general council [r]. Julius, however, no sooner felt himself firmly seated in the pontifical chair than he became greatly disinclined to fulfil this engagement. On the other hand, the Emperor was anxious to see his own and the Pope's creatures again assembled at Trent. Nor was he without hopes of inducing the German Protestants to repair thither, and of thus giving to the council something like the appearance of a congress

[p] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 409.

[q] Abp. Cranmer to Mr. Secretary Cecil. Ibid. Appendix, 908.

[r] F. Paul, 298.

engaged in examining both sides of the matters under discussion. In truth German affairs could evidently be retained for no great length of time in their existing posture. Although Charles had succeeded pretty completely in forcing men to receive the *Interim;* yet it was only by means of diplomatic intrigues, or military violence. He clearly had not attained hitherto the means of crushing finally the civil and religious liberties of Germany. He had made, however, apparently such important advances towards that consummation of his policy, that he might calculate not unreasonably upon rendering his acquisitions permanent, if his views were forwarded by the papal court. Hence he was urgent with Julius for the reassembling of the Trentine council. Nor when he found mere instances fail of working upon his Holiness, did the Imperial dissembler hesitate to compromise decidedly his own character. He wrote a letter to Julius engaging, that, if the Trentine fathers were allowed to meet again, they should proceed upon no business offensive to the Roman see [s]. On receiving this gratifying docu-

[s] This important fact came to light from the letters written by Vargas, to Granville, Bishop of Arras, and afterwards a cardinal. Vargas was a Spanish doctor of laws, who was appointed to attend the Imperial ambassadors at Trent. He wrote regularly to Granville an account of what was done in the remarkable congress assembled there. By some accident these letters remained in the hands of one of Granville's secretaries, and they ultimately came into the possession of Mr. William Trumbull, envoy at Brussels from King James I. There can be no doubt, that Mr. Trumbull obtained this valuable collection under a promise of

ment, Julius felt his hatred of councils abate; and all preliminary formalities having been gone

keeping it secret. Indeed if it had been immediately published, it would have been easy to discover the quarter from which it had been obtained. Such a discovery would of course have been ruinous to the party which had allowed such a mass of important information to become the property of an Englishman. Trumbull's grandson communicated these letters to the world. Unfortunately no bookseller would undertake to publish the Spanish Originals; such a work being little likely to sell unless it could find its way into Spain, and other countries of southern Europe. These regions, however, are all but hermetically sealed against the truth by the Inquisition. On this account it was necessary to print the letters of Vargas for the use of such nations only as are indulged with the access to libraries containing information worthy of reliance. Dr. Geddes, accordingly, published an English translation of this correspondence. M. Le Vassor published one in French subjoining the original Spanish in the more remarkable passages. (Burnet, Hist. Ref. III. 257.) Vargas, though sufficiently disgusted by what he saw at Trent, appears not to have been prepared for his imperial master's engagement with the Pope. So profound was the dissimulation of Charles, that his own ambassador at Trent, Don Francis de Toledo, pressed earnestly for the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses. At last, Cardinal Crescentio, the papal legate, produced the Emperor's letter, which had been entrusted to him by Julius, in order to stifle any proposals urged by the Imperialists in contravention of the Roman policy. Vargas, when consulted by de Toledo upon this reputable epistle, said that if it were genuine, his imperial Majesty meant of course his words to be understood not quite literally. The following is Le Vassor's translation of what the Spanish Doctor wrote to Granville upon this subject. "Je crois que Don François de Tolede vous aura mandé que le Legat lui a montré en grand secret la copie d'une lettre que sa Majesté, dit-on, a écrite au Pape. Comme l'ambassadeur faisoit des grandes instances pour la reformation, le Legat s'est servi de ce moien pour l'arrêter. Si la lettre est veritable, *sa Majesté a*

through, certain individuals under imperial and papal influence proceeded at Trent, on the 1st of September, 1551, to fulfil the private ends of their employers. In order to retain this assembly completely dependent upon the Pope, it was divided into three classes. Each of these was under the direction of a papal legate, and was composed of such prelates as that dignitary possessed the means of influencing [t]. The three legates met together every evening for the purpose of conversing upon the different members of their respective classes, and of concerting means for gaining over such of them as might be found difficult of management [u]. A principal object of

promis qu'on ne procédera à la reformation, qu'autant que le Pape le trouvera bon, et qu'elle fera en sorte que les evêques ne s'opposeront point à sa Sainteté, et qu'ils laisseront passer tout ce qu'elle voudra. Don François a été extrémement surpris, et il m'a parlé de cette affaire avec beaucoup de chagrin. Je lui répondis d'abord que je doubtois de la vérité de ce que le Legat disoit; et qu'en tout cas la chose n'est pas d'une si grande importance. Les paroles de sa Majesté, ajoutai-je, ne doivent pas être prises à la lettre, *Judaice*, ni selon l'intention du Legat, qui en veut faire un si grand mistère. L'Empereur peut avoir ecrit de la sorte, avant que le Pape eût accordé la bulle pour la continuation du concile, dans le dessein de gagner sa Sainteté, et de ne la pas affaroucher. C'est une civilité que sa Majesté faisoit au Pape, pour lui donner à entendre qu'on ne vouloit point être aux prises avec lui." Lettres et Memoires de Vargas, traduits de l'Espagnol, par M. Le Vassor. Amsterdam, 1699, p. 63.

[t] "Ordenaron de hacer tres classes, que cada legado tuviesse la suya, deputando a cada uno los prelados que parecian a proposito suyo." Ibid. 17.

[u] "El intento d'ellos era explorar los animos de los prelados, y lo que cado uno votava.—Para despues cada noche juntar

the papal court was to prevent the agitation of any question not previously sanctioned by itself. Accordingly when any member of the council opened matter upon which the pleasure of his Holiness was unknown, the legates contrived means of amusing the body until they could receive despatches from Rome [x]. Even if a general disposition were manifested for entering upon such discussions, it made no difference [y]. Bigoted Papists could not deny, that such a council effectively was holden at Rome; its Trentine sessions being merely nominal [z]. It is some satisfaction to know that the persons from whom Charles and Julius exacted this abject subserviency, were ordinarily of little professional eminence. So notorious was the incompetency generally prevailing among those who were allowed to decide upon questions under discussion, that not twenty of them were considered equal to the task [a]. Yet

se los tres legados, como lo hazian, y conferir lo que cada uno sabia, y conforme, a esto ordenar lo que les convenia:—en que algunos mudassen proposito." Ibid. 18.

[x] "Los legados ordinariamente suspendian con entretinimientos hasta que consultavan a Roma." Ibid.

[y] "Esto en las materias que querian que se determinassen; porque en lo que no querian, era por de mas, *quantunque todo el Synodo lo quisiesse.*" Ibid. 19.

[z] "El concilio, quanto el effecto, si celebra en Roma, y aqui es la execucion." Ibid. 23.

[a] "Pocos eran aqui competentes en los que tenian voz decisiva: *no creo que llegavan a veynte.*" (Ibid. 20.) Vargas, however, consoles himself under this startling fact by a conviction that the Holy Ghost would not permit the council to err in matters of

these men undertook without hesitation to define oracularly the sense of the Catholic Church in many contested points. The Emperor, desirous of keeping up appearances, at all events, had taken care to retain in attendance upon the council some theologians of repute. But doctrinal articles were drawn up without advising with these scholars, to the great disgust of all impartial observers [b]. The prelates merely listened during an hour or so, even to the most learned divines in attendance, and then took no farther account of them, however arduous might be the question in debate [c]. It is, indeed, far from certain, that these learned persons, after all, were not treated with as much deference as they were entitled to expect; for their hour's exhibition which the judges deigned to attend appears to have consisted in little or nothing more than a very moderate array of such information as was to be gleaned from Luther's three earliest opponents, Bishop Fisher, Eckius, and Pighius [d]. An assembly so constituted and

faith." (Ibid. 42.) But he doubts reasonably enough whether the world generally will defer to such authorities in a manner so submissive. Ibid. 225.

[b] "Sa Majesté a envoié ici plusieurs excellens theologiens, et le doien, et les autres docteurs de Louvain, sont des personnes fort distinguées, par leur science, et par leurs bonnes mœurs. Cependant on ne les appelle point, quand il est question de dresser les canons, et la doctrine, pour leur demander s'ils n'y trouvent rien à redire. Tout cela se remarque fort; on en murmure beaucoup." Ibid. 225.

[c] Ibid.

[d] "Ha sacado su Majestad de España hombres muy doctos,

informed found of course little to impede its hasty march even over the most disputed ground. Not transubstantiation itself occasioned a pause. But that dogma, notwithstanding its absurdity, recency of reception, want of Scriptural authority, and controverted character, was affirmed with a precipitation which few men could contemplate without amazement[e].

Before the council proceeded to business, Amyot, abbot of Bellozane, presented himself, and offered a protest against it from the King of France. This paper addressed the assembled prelates merely as members of a convention which had met under the name of a general council. Such unceremonious language proved rather offensive to the Trentine fathers, and they hesitated at first as to the propriety of receiving his most Christian Majesty's communication. At length, however, they agreed to interpret his words in the most favourable sense, and the piece was read. It was found to be verbose and vague, but civil upon the whole[f]. Still it was a very unfortunate attack upon the council's credit; for nothing could be more adverse to the influence of a body making such lofty pretensions upon con-

y de Lobayna los que todo el mondo sabe, para dezir un parecer de una hora que qualquier liviamente docto con Roffense, Ecchio, y Pighio le diria." Ibid. 202.

[e] "Precipitan mucho las materias, y es impossible, que cosas de tanta qualidad se puedan discutir en tan brieve tiempo, como conviene." Ibid. 183.

[f] Ibid. 79.

tested grounds, than that a main supporter of its principles should decline its authority. Charles also failed in his attempts to augment the importance of his Trentine allies by means of the Protestants. He was most anxious to see these religionists taking part in affairs at Trent. Nor were the German Reformers unwilling to face their adversaries in that celebrated city. They demanded, however, that all the council's decrees from the first should be re-examined; some of them being pronounced by the Wittemberg divines false, others ambiguous and sophistical [g]. They also required that the council should be formally pronounced superior to the Pope, that bishops should be absolved from the oath of obedience to the Roman see exacted from them [h], that their own theologians should be permitted to vote upon questions as well as to discuss them [i], and that all their party repairing to Trent should receive a safe-conduct in the amplest form. It does not appear that the imperialists objected to see the Protestants at Trent upon these conditions. Nor were even many of the prelates attached to the council averse from meeting the reformed Germans upon their own terms. They found themselves retained in such galling vassalage by the court of Rome, that they would gladly have seen able persons among them over whom the Pope possessed no influence [k]. Julius

[g] Sylloge Confess. 281. [h] Vargas, 488. [i] F. Paul, 306.
[k] Vargas, 487.

and his tools, however, dreaded nothing more than the presence at Trent of divines, who, to a perfect conviction of their duty, united the knowledge and the resolution requisite for discharging it effectually [1]. They raised, accordingly, difficulties about wording the safe conduct, and endeavoured by various other devices to prevent the Protestants from making their appearance before the council. But at length they had the

[1] "Je suis convaincu, comme je l'ai ecrit quelques fois; et vous pouvez compter, Monseigneur, la dessus; que le Pape, et ses ministres craignent et detestent, même d'une furieuse maniere, l'arrivée des Protestans à Trente. *La chose va si loin que ces Messieurs ne sont plus maîtres d'eux mêmes, et qu' ils oublient toutes les manieres de negocier, quand on leur en parle.*" (Ibid. 104.) "Le Pape et ses ministres n' apprehendent rien tant que de les (Protestans) voir à Trente." (Ibid. 311.) "Le Legat nous donne bien des affaires. Il voit ici les envoiéz du Duc Maurice joints à ceux qui etoient venus auparavant; et l'on dit qu' il y a encore des Protestans en chemin. *Cela le met hors de lui meme.* Il voudroit de tout son cœur obliger les uns à se retirer, et empêcher les autres de venir." (Ibid. 397.) In January, 1552, Melancthon and his friends were expected at Trent, and thus writes Vargas to Granville. "Le saufconduit est expedié, voilà une entiére sureté accordée. Melancthon et ses compagnons ne peuvent se dispenser de venir: mais il faut qu' ils fassent diligence. La session est fixée au 19 Mars. Je ne crois pas qu' on puisse obtenir plus long delai sans rompre avec le Pape. *Il est étrangement effraïé, aussi-bien que ses ministres. Tout ceci les fait trembler.*" (Ibid. 483.) "Au reste, Monsieur, soiez persuadé que *l' arrivée des Protestans a terriblement deconcerté les ministres de sa Sainteté.* Ils sont si effraïéz qu' ils n'y a pas moien de les rassurer, quelque chose que je fasse pour cela." (Don François de Tolède à l' Evêque d' Arras. Ibid 501.) This testimony, it should be recollected, comes from eye-witnesses, high in office, and bigoted Romanists.

mortification of seeing their intrigues in a train for being frustrated. Envoys from some of the reformed princes arrived at Trent, and presented the Wittemberg confession of their faith. Even some of the theologians also reached that city, who were commissioned to explain and justify Protestant principles. More such persons were daily expected, and the legate became completely beside himself. His only object and that of his master now was to suspend the council; throwing the blame of such a measure, if possible, upon the Emperor. Events were then upon the eve of happening which rendered that suspension necessary, and which, however humiliating to Romanists, at least preserved them from the mortification of witnessing a complete exposure of their traditional creed in an assembly called by the heads of their own party under pretence of examining it.

Among the princes of Protestant Germany, Maurice of Saxony had long been conspicuous for ability and artifice. Educated in scriptural principles, and above the weakness of listening to interested men when setting up their puny assertions against the recorded Word of God, he had ever lived a strenuous enemy to Popery. But he was the Emperor's active partizan. His aid to Charles's policy had been rewarded by the territories and dignity of his unfortunate relative, the Elector of Saxony. Nor after these acquisitions did his exertions on the imperial side abate. He not only caused the *Interim* to be received in

his own extensive territories, he also commanded the besieging army which reduced Magdeburg to the necessity of engaging to admit that system. At the same time he publicly professed his unalterable attachment to the Reformation, and when the council reassembled at Trent, he protested against its authority, unless its mode of proceeding should answer the reasonable expectations of the Reformers. He made, however, a great demonstration of anxiety to induce the Protestants to take a part in that council; a feeling most agreeable to the Emperor; and among the Trentine arrivals which occasioned so much uneasiness to the Legate and the Pope, were some anti-traditionists from Saxony. While Charles was being thus amused, Maurice was actively preparing for war, and secretly soliciting aid from both France and England. From the former country he gained his ends. Edward's administration wanted strength and stability sufficient for the formation of effective alliances. At length the Emperor's suspicions were aroused by Maurice's mysterious conduct; but the crafty Saxon corrupted the imperial spies, and continued his plans of dissimulation with such profound address, that Charles thought only of counteracting the Pope's influence at Trent, and of nursing himself in a fit of the gout which had attacked him with unusual severity. When Maurice, accordingly, took the field at the head of a powerful army, the Emperor was wholly unprepared. In his unforeseen extremity, he first attempted to gain time by ne-

gociation. Maurice made a shew of treating, and then suddenly advanced upon Innspruck, where was at that time the imperial court [m]. Charles was wholly defenceless against the force which menaced him, and he was not aware of his danger until late in the evening. He then learnt with dismay that the Saxons might be expected hourly, and knowing that nothing but instant flight could ensure his personal safety, he left Innspruck with precipitation. The night was dark and rainy, and Charles, debilitated by the gout, could only bear the motion of a litter. In that conveyance he was carried by torch-light along Alpine tracks, all but impassable, and his miserable journey ended at Villach, in Carinthia, where he found a temporary refuge. His courtiers and attendants followed him, some on horseback, others on foot; all in disorder and dejection. Within a few hours after the Emperor's departure, Maurice entered Innspruck, and finding himself disappointed of his expected prey, he gave up to pillage the moveables of Charles and his attendants [n]. It was on the 20th of May when that Monarch's hopes of subjugating Germany were thus effectually blighted. His favourite instrument, the Trentine council, was already rendered ineffec-

[m] Charles "retired to Innspruck, on the 8th of November, 1551, from whence, as a central point, he could at once direct the affairs of Germany and Italy, influence the council of Trent, and superintend the movements of his vast and complicated system." Coxe, House of Austria, II. 171.

[n] Robertson, Charles V.

tive. Warlike rumours, and suspicions of danger had disquieted the fathers during many weeks, causing several departures. At length, on the 28th of April, the council was suspended for two years, or for a longer time, if necessary[o]. When Charles recovered from his consternation, his inflexibility returned, and he would fain have negatived the propositions made by Maurice for the restoration of tranquillity. But the sun of his imperial greatness had gone down, his finances were irretrievably disordered, his veteran troops disbanded, Protestants abhorred him, Romanists dreaded his ambition, his whole life forbade any party to trust him, and he had even been overpassed in dissimulation. At length, his haughty spirit was compelled to yield, and on the 2d of August was concluded the pacification of Passau; an arrangement by which he formally surrendered every hope of reaping any other fruit from all his labours and artifices than a conviction of their vanity and wickedness. At Passau, it was agreed that Protestants should profess their faith without molestation, that a diet should be holden for the purpose of terminating the religious dissensions of Germany, and that if in such an assembly this

[o] There were present at the Trentine council during the second period of its existence, the three papal legates, and the Cardinal of Trent; sixty-two prelates, of whom eight were Germans, twenty-five Spaniards, two Sardinians, four Sicilians, one a Hungarian, and all the rest Italians; and forty-two theologians, of whom nineteen were Spaniards, and twelve were either Germans or Flemings. Sleidan, 396.

should be found impracticable, the existing religious toleration should continue for ever[p].

Cranmer's satisfaction in receiving intelligence of these transactions was probably somewhat alloyed by hearing about the same time of Archbishop Herman's decease. That excellent prelate, who was descended from the illustrious Counts de Wied[q], having been raised to the electorate of Cologne, happily became awakened to a just sense of his duty as a Christian minister, and hence determined upon dispensing to the people under his governance the genuine truths of recorded inspiration. In 1543, accordingly, he concerted with the assistance of Bucer and Melancthon a plan for reforming the churches dependent upon his authority[r]. Herman's attainments appear to have been but moderate. Luther,

[p] The proposed diet was holden in the early part of the year 1555, and it legalised the profession of Protestantism in Germany. Maurice of Saxony, whose conduct, whatever may be thought of it in detail, had led to this inestimable privilege, received a mortal wound in the battle of Sevenhausen, in 1553. In this engagement he had beaten Albert of Brandenburg, a Protestant Prince, who refused to admit the pacification of Passau, and who had persisted in carrying on a predatory warfare for his own private ends. This potentate was put under the ban of the Empire, as a disturber of the public peace, and the execution of this decree was entrusted to the Elector of Saxony by name, and to several other princes. Albert appears to have received encouragement in his nefarious proceedings from the Emperor, who hoped by his means to take vengeance upon Maurice. That remarkable person perished in early life, receiving his death-wound when only in his thirty-second year. Robertson. Coxe.

[q] Sleidan, 413. [r] Robertson, Charles V. III. 51.

however, by translating the Bible into German, had enabled every sensible man acquainted with that tongue to form a judgment upon evangelical truth. This precious volume lay constantly within Herman's reach, and when any religious question was proposed for his consideration, he turned to it for instruction [s]. Amidst his projects for the conscientious discharge of his pastoral functions, friends admonished him that he was treading on dangerous ground. "I could wish," he replied, "either to propagate the doctrine of the Gospel, and duly to regulate the churches within my jurisdiction, or to retire into private life. Nothing can happen to me unexpectedly, I have fortified my mind against every event [t]." In his ideas of ecclesiastical polity, Herman coincided with the leading Reformers of England. He proposed to leave the hierarchy possessed of its actual authority, dignity, and emoluments. Corruptions at variance with Scripture and Christian antiquity were alone the objects of his proscription [u]. The canons of his cathedral, however, proved unable to soar above the prejudices of their education, and they appealed against his proceedings both to the Emperor and the Pope. The former took them under his especial protection, the latter, in the year 1546, excommunicated and deprived their amiable diocesan and sovereign, under pretence of heresy. Herman was,

[s] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 412. [t] Sleidan, *ut supra*.
[u] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 413.

however, allowed to retain undisturbed possession of his dominions during another year. The Emperor then required him to submit to the papal censures, and the mandate was immediately obeyed [x]. The deprived Elector henceforth spent his days in religious privacy, and on the 13th of August, in the present year, he closed his blameless earthly course [y].

The autumn of this year was principally spent by Archbishop Cranmer at Ford, near Canterbury, and while there he was commissioned to make enquiries, in conjunction with the neighbouring gentry, as to the embezzlement of effects originally provided for churches and chantries. In some cases altar-cloths and rich copes were now openly displayed by individuals among their household furniture, and even plate, once used in religious offices, was applied by many persons to ordinary purposes [z]. The Duke of Northumberland heard of this peculation with pleasure, because he saw in it the means of raising a fund for supplying the necessities of the court. Cranmer, however, appears to have entered upon these enquiries with little alacrity; considering, probably, that however disreputable might be the conduct of such as had appropriated to their own uses valuables which did not belong to them, the objects of those who sought the surrender of such articles were scarcely more defensible [a]. In many

[x] Robertson, Charles V. III. 110. [y] Sleidan, *ut supra.*
[z] Fuller, 417. [a] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 419.

parts of the country was made a strict search for this kind of ecclesiastical property, and, in consequence, effects of considerable value found their way into the royal treasury.

On All Saints' day the revised book of Common Prayer was used at St. Paul's, for the first time. Bishop Ridley was present, and in the morning he preached in the choir, being apparelled in his rochet, without a cope. In the afternoon, he preached upon the new service, at St. Paul's Cross, before the Lord Mayor and a numerous auditory. His discourse lasted until evening closed in, and the chief magistrate proceeded homeward by torch-light. The prebendaries upon this occasion appeared without the gaudy vestments which they had been accustomed to wear. Even their hoods were laid aside [b].

The new year opened with a prospect somewhat melancholy to those who valued the promising young monarch upon the throne. His progress in the last summer had proved ineffectual to strengthen his constitution, and the cold of winter fixed a cough upon him from which he never recovered [c]. One of his earliest cares in the present year was an arrangement for the despatch of business by the privy council. Of this body different committees were formed, to each of which was assigned a particular line of business. Edward appears to have attentively considered this plan [d].

[b] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 416. [c] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 136.
[d] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 344.

On the 1st of March, a new Parliament assembled at Whitehall, it being judged unadvisable, in the King's actual state of health, that he should proceed to the ordinary place of meeting. For the same reason the sermon, which otherwise would have been delivered in the abbey-church of Westminster, was preached in the palace. It was from the lips of Bishop Ridley, and chiefly related to the duties of persons in exalted stations, especially as to providing for indigence. Edward was much affected by this discourse, and after dinner, he desired that the preacher should wait upon him in the great gallery of the palace. When Ridley obeyed the call, he was, as usual, bare-headed. The King, however, mildly said, "Be covered, my Lord, and take a seat by me. I have to thank you most heartily for the excellent sermon which you preached this morning. In what you said I feel myself more concerned than any other person. For my means are the greatest, and my station is the highest in the kingdom. I therefore beseech you, give me your counsel as to how I may best perform the duty which you have shewn to be incumbent upon me." The Bishop was so much overpowered by this unexpected display of goodness, that after sitting for a short interval in silence, he burst into tears. At length, mastering his emotion, he replied, that indeed the city of London afforded ample room for the exercise of benevolence, but that he could wish, before pointing out any particular channel for the royal bounty, to consult the civic authori-

ties. Edward approved this suggestion, and immediately furnished the prelate with a letter demanding the requisite information. A committee of the citizens was in consequence formed, and in its report, the indigent were distributed into three classes, the young, the diseased, and the idle. For the effectual relief of unfortunate persons under the first two designations, King Henry's grants to the Blue-coat and St. Bartholomew's hospitals were confirmed, and additional funds were supplied to those establishments. For the relief and reformation of the idle, the royal palace of Bridewell was appropriated and endowed[e].

On the 6th of March, a motion made for the grant of a subsidy gave rise to a strong opposition. Of this the frugality which honourably distinguished an English House of Commons is a sufficient reason. But it is not unlikely that many members were disgusted by the preamble to the bill submitted to them: a composition charging the Duke of Somerset with having deranged public affairs by involving the King in needless wars, causing a formidable rebellion, and debasing the coin. At length the proposed grant was carried, with the following compliment to the King, "that his temper was wholly set on the good of his subjects." In the House of Lords an ineffectual attempt was made by the prelacy to

[e] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 138. 137. Life of Bp. Ridley, 397.

procure the legislative proscription of a scandalous abuse then prevalent. Persons of influence obtained not uncommonly for some young man of their family, or acquaintance, a prebend, or other ecclesiastical preferment, under pretence of enabling him to pursue his studies until he could take orders. Of individuals thus admitted to share the emoluments of the clerical profession without establishing their claims to its qualifications, submitting to its restraints, or undertaking its responsibility; many, however, were found, as might be expected, unwilling to quit a laical character. In the Upper House a bill was passed to prevent this misappropriation of ecclesiastical emoluments; but among the Commons the measure failed. Both branches of the Legislature, however, concurred in a project to dismember the bishopric of Durham. The diocese hitherto subjected to that see was henceforth to be divided. A prelate seated at Newcastle, with a cathedral suitably endowed, was to direct the northern portion of this district: its remainder was yet to look for religious superintendence from Durham. The new bishop of this latter see was to receive an annual pension of two thousand marks, payable from the estates enjoyed by his predecessors. From the same source the bishop of Newcastle was to derive an income of half that amount. When it is recollected, that besides these payments, the wealthy bishopric of northern England was also to supply funds for endow-

ing a cathedral at Newcastle, its dismemberment will appear likely to have afforded but moderate pecuniary spoils for distribution among the courtly circle. It is, indeed, probable, that a principal object proposed in making this arrangement, was the acquisition by Northumberland of the temporalities attached to the see of Durham; as that ambitious peer received a grant of them in May. For the see itself Bishop Ridley was intended; a design which gave him reason to hope, that the part of England which reared his youth would receive the benefit of his talents and experience in the full maturity of his age. After sitting a month only the Parliament was dissolved, having first passed, though with much difficulty, a bill of indemnity comprising a condemnation of Somerset's measures. By this ungracious insertion, it was perhaps hoped, that some satisfaction might be given to the King, who had been heard to speak of his uncle with regret[f].

In the course of the spring, Archbishop Cranmer obtained a royal order, enjoining the bishops to obtain subscriptions from the clergy to the forty-two articles. Early in June, accordingly, there was an attendance of the London incumbents for this purpose, in the great hall at Lambeth[g]. To what extent, however, such signa-

[f] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 347.
[g] Strype Mem. Cranm. 421. Eccl. Mem. II. Pt. II. 104.

tures were thus affixed is unknown, but it is certain that no compulsion was used. All who subscribed, afforded this authentication of their own free wills, or by the Archbishop's arguments and persuasions [h]. These articles were now generally circulated in print, and to them was often appended a catechism, recommended at this time by royal authority to schoolmasters for the use of their pupils. This piece of elementary religious instruction is more full than that in the book of Common Prayer, and it was intended for young persons of liberal education. Its author is not certainly known [i], but there is reason to believe him to have been Bishop Poynet, of Winchester [k].

[h] Cranmer was charged, at Oxford, with having compelled many, against their wills, to subscribe the articles. He answered: "I exhorted such as were willing to subscribe: but against their wills, I compelled none." Foxe, 1704.

[i] "The King, in his royal letter prefixed to it, says nothing more, than that, *when there was presented unto us to be perused a short and plain order of catechism written by a certain godly and learned man; we committed the debating and diligent examination thereof to certain bishops and other learned men, whose judgement we have in great estimation. And because it seemed agreeable with the Scriptures, and the ordinances of our realm, we have commanded it to be published, and to be taught by all schoolmasters, immediately after the other brief catechism, which we have already set forth.*" Churton's Life of Nowell, 156.

[k] "Among the works, which are not very numerous, of Poynet, Bishop of Winchester, Bale reckons *A Catechism to the King*; and to identify the book, he quotes, as his manner is, the first words of Edward the Sixth's letter, prefixed to what is called his catechism." Ibid. 161.

Of this catechism, Nowell subsequently made very free use in the one compiled by himself[l].

To Cranmer's influence, undoubtedly, must be ascribed the constant succession of projects for grounding the nation in evangelical truth, which distinguishes this reign. The Archbishop, indeed, attended the meetings of the privy council with great regularity, and was thus ever at hand to watch over the best interests of England. In the June of this year, he took his seat at the board, on the 2d, 3d, 6th, and 8th days: but never afterwards[m]. Of his absence upon subsequent occasions, repugnance to an intrigue then in progress was probably the cause. Edward had struggled with pulmonary consumption through the winter and spring. As is usual in that treacherous malady, his recovery, at intervals, had been confidently expected, but as the year ad-

[l] "Nowell has transcribed from this catechism, more than it would be supposed, on the first view of the question, he would copy from any book not written by himself, without acknowledging it. It was not from penury of matter, or poverty of style, and certainly not to spare his own labour, that Nowell consolidated so much of Poynet's catechism with his own, but for another reason, honourable to both. It was a principle with our Reformers, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, not to frame a new liturgy, but to revise and retain what was already well done, in the liturgy and articles of Edward VI.; and Nowell, one of those Reformers, thought himself bound to pay similar deference to the catechism of that reign; which in point of authority was only inferior to the established liturgy, and homilies, and articles of the Church." Churton's Life of Nowell, 162.

[m] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 432.

vanced, it became evident to all about his person, that a premature grave must shortly close over him. He was not himself unaware of his danger, and being anxious for the permanence of his religious policy, he readily listened to arguments upon the propriety of preventing the Lady Mary from succeeding him. But Cranmer opposed this measure. The Princess possessed a statutable and testamentary claim to the succession: she was also the daughter of the Primate's friend and benefactor, and he had sworn to observe that disposition of the crown which had been established throughout the present reign. To Northumberland's ambitious hopes, these objections, however, offered no impediment, and his resolution to settle the crown upon his own daughter-in-law remained unshaken. Accordingly, a letter[n] was addressed, on the 11th of June, to Sir Edward Montague, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, desiring his attendance before the council, at Greenwich, on the following day, together with the Judges Baker and Bromley, and the Attorney and Solicitor General. These distinguished lawyers, on arrival at the palace, were ushered into their sovereign's presence. Edward then informed them, that his illness having impelled

[n] Signed by the Duke of Northumberland, the Earls of Bedford, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, the Lords Clinton and Darcy, Sir John Gates, Sir William Petre, Sir William Cecil, and Sir John Cheke. Statement of the Lord Chief Justice Montague. Fuller, 2.

him to consider the evils which his sister Mary might bring upon England by marrying a foreigner, and overthrowing his own ecclesiastical arrangements, he had resolved upon excluding her from the succession; and that he wished them to prepare a new devise of the crown according to a plan which he placed in their hands. He was answered, that an act of Parliament opposed his intentions, and that consequently the desired instrument would not be valid. Unmoved by this reply, the King persisted in his former order, and the legal officers intreated time for deliberation. Being met together for this purpose, they found that in executing the royal mandate, they should expose both themselves and the members of the council to the penalties of treason. When, accordingly, Sir William Petre sent for Montague to Ely House, and urged him to use despatch in preparing the proposed devise, the Chief Justice endeavoured to decline the business altogether, on account of its illegality and danger. A formal report to this effect was soon afterwards made to the council; Northumberland being then out of the room. He entered it, however, at the end of no long interval, trembling with rage; when he called the Chief Justice traitor, and said, "I will fight in my shirt with any man in this quarrel." The lawyers being unprepared for such an ebullition of intemperance, at first were apprehensive of personal violence; but they stood their ground, and left the court without undertaking to pro-

duce the desired instrument. On the 14th of June another letter was addressed to Montague [o], ordering him to appear at Greenwich on the following day, in company with Baker, Bromley, and Gosnold. When the lawyers, in obedience to this mandate, again came before the council, the members of that body assumed a haughty and menacing air [p]. After a short interval they were introduced into the royal apartment, and there they found both the King and all the councillors. Edward angrily enquired, why his commandment had not been obeyed. "Because," the Chief Justice told him, "your Majesty has been pleased to order a devise which cannot be drawn up without rendering those concerned in it liable to the penalties of treason, and which will be void in law, as being contrary to an act of Parliament." The King then said, "We mind to have a Parliament shortly." "If such be the gracious pleasure of your Highness," rejoined Montague, "the whole matter may be deferred until the meeting of such Parliament, and thus all perils will be saved." "No," said Edward, "I will have this thing done immediately, and it shall be ratified in

[o] Signed by the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Bedford, the Lords Clinton, Cobham, and Darcy, Petre, Gates, and Cheke. Fuller, 2.

[p] "All the Lords looked upon them with earnest countenance, as though they had not known them. So that the said Sir Edward (Montague), with the other, might perceive there was some earnest determination against them." Fuller, 2.

Parliament afterwards. I, therefore, command you upon your allegiance to fulfil my orders without farther delay." Some members of the council behind the Chief Justice now said, that if he and his companions should refuse to obey their sovereign's injunction, they were traitors. At length the lawyers consented to do as they were desired, upon condition of receiving a commission for that purpose under the great seal, and a full pardon [q]. Upon these conditions no difficulty was raised, and accordingly the Lady Jane Grey was formally placed next in succession to the crown after the reigning prince [r].

While this fatal measure was in agitation, Cranmer had vainly endeavoured to convince the King of its impropriety. Upon one occasion he had argued long upon the subject with Edward, the Marquess of Northampton and the Lord Darcy being present. When he found, that interested intriguers about the royal person ever contrived means of rendering his representations unavailing, he would fain have urged his reasons in a private audience. Had he been indulged in this request, it was his own opinion, and it is highly probable, that he would have prevented that unhappy devise which soon cast such a load of obloquy upon his own head, and upon many names entitled to

[q] Fuller, 2.

[r] By "the instrument of succession, drawn up by the King's counsel learned in the law, signed by himself and thirty-two councillors, and dated June 21." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 426.

England's highest veneration. But Northumberland would not risk a private interview between the young prince and his earliest friend[s]. After the lawyers had completed their task, Cranmer's opinion upon the act remained unaltered. Among the assembled councillors little difficulty appears to have been made as to signing the devise[t]. Among the judges, who were also required to authenticate it by their signatures, a refusal was returned from Sir James Hales alone, a firm opponent of Romanism. Earnest application was then made to Cranmer for his signature. He replied, "I cannot set my hand to this instrument without committing perjury. For I have already sworn to the succession of the Lady Mary, according to his late Majesty's testament." It was answered, that the subscribers had done the same, and yet they felt themselves clear of the guilt of perjury, in the step which they had now taken. "I judge no man's conscience," rejoined the Archbishop, "but my own. I cannot, however, allow my con-

[s] "The Duke of Northumberland soon after told him (Cranmer) at the council-table, That it became him not to speak to the King as he had done, when he went about to dissuade him from his will." Ibid. 424.

[t] "Cecil, in a relation which he made one write of this transaction, for clearing himself afterwards, says, that when he heard Gosnold and Hales declare how much it was against law, he refused to set his hand to it as a councillor, and that he only signed as a witness to the King's subscription." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 358.

science to be guided by other men's acts[u]." It was represented to him, that legal authorities had pronounced the King competent to dispose of his crown by will[x]. But Cranmer, notwithstanding, withheld his signature; nor was it found possible to prevail with him farther than in obtaining his consent to an interview with Edward upon the subject. "I hope," said the dying King, when he saw his valued friend, "that you will not stand out and be more repugnant to my will than all the rest of my council. The judges have informed me, that I may lawfully bequeath my crown to the Lady Jane, and that my subjects may lawfully receive her as Queen, notwithstanding the oath which they took under my Father's will." On this Cranmer intreated leave to consult with the judges, and having done so, he signed the royal devise, at Edward's express command[y]. The Archbishop subsequently, together with twenty-three others[z], chiefly, if not entirely, privy councillors, signed a written promise pledging the oaths and honours of the subscribers to maintain the order of succession as limited in the former instrument. It should be added, that the

[u] Foxe, 1698. [x] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 424.

[y] Ibid. 425.

[z] *Viz.* Bishop Goodrich, the Chancellor, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Bedford, Suffolk, Northampton, Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, and Pembroke, the Lords Clinton, Darcy, Cobham, Cheyne, and Rich, the Lord Chief Justice Montague, Gates, Petre, Cheke, Cecil, Baker, Griffin, Lucas, and Gosnold. Ibid. 911.

original draught of this devise was wholly in Edward's own handwriting, and was signed by himself in six different places [a].

After the completion of these political arrange-

[a] Ibid. As some extenuation of the conduct pursued by Edward's council, and their legal advisers, it should be recollected that a departure from the line of strict hereditary succession to the English throne was authorised by many precedents. The King's grandfather was no heir to the crown, nor did the house of Lancaster, which he pretended to represent, ever acquire by descent a claim to the royal dignity; the rival branch of York having sprung, through a female, from a brother elder than John of Ghent. King John, from whom all the later Plantagenets derived their origin, mounted the throne in prejudice to an elder brother's son. Legislative authority, however, was afforded to these various anomalies, and no man doubts, in consequence, that the princes who reigned under such titles were lawful sovereigns. At the time of Edward's unfortunate devise the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth appeared on the Statute-book as destitute of hereditary claim to the crown. Both had been pronounced illegitimate in Parliament, and therefore, as the law stood, they could not be considered to occupy any place in the succession, except under their father's will. Henry was empowered, undoubtedly, by act of Parliament to leave them a contingent reversion to the crown: but since this appeared like a privilege flowing to them by means of the Legislature alone, there was no reason why that authority should not transfer the same privilege to some other member of the royal family. Edward evidently intended to have obtained parliamentary sanction for his settlement of the crown, and the right of the Legislature to regulate the succession had been recognised repeatedly. These observations, however, are not sufficient to excuse Edward's councillors for violating the oaths which they had taken to preserve the order prescribed by King Henry's will. Though it is probable, that casuistry and legal subtlety had found some apologies for their conduct even in this respect.

ments, the young King rapidly declined. His physicians, having exhausted all the resources of their professional ingenuity, recommended his removal from Greenwich for change of air; but this advice was not followed. Edward was then entrusted to the management of a female empiric, who had taken upon herself to censure the mode in which he had hitherto been treated; and his physicians were dismissed. As the patient's malady became daily more severe under this pretender's hands, the general voice pointed to her as a Locusta hired by the Dudleys to poison the King. That Edward's life, indeed, had been sacrificed to the nefarious ambition of that aspiring family, was an opinion long dear to popular credulity. After a few ineffectual attempts, the doctress herself, lately so confident, became alarmed, and the physicians were recalled. But it was then too late even to speak of a cure, and the case was pronounced utterly hopeless. Edward himself became perfectly sensible, that his malady must soon find a fatal termination, and he prepared for the parting struggle with unaffected piety. About three hours before his death, as he lay, his eyes closed, and his attention to surrounding objects almost extinct, he thus poured out his heart to the Father of mercies: "Lord God, deliver me out of this wretched life, and receive me among thy chosen; howbeit, not my will, but thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit unto thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were

for me to be with thee; yet for thy chosen's sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true religion; that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for Jesus Christ's sake." The utterance of this prayer seems to have somewhat aroused him, and turning his face, he opened his eyes. These meeting his attendants, he was thrown into some confusion. "Are ye so nigh?" the dying youth modestly said, "I thought ye had been farther off." Remarking his uneasiness, Dr. Owen replied, "We heard your Highness speak: what you said, we know not." Edward meekly smiling, added, "I was only praying to God." While his soul was hovering upon the very edge of eternity, Sir Henry Sidney held him in his arms, when he suddenly exclaimed, "I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." He spoke no more, but instantly expired [b].

This mournful event occurred at Greenwich, on Thursday, the 6th of July, Edward being then in the sixteenth year of his age, and in the seventh of his reign. Though not allowed to live beyond the time of early youth, this prince may justly challenge a high degree of reputation. Whether a kind Providence really does continue

[b] Foxe, 1269. Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 259. Hayward, 327.

longest in this probationary state such as require most of the world's rugged discipline to subdue the evil of their minds, or whether men good-naturedly assume the excellence of qualities but imperfectly developed, and but slightly tried; it is certain, that when the thread of life is prematurely cut, the regret awakened is generally keen. In Edward's case, however, the national grief undoubtedly rested upon solid grounds. That amiable young sovereign joined to confirmed habits of application a precocity of intellect which enabled him to judge of questions rarely understood in the earlier stages of life. Archbishop Cranmer watched his intellectual progress with all the affectionate interest of a fond parent. He often congratulated Sir John Cheke, even with tears, upon his singular felicity in being entrusted with the charge of such a pupil[c]. Edward, indeed, might justly make his tutor proud. Latin he wrote with fluency and correctness; nor was he unable even to speak it with little or no premeditation. In French he was equally well skilled; and he had attained an acquaintance with the Greek, Spanish, and Italian. He had also made some proficiency in natural philosophy, logic, music, and astronomy. In addition to these accomplishments, the royal youth possessed a graceful person, a winning gentleness of manner, and an easy flow of wit. Astonished at the display of so much excellence in a person of

[c] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 427.

such tender age, Cardan pronounced him a miracle of nature[d]. Genius, learning, beauty, and address, however, have often formed the seductive blandishments of those who wanted sterling worth. But Edward was not thus miserably defective. He never passed much beyond the most unreflecting stage of life, his exalted rank exposed him largely to the poisonous effect of gaiety and adulation, he was never inattentive to the cares of government; yet religious impressions always held firm possession of his mind.

[d] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 141.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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